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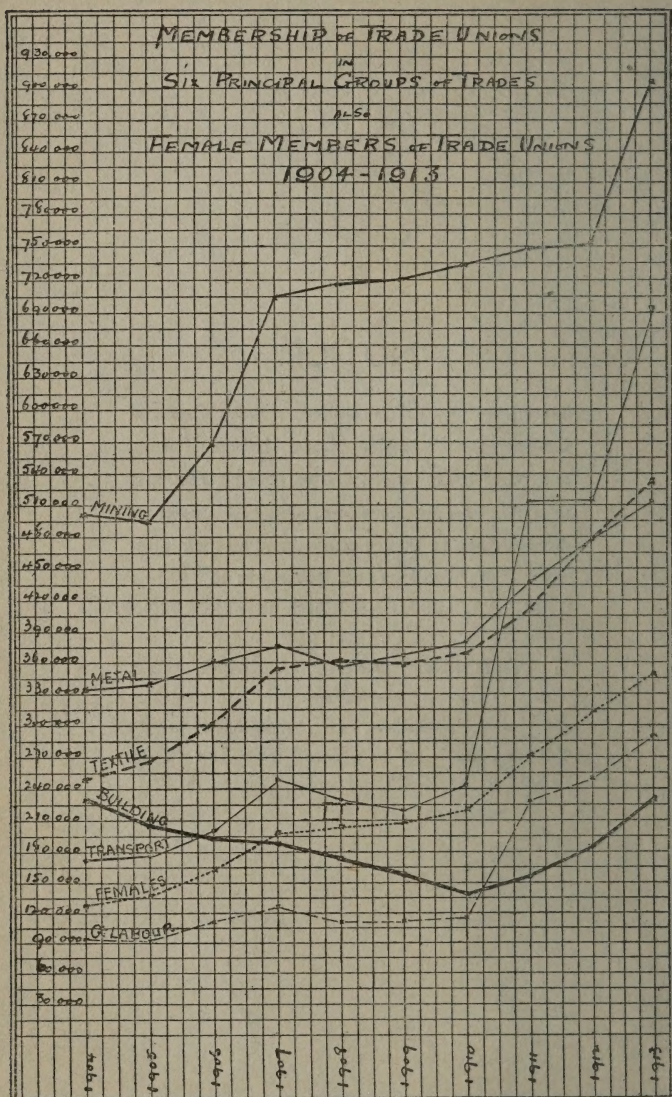


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THE LABOUR YEAR BOOK.

1916

ISSUED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE OF THE TRADES
UNION CONGRESS,
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LABOUR PARTY,
THE FABIAN RESEARCH DEPARTMENT.

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PREFACE.

There have been "Labour Annuals" and "Socialist Year Books" in past years, and their editors have earned the gratitude and appreciation of many for the ungrudging work they so freely gave. That gratitude, however, never materialised in sufficient circulation to encourage constant and regular publication. We urge a kinder fate for this, the first official Year Book that the Labour Movement has possessed.

We are fully conscious of the inadequacy of our work; nevertheless, we feel confident that the pages that follow will prove of interest and usefulness to many readers who find in social service their contribution to national well-being.

The first scheme of the Year Book was only conceived in the early months of the present year, and it will be readily conceded that the preparation of such a volume, even under ordinary circumstances, might have been expected to require a longer period than has been actually occupied.

The Editors have realised, as never before, how wide are the interests with which Labour is concerned, how extensive is the field that its Year Book should cover. They regret that limitations of space have prevented a more detailed survey of Labour activity. However, thanks to the devoted work of numerous voluntary contributors, here our Year Book is at last. Its Editors crave an indulgent eye for its shortcomings, and they echo most heartily the demand made by Bernard Shaw in his article for criticism and helpful suggestions.

We believe that both the Labour Movement and the general public, impressed now as never before with the importance of Labour, will welcome the Year Book and encourage the Committees responsible for its publication to continue the issue in future years.

Each day brings forth fresh events—new Budgets, new taxes, administrative changes, novel legislation, the never-ending toll of industry, the ever-changing fabric of our national life, and a stream of new statistics—all these serve to make our Year Book, like others, an ephemeral volume. Despite the fact, however, we bespeak for our first number a place on the bookshelf of every worker in the Labour Movement, and of everyone interested in the social and industrial problems that face the nation.

THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

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WHY A LABOR YEAR BOOK ?

By G. BERNARD SHAW

(Chairman, Fabian Research Department).

A Labor Year Book will not need any justification to those who have thought the matter out in the light of some experience of the difficulty of finding just the sort of facts they want. They all know the story of the cabinet minister who asked one of his officials to supply him with the statistics of a certain department. To which the young gentleman replied "What is it you want to prove?"

In politics, all facts are selected facts. If you want a book of unselected facts you must buy a Ready Reckoner or the Post Office Directory. They deal with a class of fact that nobody wants to suppress or misrepresent, and that nobody can overlook. The compiler of the Ready Reckoner does not tell you that twice two is four and then forget to tell you that twice three is six. The compiler of the Directory does not give you the name of his friend who lives at number nine and scorn to mention his enemy who lives at number ten. But the moment we come to books in which information is not only given but applied, take care! An election register is very like a directory: it consists of names and addresses only; but it is far from being so trustworthy a document. There are people who ought to be there who are not there: there are people who ought not to be there who are there. Statements of the proportion of taxation borne by the working classes, or of the distribution of income in the country, may be as sound in their simple arithmetic as the ready reckoner; but Mr. Mallock will bring out a very different result to Mr. Sidney Webb every time.

This does not mean that one writer is less truthful than another. It means only that one writer notices things that another overlooks. The human mind is like the human eye. The eye makes a double image of everything except the object the owner of the eye is looking at; but he never notices the double images of all the other objects in sight: he notices only the single one to which he is directing his attention. He never sees a double image in all his life if he is a teetotaler, though he has dozens of them on his retina daily from dawn to dark. It is the same with his mind: he thinks of nothing except the things he focuses his mind on. The idle gentleman understands that the burglar who comes after his spoons is a thief; but he does not understand that he himself bought those spoons out of money stolen from the poor. He sees all the faults of the Labor Party, and none of the faults of the House of Lords. He thinks it splendid and heroic of his son to take a commission and go into the

trenches, but takes it quite as a matter of course that his gardener's son should go.

To put it another way, the very honestest man has an unfair mind, and eyes that can see only one side of an object at a time. And that is why Labor must have its own Year Book. There are others, of course. The Statesman's Year Book is as good in its way as the Labor Year Book, and ten times as dear. Whitaker's Almanack has been the friend of man for many years. But the Statesman's Year Book sees life from the social angle of an Oxford College; and Whitaker has to please everybody and offend nobody. A proper Labor Year Book ought to set all the Oxford Colleges clamoring for its prosecution on a charge of sedition, and to make half the purchasers of Whitaker go blue in the face with indignation. It ought to give all the information that our rich men and their caterers and retainers try to hide from themselves and everybody else, and signpost all the new political roads that democracy has opened to the public, and that used to be closed by boards declaring that Trespassers Will be Prosecuted.

Labor has still a good deal to learn as to facts and ways and means. It does not know the facts. It does not know where to look for them. It could not always get at them even if it did know where to look. Many of its notions of democracy are too crude and general and old fashioned for practical use; and it often drops the substance in clutching at the shadow. In making Trade Unionism the most jealously democratic institution in the world, it made it in some respects the most autocratic; for it is the simple truth that it used to be easier to turn the whole country against the Prime Minister than to turn a Trade Union against its officials; and the end of that has been a reaction in which officials are hampered in making industrial treaties because they cannot answer for their Unions with sufficient confidence. The Labor world is stuffed with splendid principles; but principles by themselves are very little use. A cockney may wish to take a walk on Wimbledon Common on sound hygienic principles; but if he does not know the way to Putney he will not get there, and may have to take his constitutional in a slum. It is true that when there is a will there is a way; but the way is through knowledge; and it is surprising how often it lies just in the opposite direction to where we expected to find it. Fortunately it is also sometimes much shorter than we imagined it to be. Very few people know how much has been done already; and we find well meaning people spending no end of their time and slender means in agitating for laws that already exist; founding schools to teach what is already better taught in the elementary school round the corner; and calling on Parliament to do things that the County Council or City Corporation has had power to do for the last fifty years.

The reason people don't know these things is that nobody tells them. Our governing class mostly does not want them to know. They teach a child the population of China (which they don't know themselves) but take good care to leave him in ignorance of the fact that by sending a postcard to the Home Office or to the local sanitary authority he can strike down tyrants, and dig up drains, and fence in machines, and add years to the lives of women and pounds to the weight of children.

The Labor Year Book is a move in the direction of dispelling this ignorance, and shewing the workers the world from their own point of view instead of from that of their present masters. It is not yet so good as the editors wish and intend it to be. It is not possible to think of everything, and still less possible to do everything that is thought of. You have first to find the right man to do it, and pay him fairly for the job. The war has upset the Year Book as it has upset everything else. Without a good deal of valuable unpaid work it could not have been done at all. No commercial publisher would have ventured on so magnanimous a table of contents. It is not what it will be after a year or two: still, it is a beginning, and not so bad a one, all things considered.

Its improvement will depend largely on those who use it. To them I say, Do not waste time admiring what you find in it: spend a few hours in the year complaining of what you miss in it. The man who writes up to the office to say that it is the rottenest Year Book going because he cannot find the name of his grandmother's third husband in it is the man who will really help us. If he thinks that his grandmother's third husband has nothing to do with the Labor Movement, he may be making a great mistake. What he wants to know, another man may want to know; and if we find by the letters we get that there is a need in the Labor Movement for a table of the third husbands of the grandmothers of the Labor Movement, we shall compile such a table without stopping to ask the use of it, because men neither want nor ask for things that are of no use. "Ask and it shall be given unto you" is our editorial principle. We will guess all we can about your wants; but our main standby must be the men who tell us of the bits of information they needed in the Trade Union or Co-operative office and in the Labor candidate's committee room, and which they could not find anywhere. The world is full of books telling us what we do not want to know: the ideal of the editors of the Labor Year Book is a book that will tell its purchasers what they do want to know, and what no other book will tell them.

LABOUR AFTER THE WAR.

BY RIGHT HON. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.

(President of the Board of Education).

From the commencement of the war the forces of industrial democracy rallied in support of the cause of the Allies with unprecedented unanimity and determination. To-day, generally speaking, their one concern is to see the war through and not to fritter away their opportunities in futile discussion as to its causes or as to the conditions on which an insecure and artificial peace might be obtained. They are convinced that the war was none of our country's seeking, and they are confident that if civilisation is to be delivered from the tyranny of an oppressive brute force it must only end one way.

This attitude is good, so far as it goes. But there is a danger that all sections of the great Labour and Socialist movement may concern themselves too much with the effects of this world struggle, as we now see them, and fail to give sufficient thought to the position in which the wage-earners may find themselves on the termination of hostilities. Yet it needs little reflection to see that the wholesale destruction of wealth which is going on before our eyes must profoundly affect the position of Labour and the future of the workers. When the war is over Europe will be faced with a gigantic task of reconstruction, and it is the duty of the workers to ensure that in the carrying out of that task their rights are safeguarded and their just demands satisfied.

This will not happen if, as the result of an unsatisfactory peace, this country finds itself, with diminished resources and a vast accumulation of debt, forced to maintain for its defence a larger Navy and an Army on the Continental scale. It will not happen if we are beaten. And it will not happen if, through impatience, or shortsightedness, or sectional jealousy, organised Labour compromises that unity which has been so nobly manifested under the stress of war, but which will be even more required in the coming years of peace. For, unless all experience is misleading, the first years of peace will be a time of grave depression, affecting not one or two trades, but the whole of our industrial system. Machinery has been diverted from productive to unproductive uses; the savings of past years are being absorbed in the cost of the war; the whole economic system, under which Labour produces capital and capital in turn maintains Labour, has been violently disturbed. The labour has gone into other channels, and the capital is being consumed in indispensable but unremunerative manufactures.

The utmost economy that can be practised in war may alleviate but cannot wholly avert the distress that is bound to follow it. There are indeed economies that may aggravate the evil. Every penny that is wisely spent on the care and upbringing of children, and on the health of the people, will shorten the period of depression by increasing our capacity for productive industry when the war is over. And every penny which, in response to ill-considered appeals for economy, is unwisely saved will postpone the return of prosperity. In the interests of the coming generation and their welfare organised Labour has a duty to protest against misplaced parsimony by public authorities as much as against untimely extravagance.

Both politically and industrially, the next few years will be a time of trial for organised Labour. For a national object the unions have been willing to abandon many of the safeguards which have been devised by the experience of generations for securing the rights of the workers. The most definite pledges have been given and received; the unions will have to see that on both sides they are scrupulously observed.

During the past twelve months organised Labour has established its right to be regarded as an integral element in the national life. After the war it will have to retain the position it has achieved. A period of depression imposes a great strain on the resources and coherence of Labour. The return of peace will mean the renewal of many old struggles. If Labour is to face them victoriously it must be animated after the war by the spirit it has shown during the war, by unfailing loyalty to its principles, and by a firm resolution to maintain its unity unimpaired.

PART I.

LABOUR AND THE WAR.*

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THE OUTBREAK OF WAR.

(a) THE POLITICAL VIEW.

It is not proposed in this section to discuss any of the general political questions raised by the war. All that will be attempted is to show what had previously been the recognised view of Labour about a European War, what was the attitude taken up on the outbreak of war, and how that attitude was subsequently modified.

The recognised view of Labour, both national and international, on the question of a European War was expressed in the resolution passed in 1907 at the International Socialist Congress, to which the Labour Party, the British Socialist Party, the Independent Labour Party and the Fabian Society are all affiliated. The resolution runs as follows:—

If war threatens to break out it is the duty of the working class in the countries concerned and of their Parliamentary representatives, with the help of the International Socialist Bureau as a means of co-ordinating their action, to use every effort to prevent war by all the means which seem to them most appropriate, having regard to the sharpness of the class war and to the general political situation.

Should war none the less break out, their duty is to intervene to bring it promptly to an end, and with all their energies to use the political and economic crisis created by the war to rouse the populace from its slumbers, and to hasten the fall of capitalist domination.

* For most of the material of this part we are indebted to Mr. G. D. H. Cole, whose book, "Labour in War Time," deals with the subject more fully and from a less restricted standpoint.

In July, 1914, the two-fold policy thus prescribed to Labour was put to the test, first by the threat of war and then by its actual outbreak. Austria declared war against Servia on Saturday, the 25th of July. Immediately the International Socialist Bureau met at Brussels. After deciding that the International Socialist Congress, which was to have been held in Vienna late in August, should be held in Paris on August 9th, the Bureau issued the following declaration :—

In assembly of July 29th the International Socialist Bureau has heard declarations from representatives of all nations threatened by a world war, describing the political situation in their respective countries.

With unanimous vote, the Bureau considers it an obligation for the workers of all concerned nations not only to continue but even to strengthen their demonstrations against war in favour of peace, and of a settlement of the Austro-Servian conflict by arbitration.

The German and French workers will bring to bear on their Governments the most vigorous pressure in order that Germany may secure in Austria a moderating action, and in order that France may obtain from Russia an undertaking that she will not engage in the conflict. On their side the workers of Great Britain and Italy shall sustain these efforts with all the power at their command.

The Congress urgently convoked in Paris will be the vigorous expression of the peaceful will of the workers of the whole world.

Things moved rapidly, and this proved to be the last expression of the united voice of the International. The Congress at Paris was not held.

It now remained for the national sections individually to carry out the first clause of the 1907 Resolution, which dealt with the **prevention** of war.

With Germany's declaration of war on France and Russia, and the consequent developments, we cannot deal for reasons of space.

In Great Britain the Labour Members of Parliament unanimously passed the following resolution on July 30th :—

That the Labour Party is gratified that Sir Edward Grey has taken steps to secure mediation in the dispute between Austria and Servia, and regrets that his proposal has not been accepted by the Powers concerned ; it hopes, however, that on no account will this country be dragged into the European conflict, in which, as the Prime Minister has stated, we have no direct or indirect interest, and the Party calls upon all Labour organisations in the country to watch events vigilantly so as to oppose, if need be, in the most effective way, any action which may involve us in war.

On August the 1st the British Section of the International Socialist Bureau issued its manifesto over the joint signatures of Keir Hardie and Arthur Henderson :—

MANIFESTO TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE.

The long-threatened European War is now upon us. For more than 100 years no such danger has confronted civilisation. It is for you to take full account of the desperate situation and to act promptly and vigorously in the interest of peace. You have never been consulted about the war.

Whatever may be the rights and wrongs of the sudden crushing attack made by the militarist Empire of Austria upon Servia, it is certain that the workers of all countries likely to be drawn into the conflict must strain every nerve to prevent their Governments from committing them to war.

Everywhere Socialists and the organised forces of Labour are taking this course. Everywhere vehement protests are made against the greed and intrigues of militarists and armament-mongers.

We call upon you to do the same here in Great Britain upon an even more impressive scale. Hold vast demonstrations against war in every industrial centre. Compel those of the governing class and their Press who are eager to commit you to co-operate with Russian despotism to keep silence, and respect the decision of the overwhelming majority of the people, who will have neither part nor lot in such infamy. The success of Russia at the present day would be a curse to the world.

There is no time to lose. Already, by secret agreements and understandings, of which the democracies of the civilised world know only by rumour, steps are being taken which may fling us all into the fray.

Workers, stand together, therefore, for peace! Combine and conquer the militarist enemy and the self-seeking Imperialists to-day, once and for all.

Men and women of Britain, you have now an unexampled opportunity of rendering a magnificent service to humanity, and to the world!

Proclaim that for you the days of plunder and butchery have gone by. Send messages of peace and fraternity to your fellows who have less liberty than you. Down with class rule! Down with the rule of brute force! Down with war! Up with the peaceful rule of the people!

On Sunday, August the 2nd, a great demonstration representative of all sections of the working-class was held in Trafalgar Square, under the auspices of the British Section; the following resolution was carried:—

That this demonstration, representing the organised workers and citizens of London, views with serious alarm the prospects of a European War, into which every European Power will be dragged owing to secret alliances and understandings which in their origin were never sanctioned by the nations, nor are even now communicated to them; we stand by the efforts of the international working-class movement to unite the workers of the nations concerned in their efforts to prevent their Governments from entering upon war, as expressed in the resolution passed by the International Socialist Bureau; we protest against any step being taken by the Government of this country to support Russia, either directly or in consequence of any understanding with France, as being not only offensive to the political traditions of the country but disastrous to Europe, and declare that, as we have no interest, direct or indirect, in the threatened quarrels which may result from the action of Austria in Serbia, the Government of Great Britain should rigidly decline to engage in war, but should confine itself to efforts to bring about peace as speedily as possible.

Thus all sections of the British Labour Movement were united in their desire and their efforts for the prevention of war. In this they were carrying out the first clause of the 1907 resolution. But the attempt failed. Two days later (August 4th) Britain declared war on Germany.

The declaration of war at once altered the situation and brought into prominence the more disputable and less determinate part of the 1907 resolution. This declared that: "Should war none the less break out, their duty is to intervene to bring it promptly to an end, and with all their energies to use the economic and political crisis created by the war to rouse the populace from its slumbers and to hasten the fall of capitalist domination."

That this second part of the internationalist policy would have held water is unlikely even if nothing further had occurred. But before this policy had been adequately considered a new factor had entered. This was the violation of the neutrality of Belgium. This violation was a determining cause in the change of attitude which shortly manifested itself. Almost equally important was the decision of the German Social Democratic Party to vote for the war credits in the Reichstag. Still for a few days matters hung in the balance. On August 7th the Executive Committee of the Labour Party issued the following letter to its constituent bodies:—

We beg to inform you that a special meeting of the National Executive of the Labour Party was held on August 5th and 6th to consider the European crisis, when it was decided to forward to each of the affiliated organisations the following resolutions:—

"That the conflict between the nations of Europe in which this country is involved is owing to Foreign Ministers pursuing diplomatic policies for the purpose of maintaining a balance of power; that our own national policy of understandings with France and Russia only was bound to increase the power of Russia both in Europe and Asia, and to endanger good relations with Germany.

"That Sir Edward Grey, as proved by the facts which he gave to the House of Commons, committed, without the knowledge of our people, the honour of the country to supporting France in the event of any war in which she was seriously involved, and gave definite assurances of support before the House of Commons had any chance of considering the matter.

"That the Labour movement reiterates the fact that it has opposed the policy which has produced the war, and that its duty is now to secure peace at the earliest possible moment on such conditions as will provide the best opportunities for the re-establishment of amicable feelings between the workers of Europe.

"That without in any way receding from the position that the Labour Movement has taken in opposition to our engaging in a European War, the Executive of the Party advises that, while watching for the earliest opportunity for taking effective action in the interests of peace and the re-establishment of good feeling between the workers of the European nations, all Labour and Socialist organisations should concentrate their energies meantime upon the task of carrying out the resolutions passed at the conference of Labour organisations held at the House of Commons on August 5th, detailing measures to be taken to mitigate the destitution which will inevitably overtake our working people while the state of war lasts."

Your attention is specially called to Clause 3 of the attached resolutions, agreed upon at the Labour and Socialist Emergency Conference. Citizen committees are being formed in county and urban areas, and every effort should be made to secure a fair and adequate representation of Labour, including woman, upon these committees. We also urge the great importance of all Labour organisations giving every possible assistance in the relief work organised by these citizen committees.

Yours very sincerely,

W. C. ANDERSON, Chairman.

ARTHUR HENDERSON, Secretary.

The Labour and Socialist Emergency Conference referred to in this letter, called by Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., then Secretary of the Labour Party, had met on August 6th and formed the War Emergency Workers' National Committee*. This Committee was afterwards to play no small part both in concentrating working class attention on social and industrial issues arising from the war, and in holding together the forces of Labour.

On the 7th of August, when the Labour Party decided to make no pronouncement on the Vote of Credit, Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald resigned the chairmanship, and Mr. Arthur Henderson took his place.

By the end of the first week a division began to show itself between those who thought that Labour should sink all differences before the national danger and those who, while not opposing the war, still thought that Labour should maintain complete aloofness from the other parties. Needless to say, this view of entire independence was supported by the further section which was against the war itself. This last section is best represented in the manifesto published by the Independent Labour Party on August 13th.

It begins with an indictment of British foreign policy, of the armament race, and of secret diplomacy; it dwells on the horror of war, and ends as follows:—

The war conflagration envelops Europe; up to the last moment we laboured to prevent the blaze. The nation must now watch for the first opportunity for effective intervention.

As for the future, we must begin to prepare our minds for the difficult and dangerous complications that will arise at the conclusion of the war.

The people must everywhere resist such territorial aggression and national abasement as will pave the way for fresh wars; and throughout Europe the workers must press for frank and honest diplomatic policies, controlled by themselves, for the suppression of militarism and the establishment of the united states of Europe, thereby advancing towards the world's peace. Unless these steps are taken Europe, after the present calamity, will be still more subject to the domination of militarism, and increasingly liable to be drenched with blood.

We are told that International Socialism is dead: that all our hopes and ideals are wrecked by the fire and pestilence of European war. It is not true.

Out of the darkness and the depth we hail our working-class comrades of every land. Across the roar of guns, we send sympathy and greeting to the German Socialists. They have laboured unceasingly to promote good relations with Britain, as we with Germany. They are no enemies of ours, but faithful friends.

In forcing this appalling crime upon the nations, it is the rulers, the diplomats, the militarists who have sealed their doom. In tears of blood and bitterness the greater democracy will be born. With steadfast faith we greet the future; our cause is holy and imperishable, and the labour of our hands has not been in vain.

Long live Freedom and Fraternity! Long live International Socialism!

* See page 37.

Thus by the middle of August the lines of distinction had been drawn on the political side of Labour. On August 29th the question of taking part in a Parliamentary recruiting campaign came before the National Executive of the Labour Party: the Parliamentary Labour Party had already met and agreed to join in the campaign. It was decided:—

That, in view of the serious situation created by the European War, the Executive Committee of the Labour Party agrees with the policy of the Parliamentary Party, in joining the campaign to strengthen the British Army, and agrees to place the Central Office organisation at the disposal of the campaign, and further recommends the affiliated bodies to give all possible local support.

About the same time an agreement was reached between the political parties, that in the case of a Parliamentary bye-election the seat should be filled without a contest by the party in possession. This political truce, since periodically renewed, still holds good. The death of J. Pointer, Attercliffe, and A. H. Gill, Bolton, left vacancies which were filled by W. C. Anderson and Robert Tootill in accordance with this arrangement.

The pronouncements of the industrial side of Labour came in the beginning of September. First came that of the General Federation of Trade Unions, termed a "Manifesto to its Members and to its Affiliations in Europe and America." After dealing at some length with the origins of the war, in which it declares that "the responsibility for the war does not rest upon the policy or conduct of Great Britain," it proceeds to the economic problems affecting the State. It describes the relief measures of the Government as utterly inadequate. It presses for greater sums of money to be expended in payment of soldiers, sailors, and their dependents, for reform and democratisation of the Army itself, and generally for State control as opposed to unco-ordinated voluntary activities. Finally, it demands increased subsidies for Trade Unions, whose magnificent efforts to meet the distress consequent upon unemployment had been made from funds raised on a peace basis to meet peace emergencies.

It is to be noted that by this time the policy of the Government was wholeheartedly supported. This is also shown in the manifesto of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, which runs as follows:—

MANIFESTO TO THE TRADE UNIONISTS OF THE COUNTRY.

Gentlemen,—The Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, at their meeting held yesterday, had under consideration the serious position created by the European War and the duty which Trade Unionists, in common with the community in general, owe to themselves and the country of which they are citizens.

They were especially gratified at the manner in which the Labour Party in the House of Commons had responded to the appeal made to all political parties to give their co-operation in securing the enlistment of men to defend the interests of their country, and heartily endorse the appointment upon the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee of four Members of the party, and the placing of the services of the national agent at the disposal of that Committee to assist in carrying through its secretarial work.

The Parliamentary Committee are convinced that one important factor in the present European struggle has to be borne in mind, so far as our own country is concerned—namely, that in the event of the voluntary system of military service failing the country in this its time of need, the demand for a national system of compulsory military service will not only be made with redoubled vigour, but may prove to be so persistent and strong as to become irresistible. The prospect of having to face conscription, with its permanent and heavy burden upon the financial resources of the country, and its equally burdensome effect upon nearly the whole of its industries, should in itself stimulate the manhood of the nation to come forward in its defence, and thereby demonstrate to the world that a free people can rise to the supreme heights of a great sacrifice without the whip of conscription.

Another factor to be remembered in this crisis of our nation's history, and most important of all so far as Trade Unionists and Labour in general are concerned, is the fact that upon the result of the struggle in which this country is now engaged rest the preservation and maintenance of free and unfettered democratic government, which in

its international relationships has in the past been recognised, and must unquestionably in the future prove to be the best guarantee for the preservation of the peace of the world.

The mere contemplation of the overbearing and brutal methods to which people have to submit under a government controlled by a military autocracy—living, as it were, continuously under the threat and shadow of war—should be sufficient to arouse the enthusiasm of the nation in resisting any attempt to impose similar conditions upon countries at present free from military despotism.

But if men have a duty to perform in the common interest of the State, equally the State owes a duty to those of its citizens who are prepared—and readily prepared—to make sacrifices in its defence and for the maintenance of its honour. Citizens called upon voluntarily to leave their employment and their homes for the purpose of undertaking military duties have a right to receive at the hands of the State a reasonable and assured recompense, not so much for themselves as for those who are dependent upon them, and no single member of the community would do otherwise than uphold a Government which in such an important and vital matter took a liberal and even generous view of its responsibilities toward those citizens who come forward to assist in the defence of their country.

We respectfully commend this suggestion to the favourable consideration of the Government of the day.

Long life to the free institutions of all democratically governed countries!

Yours faithfully, the Parliamentary Committee,

J. A. SEDDON,	W. MOSSES.
Chairman.	J. W. OGDEN.
W. J. DAVIS,	J. SEXTON.
Vice-Chairman.	A. SMITH.
A. EVANS.	H. SMITH.
H. GOSLING.	J. B. WILLIAMS.
J. HILL.	J. E. WILLIAMS.
J. JENKINS.	C. W. BOWERMAN,
W. MATKIN.	Secretary.

There are two other documents of importance. On October 15th the following manifesto was issued, signed by most of the Labour Members of Parliament, by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, by the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions, and by other Labour Leaders.

The British Labour Movement has always stood for peace. During the last decade it has made special efforts to promote friendly relations between the peoples of Great Britain and Germany. Deputations of Labour representatives have taken messages of goodwill across the North Sea despite the obstacles to international working-class solidarity which existed. In turn, German Labour leaders on similar missions have been welcomed in this country by the organised workers. A strong hope was beginning to dawn that out of this intercourse would grow a permanent peaceful understanding between the two nations.

But this hope has been destroyed, at least for a time, by the deliberate act of the ruler of the military Empire of Germany. The refusal of Germany to the proposal made by England that a conference of the European Powers should deal with the dispute between Austria and Servia, the peremptory domineering ultimatum to Russia, and the rapid preparations to invade France, all indicate that the German military caste were determined on war if the rest of Europe could not be cowed into submission by other means. The wanton violation of the neutrality of Belgium was proof that nothing, not even national honour and good faith, was to stand between Germany and the realisation of its ambitions to become the dominant military power of Europe, with the Kaiser the dictator over all.

The Labour Party in the House of Commons, face to face with this situation, recognised that Great Britain, having exhausted the resources of peaceful diplomacy, was bound, in honour, as well as by treaty, to resist by arms the aggression of Germany. The Party realised that if England had not kept her pledges to Belgium, and had stood aside, the victory of the German army would have been probable, and the victory of Germany would mean the death of democracy in Europe.

Working-class aspirations for greater political and economic power would be checked, thwarted, and crushed, as they have been in the German Empire. Democratic ideas cannot thrive in a state where militarism is dominant; and the military state with a subservient and powerless working class is the avowed political idea of the German ruling caste.

The Labour Party, therefore, as representing the most democratic elements in the British nation, has given its support in Parliament to the measures necessary to enable this country to carry on the struggle effectively. It has joined in the task of raising an army large enough to meet the national need by taking active part in the recruiting

campaign organised by the various Parliamentary parties. Members of the Party have addressed numerous meetings throughout the country for this purpose, and the central machinery of the Party has been placed at the service of the recruiting campaign. This action has been heartily endorsed by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, which represents the overwhelming majority of the Trade Unionists of the country. The Committee in a manifesto on the war states:—

“The mere contemplation of the overbearing and brutal methods to which people have to submit under a government controlled by a military autocracy—living, as it were, continuously under the threat and shadow of war—should be sufficient to arouse the enthusiasm of the nation in resisting any attempt to impose similar conditions upon countries at present free from military despotism.”

The policy of the British Labour Movement has been dictated by a fervent desire to save Great Britain and Europe from the evils that would follow the triumph of military despotism. Until the power which has pillaged and outraged Belgium and the Belgians, and plunged nearly the whole of Europe into the awful misery, suffering, and horror of war, is beaten, there can be no peace. While the conflict lasts England must be sustained both without and within; combatants and non-combatants must be supported to the utmost. The Labour Movement has done and is doing its part in this paramount national duty, confident that the brutal doctrine and methods of German militarism will fail. When the time comes to discuss the terms of peace the Labour Party will stand, as it has always stood, for an international agreement among all civilised nations that disputes and misunderstandings in the future shall be settled not by machine guns but by arbitration.

Another important document is a series of resolutions passed at a conference of the Socialist and Labour parties of the Allied Nations convened by the British Section of the International Socialist Bureau, and held in London on February 14th, 1915. The Socialist organisations of France, Belgium, Russia, and Great Britain affiliated to the I.S.B. were represented.

(1) This conference cannot ignore the profound general causes of the European conflict, itself a monstrous product of the antagonisms which tear asunder capitalist society and of the policy of colonial dependencies and aggressive imperialism, against which international Socialism has never ceased to fight, and in which every Government has its share of responsibility.

The invasion of Belgium and France by the German armies threatens the very existence of independent nationalities, and strikes a blow at all faith in treaties. In these circumstances a victory for German imperialism would be the defeat and the destruction of democracy and liberty in Europe. The Socialists of Great Britain, Belgium, France, and Russia do not pursue the political and economic crushing of Germany; they are not at war with the peoples of Germany and Austria, but only with the Governments of those countries by which they are oppressed. They demand that Belgium shall be liberated and compensated. They desire that the question of Poland shall be settled in accordance with the wishes of the Polish people, either in the sense of autonomy in the midst of another State, or in that of complete independence. They wish that throughout all Europe, from Alsace-Lorraine to the Balkans, those populations that have been annexed by force shall receive the right freely to dispose of themselves.

While inflexibly resolved to fight until victory is achieved to accomplish this task of liberation, the Socialists are none the less resolved to resist any attempt to transform this defensive war into a war of conquest, which would only prepare fresh conflicts, create new grievances and subject various peoples more than ever to the double plague of armaments and war.

Satisfied that they are remaining true to the principles of the International, the members of the conference express the hope that the working classes of all the different countries will before long find themselves united again in their struggle against militarism and capitalist imperialism. The victory of the Allied Powers must be a victory for popular liberty, for unity, independence, and autonomy of the nations in the peaceful federation of the United States of Europe and the world.

(2) On the conclusion of the war the working classes of all the industrial countries must unite in the International in order to suppress secret diplomacy, put an end to the interest of militarism and those of the armament makers, and establish some international authority to settle points of difference among the nations by compulsory conciliation and arbitration, and to compel all nations to maintain peace.

(3) The conference protests against the arrest of the deputies of the Duma, against the suppression of Russian Socialist papers and the condemnation of their editors, as well as against the oppression of Finns, Jews, Russian and German Poles.

(b) THE INDUSTRIAL TRUCE.

It has been shown that one result of the national crisis was the agreement for a political truce. A further result was a general desire for the cessation of all industrial hostilities, and this cessation was also extended to many industrial activities, whose furtherance was felt to be incompatible with complete industrial harmony.

Thus on August 13th the Parliamentary Committee issued a notice postponing the September meeting of the Trades Union Congress. Then on August 24th a special conference called by the Joint Board of the Trades Union Congress, the General Federation of Trade Unions, and the Labour Party passed the following resolution :—

That an immediate effort be made to terminate all existing trade disputes, whether strikes or lock-outs, and whenever new points of difficulty arise during the war period a serious attempt should be made by all concerned to reach an amicable settlement before resorting to a strike or lock-out.

From the moment war was declared there had been a general move on the part of the Trade Union officials and Labour leaders towards industrial peace. Strikes were terminated, demands submitted to arbitration, trade movements stopped. The number of new industrial disputes fell from 99 in July, 1914, to 14 in August. The general effect of the truce can be seen from the fact that during the first seven months of 1914 there were 836 disputes, involving 423,000 workers; whilst during the last five months there were only 137, involving 23,000. By December there were only 17 disputes as contrasted with 56 in December, 1913.

Besides the cessation of disputes, there was also a general slackening of industrial activities. The railwaymen's Executive withheld their new national programme, the transport and general labour amalgamation scheme lapsed, and the great triple alliance of the miners, railwaymen and transport workers was left incomplete. It can never be said that Labour was not prepared to make heavy sacrifices for the national cause. By its acceptance of the industrial status quo it surrendered any attempt to carry out the second part of the 1907 resolution, with its demand for the undermining of the capitalist system. There never was any express agreement, but there certainly was a tacit understanding that the maintenance of the truce depended on equal sacrifices on both sides. But, with the piling up of profits and the rise in food prices, there came among the workers a growing irritation, increasing in force until, with the occurrence of specific grievances, the Industrial Truce came to an end.

It had never been a stipulated agreement, and the fact that employers showed little willingness to cease from "profiteering as usual" made it a one-sided bargain. It left the workers practically undefended against the rapacity of private enterprise. Nor were they guarded by the action of the State: to the failure of the Liberal Government must be attributed the breakdown of that vague general harmony in the world of Labour which was known as the Industrial Truce.

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UNEMPLOYMENT.

At the outbreak of war everyone not preoccupied with military or political questions was immediately concerned with the social and industrial crisis through which they were convinced the country would have to pass. Unemployment was perhaps the most dreaded of all the contingencies. No one foresaw the enormous expansion of our military system which, apart from removing millions of men from industry, was to demand a corresponding expansion of production in certain staple industries, and thus confine the problem of unemployment for the most part to the lesser luxury trades. Certainly no one anticipated that, after six months of war, this country would be faced with the problem of a shortage of labour side by side with that of unemployment, especially in women's occupations.

In the first months of the war, however, the problem was one of unemployment alone. The shock to our financial system had the most adverse effect on industry. Local conditions made this particularly bad in the case of the cotton trades. Then the closing of all enemy markets brought many works to an immediate standstill. Iron and steel were dislocated, and the effect of this dislocation was conveyed to coal. The services transporting these goods were next affected, and, by the second week in August, Liverpool had practically ceased to function as a seaport and an industrial centre. The resort to a panic economy hit the luxury trades especially hard, while all sorts of voluntary organisations, finding their occupation gone, dismissed their employees. Women's employment was more adversely affected than any other. Much subsequent difficulty was caused by the mad rush of employers to cut down their wages bill.

For purposes of statistics the month of August may be neglected as being exceptional in every way. The figures which follow show the state of affairs in September and October:—

EMPLOYMENT, ENLISTMENT, ETC., IN SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1914.

	September.		October.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Still on full time	4,214,000	1,203,750	4,676,000	1,392,750
On overtime	252,000	47,250	364,000	132,750
On short time	1,820,000	810,000	1,211,000	585,000
Contraction of employment.....	714,000	189,000	749,000	139,500
Known to have joined the Forces.....	616,000	...	742,000	...
Net displacement	98,000	...	7,000	...

The displacement of women's labour was enormous—almost half the total number of women employed in industry had their wages reduced by short time or were thrown into unemployment—and the problems of relief of distress thus created were in no way mitigated, as in the case of the men, by army enlistment.

The following gives the figures as percentages of the employment in July:—

STATE OF EMPLOYMENT AT VARIOUS DATES SINCE THE OUTBREAK OF WAR COMPARED WITH STATE OF EMPLOYMENT IN JULY, 1914.

	Males.				Females.			
	Sept. 1914.	Oct. 1914.	Dec. 1914.	Feb.* 1915.	Sept. 1914.	Oct. 1914.	Dec. 1914.	Feb.* 1915.
Employed in July	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Still on full time	60.2	66.8	65.8	68.4	53.5	61.9	66.6	75.0
On overtime	3.6	5.2	12.8	13.8	2.1	5.9	10.8	10.9
On short time	26.0	17.3	10.5	6.0	36.0	26.0	19.4	12.6
Contraction of numbers employed...	10.2	10.7	10.9	11.8	8.4	6.2	3.2	1.5
Known by employers to have joined the Forces	8.8	10.6	13.3	15.4	...	...	...	...
Net displacement (-) or replace- ment (+)	-1.4	-0.1	+2.4	+3.6	-8.4	-6.2	-3.2	-1.5

* Provisional figures.

This influx of new male labour—3.6 per cent., or nearly 250,000—into certain industries came partly from those who were unemployed in July, 1914, of whom these tables have taken no account, partly from those who had left the industries concerned, and partly from those who were employed in other industries or occupations not included in the table.

The following table, taken from the returns published in the monthly Board of Trade "Labour Gazette," shows how far there was a surplus of labour in July, 1914, how that surplus increased during the autumn of 1915, and to what extent it was absorbed in the months that followed. The figures relate only to the two and a-half million* workers in the trades compulsorily insured against unemployment under Part II. of the National Insurance Act. These do not include the trades that suffered most through unemployment. On the other hand, with the exception of building, they give the trades in which unemployment has been brought down to the irreducible minimum.

* The following table for the month of July shows the actual numbers and distribution of the workers insured under Part II. of the Act:—

Trade.	Number Insured.	Unemployed at end of July.		Increase (+) or de- crease (-) in per- centage unemployed on a	
		Number.	Percent- age.	Month ago.	Year ago.
Building and construction of works	956,890	36,599	3.8	...	-0.2
Engineering and ironfounding	817,931	26,549	3.2	-0.1	+0.9
Shipbuilding	264,217	12,491	4.7	+0.6	+1.3
Construction of vehicles	209,985	6,376	3.0	+0.4	+0.4
Sawmilling	12,029	381	3.2	-0.4	+1.0
Other insured workpeople	64,546	1,016	1.6	...	+0.7
All insured workpeople	2,325,598	83,412	3.6	+0.1	0.5

PERCENTAGE OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN INSURED TRADES.*

Trade.	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May
Building and construction of works	3.8	6.2	6.3	5.3	5.4	5.0	4.5	3.5	2.2	1.7	1.4
Engineering and ironfounding..	3.2	6.6	4.9	3.2	2.3	1.8	1.0	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.5
Shipbuilding	4.7	4.9	4.4	3.9	2.7	2.1	1.2	1.1	0.9	0.9	0.7
Construction of vehicles	3.0	7.5	5.6	3.9	3.3	2.9	1.8	1.4	1.0	0.8	0.5
Sawmilling	3.2	4.1	3.6	2.5	2.3	1.8	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.2
Other insured workpeople	1.6	3.2	2.5	1.7	1.3	1.0	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.4
All insured workpeople.....	3.6	6.2	5.4	4.2	3.7	3.3	2.6	2.0	1.4	1.1	0.9

* The figures refer in every case to the end of the month.

Over against these figures we may set the tables of Trade Unionists only, compiled by the Board of Trade from the figures supplied by such unions as make returns of their unemployed benefit. Though they cover the field of industry more widely they do not apply to nearly so many workers as Part II. of the Insurance Act; but fragmentary though they are, they are the only means of indicating the state of employment among Trade Unionists as distinct from the general body of workers.

This table shows the numbers in July, 1914 :—

TRADE UNION PERCENTAGES OF UNEMPLOYED.
(BASED ON 3,138 RETURNS.)

Trade Unions with a net membership of 988,946 reported 28,013 (or 2.8 per cent.) of their members as unemployed at the end of July, 1914, compared with 2.4 per cent. at the end of June, 1914, and 1.9 per cent. at the end of July, 1913.

Trade.	Membership at end of July, 1914, of unions reporting.	Unemployed at end of July, 1914.		Increase (+) or decrease (-) in percentage unemployed as compared with a	
		Number.	Percentage.	Month ago.	Year ago.
Building*	72,559	2,291	3.2	+0.3	-0.1
Coal mining†	166,866	792	0.5	...	+0.1
Iron and steel	37,662	2,078	5.5	...	+2.5
Engineering	233,985	7,908	3.4	+0.4	+1.5
Shipbuilding \	74,365	4,896	6.6	+2.2	+3.8
Miscellaneous metal	37,035	519	1.4	-0.1	-0.4
Textiles† :—					
Cotton	88,567	3,455	3.9	+1.7	+2.3
Woolen and worsted	8,641	370	4.3	-0.8	-0.4
Other	62,700	1,205	1.9	+0.7	+0.6
Printing, bookbinding, and paper	67,274	1,688	2.5	-0.7	-0.8
Furnishing and woodworking	56,466	1,299	2.3	+0.3	-0.1
Clothing	67,768	1,127	1.7	...	+0.1
Leather.....	4,270	221	5.2	+0.5	+1.0
Glass.....	986	6	0.6	+0.1	+0.2
Pottery.....	7,503	55	0.7	-0.1	+0.1
Tobacco	2,299	103	4.5	+0.9	-0.2
Total	988,946	28,013	2.8	+0.4	+0.9

* The Trade Union returns relate mainly to carpenters and plumbers.

† In addition to the ordinary short time which occurs in all trades, it should be noted that in the mining and textile industries a contraction in the demand for labour is more generally met by a reduction in the time worked per week by a large number of workpeople than by the discharge of a smaller number.

The following table shows the percentage, month by month, from July, 1914, onwards:—

Trade.	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.
Building	3.2	7.4	5.6	3.0	1.8	2.1	2.2	2.6	2.7	2.8	3.2	2.7	2.8	2.4
Coal mining ...	0.5	1.3	1.9	2.5	1.6	1.4	0.9	0.9	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Iron and steel...	5.5	7.6	2.6	3.1	1.9	3.0	2.1	2.2	1.6	2.2	1.9	1.4	0.9	1.1
Engineering ...	3.4	7.1	4.8	3.3	1.8	1.4	1.0	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
Shipbuilding ...	6.6	6.3	5.7	6.5	2.8	1.9	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4
Other metal.....	1.4	9.0	4.0	2.2	1.5	1.4	1.1	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2
Textiles:														
Cotton	3.9	17.7	14.5	9.2	6.3	5.2	3.0	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.7	1.6	1.5	1.8
Woolen and worsted	4.3	7.2	6.1	6.1	5.1	3.7	1.7	0.9	0.7	1.1	2.8	1.1	0.9	1.8
Other	1.9	6.1	8.2	6.4	6.5	5.2	3.9	2.2	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.6
Printing & paper	2.5	7.4	7.0	6.7	4.7	4.5	5.0	4.2	3.7	3.4	3.6	2.4	2.1	3.2
Furnishing						8.1	7.4	6.5	4.6	3.9	3.0	3.0	2.8	3.5
Wood-working.	2.3	9.8	8.3	6.2	4.5	2.2	1.9	1.6	1.1	1.0	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.7
Clothing	1.7	5.3	2.6	1.5	1.3	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2
Leather	5.2	6.2	4.2	2.9	2.1	2.4	1.8	1.3	1.3	0.7	0.8	0.4	1.1	0.8
Glass	0.6	1.1	1.6	1.7	2.0	1.9	1.8	2.0	2.3	2.2	2.3	2.5	1.9	0.9
Pottery.....	0.7	2.7	1.5	1.3	1.4	1.0	1.3	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.2
Tobacco	4.5	14.0	20.5	12.8	6.5	6.3	4.9	3.7	3.6	2.8	2.4	3.0	2.6	2.1
Total.....	2.8	7.1	5.6	4.4	2.9	2.5	1.9	1.6	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.0	0.9	1.0

The conclusion to be drawn from these figures is that, after a year of the war, apart from certain women's trades, there was no acute problem of unemployment. On the other hand, there was the problem of scarcity of skilled labour in the large body of munition trades. This boom is, of course, artificial in its nature and, of necessity, temporary. The problem of unemployment to be expected when the boom is over will be accentuated by the return of the male wage-earners now serving with the forces.

It must not, of course, be assumed that the partial recovery of trade from the depression of the first months of the war means that each industry is now back to normal. In so far as the demand for labour has been due to the war, the recovery is artificial. The adaptations of war time may be thrown sadly out of gear by the coming of peace. The following table shows the expansion or contraction of employment by industries. It relates solely to males, and is divided into the following three groups:—

1. Industries in which there is a marked shortage of male labour, and in which it has been necessary to attract men from the outside;
2. Industries which are in a fairly normal condition as regards male labour: and
3. Industries in which the contraction of numbers employed is considerably greater than the withdrawal of men for the forces.

EMPLOYMENT IN DECEMBER, 1914, AND FEBRUARY, 1915, COMPARED WITH EMPLOYMENT BEFORE THE WAR.

December 1914.

February 1915.

Trade groups.	Approximate industrial population Census, 1911.	Contraction or expansion of numbers employed.	Known to have joined the Forces.	Net displacement (-) or replacement (+).	Contraction or expansion of numbers employed.	Known to have joined the Forces.	Net displacement (-) or replacement (+).	On short time.	On Over-time.
		Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Group 1.									
Shipbuilding	164,000	- 6.0	13.6	+ 7.6	- 2.4	13.9	+ 11.5	0.7	44.5
Leather and leather goods	67,000	- 1.0	14.2	+ 13.2	+ 2.5	16.0	+ 13.5	2.6	40.7
Chemicals (including explosives)	122,000	- 3.3	15.4	+ 12.1	+ 1.2	17.4	+ 18.6	1.0	24.1
Engineering.....	665,000	- 8.7	14.6	+ 5.9	- 9.1	16.1	+ 7.0	3.6	29.8
Woollen and Worsted	129,000	+ 0.7	7.2	+ 7.9	+ 0.3	9.0	+ 9.3	3.3	27.1
Boot and shoe	199,000	- 3.3	9.9	+ 6.6	- 1.1	10.9	+ 9.8	1.3	36.1
Hosiery	18,900	- 0.7	7.5	+ 6.8	- 2.7	12.3	+ 9.6	3.9	14.7
Iron and steel	311,000	- 7.5	13.9	+ 6.4	- 5.7	16.1	+ 10.4	5.7	15.7
Food	315,000	- 5.6	13.4	+ 7.8	- 8.6	16.1	+ 7.5	2.5	16.0
Sawmilling	44,000	- 6.2	14.2	+ 8.0	- 12.0	16.1	+ 4.1	10.1	6.3
Coal and other mines*	1,164,000	- 10.4	13.7	+ 3.3	- 13.8	17.2	+ 3.4	2.3	0.6
Group 2.									
Clothing.....	235,000	- 14.1	12.5	- 1.6	- 13.7	14.0	+ 0.3	11.5	14.1
Paper and printing	240,000	- 12.2	12.5	+ 0.3	- 14.1	14.4	+ 0.3	9.9	8.5
Linen, jute, and hemp	42,000	- 8.2	15.0	+ 6.8	- 12.1	17.1	+ 5.0	27.7	4.9
Cotton	259,000	- 13.3	9.6	- 3.7	- 11.1	11.6	+ 0.5	11.2	2.2
Cycle motor, carriage and wagon building	202,000	- 17.5	14.3	- 3.2	- 17.8	16.9	- 0.9	6.4	23.7
China, pottery and glass	83,000	- 11.2	13.3	+ 2.1	- 16.3	15.5	- 0.8	16.6	2.7
Group 3.									
Building	1,023,000	- 21.5	12.2	- 9.3	- 22.9	14.7	- 8.2	7.1	7.0
Furniture and upholstery	141,000	- 20.3	13.5	- 6.8	- 23.5	15.3	- 8.2	14.0	4.1
Brick, cement, etc.	78,000	- 20.2	13.5	- 6.7	- 27.2	15.6	- 11.6	14.6	3.0
Tinplate.....	23,000	- 11.5	8.3	- 3.2	- 14.2	11.0	- 3.2	29.6	0.2

* In the case of coal trade the Miners' Eight Hours Act prevents the working of overtime in the ordinary sense, though it does not limit the number of shifts that may be worked per week.

In practically every case—the only important exception being the woollen industry—there is a contraction in the number employed since last July; but this contraction varies very much in different cases, and a comparison with the enlistment figures at once shows that in certain industries a great deal of new labour has been called in. Thus, in shipbuilding, nearly 14 per cent. have enlisted, yet the contraction in the numbers employed only amounts to 2.4 per cent. Coal-mining, where the enlistment is 17 per cent. and the contraction nearly 14 per cent., seems the only outstanding instance in which it has been impossible to call in much new labour. Conversely, cotton operatives have not to any great extent transferred themselves to other industries. Agriculture, of course, is not included in the return, which relates solely to industry proper.

Throughout the whole of the prolonged crisis, the safety valve has been transference of labour from one industry to another. But it must be remembered that, while the condition of affairs is now more settled, there was at the beginning most acute distress among several sections of the working-class. The Lancashire cotton trade suffered a paralysis from which even yet it is only slowly recovering. Unemployment was rife among women in the textile, clothing, and luxury trades, whilst women clerks, dressmakers, domestic servants, and charwomen were severely affected.

It is a comment on the lack of foresight displayed by the Government that in the woollen industry, which later worked continuous overtime to meet the demand for khaki, unemployment was allowed to get worse and worse down to September, the General Union of Textile Workers alone having 426 unemployed in August and 1,113 in September. By November no one was unemployed. To take another example, again from an industry now suffering from scarcity of labour, the Boilermakers had 4,000 members unemployed right up to November. Nothing was done to give them work, and many were driven into enlisting, whose services were shortly to be most urgently required in industry. Examples of this kind could be multiplied without end, and every example would add a further proof of the truth of the indictment against Governmental supineness and ineptitude.

UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG WEAVERS.

The following table, taken from the weekly returns of the Amalgamated Weavers' Association, shows the state of employment amongst cotton weavers at selected periods onwards from October 17th. It begins two and a-half months after the outbreak of war, with enormous unemployment, and the weekly figures are given to the end of November, 1914. During December unemployment and short time diminished. The figures then show at monthly intervals the state of the trade right up to October, 1915. It will be noted that the recovery was very slow, and was not yet complete by the end of the period under review.

	Approximate number of workpeople unemployed.	Approximate number of workpeople on short time.
1914.		
October 17th	49,587	66,408
" 24th	53,811	68,208
" 31st	51,549	79,949
November 7th	49,333	59,905
" 14th	43,522	93,618
" 21st	48,387	88,524
" 28th	44,249	86,450
December 26th	26,383	71,450
1915.		
January 30th	12,370	67,250
February 27th	7,902	47,580
March 27th	7,053	21,429
April 24th	6,344	14,094
May 22nd	7,606	11,642
June 26th	7,721	8,034
July 24th	9,248	5,655
August 14th*	4,396	2,945
September 25th	16,586	4,944
October 2nd	16,134	3,144

* Local holidays in many textile districts.

The table just given demonstrates the custom of meeting unemployment by short time. This "concealed unemployment" shows how much distress and suffering is never revealed in statistics which only mention complete unemployment. It may be seen that this method, common to the cotton and mining industries, of meeting a depression of trade was extensively used in the first five months of the war.

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THE RELIEF OF DISTRESS.

On the outbreak of war the question of distress at once became important. The first step taken forward was the appointment on August 4th of a Government Committee, under the chairmanship of the President of the Local Government Board, to deal with the prevention and relief of distress. To assist this Committee there were appointed Sub-Committees for London, Agricultural Districts, Urban Housing, together with the Central Committee on Women's Employment. On the 6th of August Local Authorities throughout the country were invited to form Local Representative Committees for the prevention and relief of distress due to the war. At the same time provisions were made for expediting public works under Local Authorities and several Government departments; while, in response to an appeal by the Prince of Wales, a National Relief Fund was formed, the responsibility for the distribution of which was vested in an Executive Committee, the Government Committee mentioned above being responsible for the conditions upon which civil relief, as distinct from relief of distress caused by enlistment of bread-winners, was administered.

FORMATION, POWERS, AND DUTIES OF LOCAL REPRESENTATIVE COMMITTEES.

The following circulars indicate the policy of the Government Committee :—

Local Government Board, Whitehall, S.W.,
August 8th, 1914.

Sir,—I am directed by the Local Government Board to refer to the Circular which they addressed to you on the 6th instant with regard to the formation of a Local Representative Committee for dealing with any distress which may arise in consequence of the war, and to state that they will feel obliged if you will forward to them as soon as possible particulars on the enclosed form of the constitution of the Committee.

The Cabinet Committee on the Prevention and Relief of Distress have had under consideration questions relating to the organisation of the work and the procedure of the Local Committee, and I am directed to acquaint you with their views in regard to these matters.

The primary duty of the Committee will be to survey the existing conditions of employment in the locality, and to consider what measures might be adopted with a view to preventing distress through lack of employment and alleviating such distress should it unhappily occur.

It is in the highest degree desirable that employers should do all in their power to avert the sudden closing of works, and also that temporary appointments should be made to fill all vacancies caused by the mobilisation of His Majesty's forces.

The Committee, including as it will representatives of Local Authorities, public bodies, and philanthropic agencies, will comprise amongst its members persons who are intimately acquainted with local industrial conditions, as well as those who have experience in matters such as those with which the Committee will be called upon to deal. It will thus be well equipped for forming an accurate estimate of the situation and for concerting measures for the prevention and mitigation of distress. If any of the local industries show signs of failing, the Committee should at once inform the Local Government Board, who will bring the matter before the Cabinet Committee.

In the event of distress becoming acute, the Committee will be responsible for the co-ordination of all relief agencies in the locality, whether official or voluntary, as well as for the distribution of grants made from the National Fund. For this purpose it will be necessary that the Committee should have a register of assistance.

The Board are addressing a communication to the Guardians requesting them to provide the Committee with a list of the persons in receipt of poor relief. If the Distress Committee have opened a register, a copy of this should be made available. The Committee itself should also keep a register of the persons who receive assistance from the National Fund.

It is suggested that the register should be kept on a rough card index system, possibly with reference to areas or streets.

The object of the register is to enable the Committee readily to discriminate between applicants for assistance and to avoid overlapping.

It is not intended that the organisation of the Local Committee should be utilised by persons who have been for a continuous period in receipt of relief, and such persons should be referred back to the Guardians.

With regard to other applicants, it is highly desirable that any relief afforded should take the form of work for wages when it is possible to provide work. In this connection the Local Authority will, of course, continue to push on all works already in progress, and it is hoped that in many cases they will be able to expedite other schemes of public work and thus absorb a considerable amount of labour. In other cases the Distress Committee in co-operation with the Local Authority will probably be able to initiate schemes of work by which provision could be made for the more deserving and necessitous cases. Such schemes will be aided by grants made by the Board out of the money provided by Parliament for the purposes of the Unemployed Workmen Act. In areas where there are no Distress Committees similar schemes of work can, it is hoped, be devised which can also be aided by the Local Government Board out of public funds.

The Local Education Authority will have received from the Board of Education a circular with respect to the exercise of the powers for the feeding of school children conferred by the Act which has just been passed by Parliament, and the Committee, will, of course, take this into consideration.

The National Fund will be available for, and generally speaking should be restricted to, those cases which for various reasons cannot be dealt with by any of the methods of assistance above indicated. It may be mentioned that the work of the National Relief Fund will be closely co-ordinated with that of the Cabinet Committee.

The Board have no doubt that the Clerk to the Local Authority would be willing to give the Committee the benefit of his experience and advice, and, if so desired, to place his staff at their disposal. They direct me to add that they understand that many offers of help have been made by various persons and organisations, including women's associations, and the Committee will probably desire to avail themselves of such assistance if necessary.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

H. C. MUNRO, Secretary.

The Chairman of the County Council,
The Lord Mayor,
The Mayor,
or
The Chairman of the Urban District Council.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE GUIDANCE OF THE LOCAL COMMITTEES FOR THE PREVENTION AND RELIEF OF DISTRESS (AUGUST 20th, 1914).

1. The national organisation that has been set up for the purpose of dealing with any distress which may arise in consequence of the war is not intended to deal with cases of ordinary poverty. While it may not always be possible to discriminate between ordinary distress and distress caused by the war, it is not intended that the Local Committees which have been constituted should supersede the Poor Law authorities.
2. The Committee is entrusted with the duty of co-ordinating all relief agencies in the locality with a view both to preventing overlapping and to seeing that cases which require assistance are not overlooked.
3. It is essential for these purposes that a register should be kept on the lines laid down in the Board's circular letter of the 17th August (P.R.D. 4).
4. Obviously the best way to provide for persons thrown out of their usual employment as a result of the war is to provide them with some other work for wages. Wherever possible, such work should be work which is normally required to be taken in hand either by public authorities or private employers. It is only when these fail that recourse should be had to relief works. Accordingly the Committee should co-operate as closely as possible with any Board of Trade Labour Exchange or other agency in its area to which any applicant for assistance for whom suitable work either in his own locality or elsewhere may be available could be referred. The Labour Exchanges have been instructed to co-operate with the Committees in regard to this matter, and will be prepared to take any steps desired to invite notification of vacancies from employers.
5. The Committee will have the advantage of including among its members persons who are well acquainted with the conditions of industry in their area, and, as pointed out in previous circulars, it is one of the first duties of the Committee to make themselves acquainted with the conditions of local trade and industry.
6. For this purpose the Committee should, so far as possible, use the existing agencies, such as the Labour Exchanges (in respect of the conditions of employment) and the Poor Law authorities (in respect of pauperism), and should make further inquiries of their own only in so far as it is found to be necessary to supplement this information. The Labour Exchanges have been instructed to give such general information as is in their possession as to the state of employment.
7. Where the demands of the normal labour market are inadequate the Committee should consult the Local Authorities as to the possibility of expediting schemes of public utility, which might otherwise not be put in hand at the present moment.
8. Whatever work is undertaken by Local Authorities, whether it be normal work or expedited work, it should in all possible cases be performed in the ordinary way by men specially suited to that particular class of work and selected as such in the ordinary labour market, rather than by men selected from the register of applicants to the Committee. The men engaged should be required to conform to the ordinary standards of competence in that class of work, and should of course be paid wages in the ordinary way.
9. Under the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, Distress Committees are empowered to provide or contribute to the provision of work for unemployed persons, and in areas where such a Distress Committee has been set up, able-bodied men out of employment, for whom no work can be found through a Labour Exchange, should be referred to that Committee. Work so provided would, in suitable cases, be aided out of the Parliamentary grant for the purposes of the Unemployed Workmen Act.
10. Where relief works are provided, each man should only be employed a certain number of days per week.
11. So far as possible applicants for assistance should be offered work which they can perform efficiently, and no assistance from the Relief Fund should be offered to any person for whom suitable work is available.
12. Single men who are physically fit and within the prescribed ages for enlistment in the Army, Navy, or territorial forces should not ordinarily receive assistance from the Local Committee until other applicants have been provided for.
13. Relief without work should only be given when no other means of assistance are available, and so far as it may prove necessary in the last resort to provide relief without work, it must be recognised that the demands upon the funds available will in all probability be such as to make it impossible to do more than to provide relief upon a minimum scale.

14. In cases in which it is necessary to give relief it is essential that the principles upon which such relief shall be given shall be definitely laid down by the Committee in order that persons in similar circumstances may receive similar treatment.

15. For this branch of their work the Committee will doubtless find it desirable to appoint a special sub-committee or sub-committees composed of members who are specially experienced in the relief of distress.

16. In determining the allowance to be made the Committee should take into consideration all the sources of income at present available for the household. As suggested in the circular letter of the 17th August, they should take steps to ascertain whether the applicant or any members of his family are in receipt of sickness, disablement, or unemployment benefit, whether they are receiving half-pay or any assistance from their employers or are on part-time employment, whether the children are receiving meals provided by the education authority, and whether they are receiving aid from charitable funds or any other sources.

17. So far as practicable, allowances should be made not in money, but by way of food tickets on local shops or stores. These tickets should be given to the women rather than to the men.

Such were the main lines of the Government policy. They were open to criticism on many grounds. To begin with, the problem of relieving distress should have been a charge on the nation, and should not have been handed over to a voluntary fund. Secondly, the Local Representative Committees were practically delivered over to the tender mercies of the "social worker," so that an atmosphere of "pauperisation" resulted. The War Emergency: Workers' National Committee soon found that the pressing necessity was not criticism of the Government proposals so much as criticism of the actual administration. It is impossible even to chronicle the multifarious activities of this Workers' National Committee. All that can be done here is to give their programme, drawn up about the middle of October, and to indicate in notes why some parts of that programme were necessary. The general work of the Committee is summarised under a separate section. (See page 37.)

PROGRAMME OF THE WAR EMERGENCY: WORKERS' NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

"The Workers' National Committee, formed to protect working-class interests during the war, feels that the time has come to formulate a connected Labour programme and policy of such a character as will more completely arrest existing distress, and prevent as far as possible further distress and unemployment in the future.

"The nation is only at the beginning of a crisis, which demands thorough and drastic action by the State and the municipalities. Any bold far-reaching change, which will probably be resisted by official bureaucracy, can only be made possible by the strong pressure of well-organised, well-directed popular agitation. Hence the Committee submits in broad outline the programme it thinks essential in view of conditions that have either already arisen or are certain to arise in the near future.

"We call upon the entire Labour and Socialist Movement, through all its national and local organisations, to force these demands upon the Government by an immediate national campaign, expressing itself in public meetings, the distribution of literature, the passing of resolutions by affiliated branches of Labour and Socialist bodies, and in such other ways as may be deemed effective.

"The programme should include the following demands:—

"1. That all war relief be merged together and taken over by the Government to be administered by the Government, and that there be a general or uniform scale of relief, modifications or exceptions to be made

to suit exceptional districts, the national revenue to be made responsible for raising the funds necessary.*

"2. Labour representation (both men and women in proportion to the workers in the area concerned) on all national and local committees of a public character established in connection with the war.†

"3. Full provision out of public funds for soldiers and sailors and their dependents, and the discontinuance of the present system of actual necessities, such as blankets, shirts, socks, gloves, etc., being requested and supplied through voluntary charitable agencies; the rates of pay for men on service to be such as to obviate the need for newspapers and other enterprises to exploit public sentiment in the supply of cigarettes, tobacco, and other minor luxuries.

"4. Allowances of £1 per week should be made to the wives of privates and 3s. 6d. per week for each child under working age, exclusive of any deductions from pay.‡

"Provision for disabled soldiers and sailors and their dependents as follows:—

"(a) If totally incapable of earning a livelihood a private should receive a minimum of £1 per week so long as total incapacity continues.

"(b) If partially incapable of earning a livelihood a private should have his earnings brought up to a minimum of £1 per week.

"(c) Pensions for the wives and dependents of privates losing their lives while with the colours should not be less than the total separation allowances indicated above.

* The scale of relief for distress was a question hotly contested by the Workers' Committee. It was not until October that the Government settled the model scale to be paid by Local Representative Committees, supplemented where necessary from the National Relief Fund. The Government proposal was considered totally inadequate by the Workers' Committee, who proposed another scale, which was rejected. Below we print the two scales:—

THE ADOPTED SCALE.

THE REJECTED SCALE.

	London.		Outside London.			s. d.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.
One adult	10	0	8	0	One adult	12	6
Two adults	14	0	12	0	Two adults.....	17	6
Each additional adult	4	6	4	6	One adult and one child	15	0
Two adults and one child	15	6a	13	6a	Two adults and one child	20	0
Two adults and two children	17	0a	15	0a	Two adults and two chil-	22	6
Two adults and three children.....	18	6a	16	6a	dren		
Two adults and four children	20	0a	18	0a			
Maximum coming into household	20	0	18	0			
					2s. 6d. for each additional child, and an additional 3s. 6d. for adoption in London boroughs.		

a Less 6d. per week in respect of each child receiving meals at school.

† This proposal was continually urged by the Workers' Committee, who found that both on national and local committees, even in matters primarily industrial in character, the interests of the workers were frequently ignored and their claims for representation unheeded.

‡ The question of Army pay, allowances and pensions was the subject of much controversy. A vigorous agitation ("The £1 a week campaign"), initiated by the "Herald," fostered by Mr. G. N. Barnes, M.P., and sustained by the "Daily Citizen" newspaper, was conducted during the early months of the winter. The Government appointed a Select Committee to take evidence and report, Mr. Barnes being included in its membership. The result was that an improved scale of allowances, etc., was announced, though it fell short of the demands made by the Labour Movement.

"(d) That unmarried wives and their children should be given the full status of dependents.

"(e) That unmarried mothers should be given the full status of dependents.

"(f) That sailors and their dependents should receive equal treatment to that given to soldiers in this scheme.

"(g) That payments for disablement, incapacity, pensions, and separation allowances be administered by State machinery, and that the present system of utilising voluntary charitable organisations be discontinued.

"6. The establishment of co-operative canteens in connection with the Army, to ensure that food is supplied at reasonable prices to the soldiers in camp or barracks.

"7. (a) Provision of productive work, at standard rates of wages, for the unemployed.*

"(b) Where the provision of work is impracticable, maintenance to be granted on a standard sufficiently high to ensure the preservation of the home and the supply of what is necessary for a healthy life, and the immediate abandonment of all the inquisitorial methods now too often used in order to restrict the amount of relief.†

*The policy of "employment, not relief" had been adopted in the Local Government Board circulars quoted above. But the Workers' Committee found it one of their chief tasks to keep the Government up to its promises. A speech made by Mr. Lloyd George on the need for economy of expenditure, though softened down afterwards in his reply to a Workers' Committee deputation, did much to harden the hearts of local authorities and tighten their purse-strings.

† Throughout, the Government shrank from its duty of maintenance. Indeed, after the first promise of August, 1914, the Government policy was one of parsimony and restriction of relief. In addition, every effort was made to divert the National Relief Fund from the alleviation of civil distress, and to use it for purpose of military and naval allowances. Latterly, in June, 1915, the Government embodied its projects in a Naval and Military War Pensions Bill, and on July 1st the Workers' Committee passed the following resolution:—

"That the Workers' National Committee hears with alarm and indignation that it has been proposed by some members of the Cabinet that a sum of two or three millions sterling should be taken from the National Relief Fund (which was subscribed for the relief of distress) for the purpose of setting up the new Statutory Committee of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation, in order to supplement army and naval pensions; that it is the duty of the Government to pay out of funds to be provided by Parliament all Army and Navy pensions that ought to be paid; and that the utmost possible opposition should be made to a proposal which seems on the face of it to be a breach of trust and a grievous wrong to those who are, or may be, in distress through the war."

As a result of the opposition of the Relief Fund Executive, the Government dropped the proposal to take money from the Relief Fund, and at the same time dropped the representatives of the Relief Fund Executive and the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association from the Committee it proposed to set up to administer the pensions, etc. As a consequence the House of Lords has amended the bill, allowing the latter representation, but substituting a Committee which will be responsible to Parliament for its work, instead of the Statutory Committee of the Patriotic Fund Corporation originally proposed. The Government Committee has repeatedly refused to consider the proposal put forward by the Workers' Committee to supplement Old Age Pensions from the National Relief Fund, where pensioners were in distress owing to the rise in the cost of living due to the war.

The administration of the National Relief Fund early aroused dissatisfaction. The South Wales miners had been paying 6d. per member per week into the fund. When they realised that their own members were little likely to get any good out of it they made an arrangement by which the money paid in by them was earmarked for the use of their own members. The National Union of Teachers, on the other hand, ceased to contribute to the National Relief Fund, and started a fund of their own for the relief of their members.

" (c) Trade Unions to be subsidised out of national funds to such an extent as will permit them (where provision of work is impossible) to pay members unemployed benefit without bankrupting their resources.

" 8. The encouragement and development of home-grown food supplies by the national organisation of agriculture, accompanied by drastic reductions of freight charges for all produce, in the interests of the whole people.

" 9. Protection of the people against exorbitant prices, especially in regard to food, by the enactment of maxima and the commandeering of supplies by the nation wherever advisable.

" 10. The inauguration of a comprehensive policy of municipal housing.

" 11. National care of motherhood, by the establishment of maternity and infant centres; the provision of nourishment for expectant and nursing mothers, of doctor or midwife at confinement, and of helps in the house while the mother is laid aside.

" 12. The compulsory provision of meals and clothing for school children, three meals a day, seven days a week.

" 13. The continuance of national control over railways, docks, and similar enterprises at the close of the war, with a view to the better organisation of production and distribution."

Such was the programme of the War Emergency Workers' National Committee. Hardly any of its demands were granted, and of the more important none were fully conceded. But such a statement does not fairly represent its achievements. Much of its work was in detail, much was preventive or critical. Faced by a hostile Government, and deprived of power and weight by the existence of the political and industrial truces it could do little to enforce its positive programme. What it could do was to prevent abuses and ameliorate the hardships to which the workers were subjected. It is true to say that it was chiefly due to this Emergency Committee that at the outset the workers were not utterly crushed by the burden and novel hardships of the European War.

NOTE ON GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES TO TRADE UNIONS.

On August 27th, 1914, a deputation from the Joint Board of the Trades Union Congress, the General Federation of Trade Unions, and the Labour Party met the Prime Minister and, in view of the heavy drain on the unemployment funds of the unions, made certain requests for the more easy realisation of union stock, the maintenance of unemployed members through arrangement with the Local Representation Committees, and for the subsidising of Trade Union unemployment benefits.

Although the problem of unemployment was then at its most acute stage, the Government gave no answer till October, when it issued the following scheme. Under Clause 106 of Part II. of the Insurance Act a union, on complying with stringent conditions, may obtain a refund of one-sixth of its Unemployment Benefit. To this there were now added emergency grants on the following conditions:—

" (1) That the association should be suffering from abnormal unemployment.

" (2) That the association should not pay Unemployment Benefit above a maximum rate of 17s. per week (including any sum paid by way of State Unemployment Benefit).

" (3) That the association should agree while in receipt of the emergency grant to impose levies over and above the ordinary contributions upon those members who remain fully employed.

" The amount of the emergency grant (in addition to the refund of one-sixth already payable) will be either one-third or one-sixth of the expenditure of the association on

Unemployment Benefit (exclusive of Strike Benefit). The rate of the grant will be determined by the amount of the levy in accordance with the following scale:—

Maximum rate of Unemployment Benefit paid by association.	Rate of weekly levy required to obtain emergency grant of	
	One-sixth.	One-third.
Not more than 17s.....	3d.	6d.
Not more than 15s.....	2d.	4d.
Not more than 13s.....	1d.	2d.

"For example, an association paying Unemployment Benefit at the rate of 12s. a week will, by imposing a levy of 2d. per week on the employed members, be qualified for an emergency grant of one-third of its expenditure, i.e., a total refund of one-half, taking into account the present refund of one-sixth.

"The same association, if it prefers only to impose a levy of a 1d. per week, will be qualified for an emergency grant of one-sixth, i.e., for a total refund of one-third.

"Associations paying higher rights of benefit would have to impose higher levies in order to qualify for the same proportionate refunds.

"Applications will also be entertained for emergency grants, which will be subject to special conditions, in respect of expenditure already incurred by associations on Unemployment Benefit since the August 4th, 1914."

It can be seen that the Government drove a hard bargain with the Trade Unions. The imposition of levies was considered unfair by many Trade Unionists, and the conditions of the levies, by which the poorer the union the less it got, bore very heavily on precisely those workers who were already suffering most severely from the war.

Thanks to their parsimony, the scheme has not cost the Government very much. The following table shows the emergency grants made up to the end of March, 1915.

Trade group.	Applications granted.		Amounts paid.
	Number of associations.	Membership.	
Building.....	1	61	£ 4 6 3
Metal*.....	18	8,372	1,165 11 2
Cotton†.....	133	220,954	64,772 4 7
Other textile.....	7	5,402	2,120 13 9
Printing.....	6	23,260	4,948 13 8
Woodwork.....	8	17,302	1,801 7 0
Other trades‡.....	9	8,427	1,943 8 8
TOTAL..	182	283,778	£76,756 5 1

* Textile machinery and jewellery workers. † Including bleaching, dyeing, and finishing in cotton. ‡ Leather workers, basket makers, hatters, tobacco (cigar) workers, etc.

Thus, only £76,000 was laid out by the Government during a period of seven months, and of this sum £64,000 went to cotton alone. This £64,000 was, however, not nearly sufficient to indemnify the cotton unions against the drain on their funds due almost entirely to the war.

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WAR EMERGENCY: WORKERS' NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

A National Conference of representatives of Labour organisations was called by the Secretary of the Labour Party at the House of Commons on Wednesday, August 5th, to consider the industrial and social position of the working classes as affected by the war. The Conference constituted itself a National Committee and appointed an Executive Committee, which has been added to from time to time. The Conference called for State and municipal action to purchase, store, and distribute food and to fix maximum prices of trade necessities. It also urged that the Government should take steps to prevent unemployment by itself carrying out works of public utility and by stimulating local authorities to adopt the same policy; that the Board of Education should use its influence to get local education authorities to put the Provision of Meals Act into force; and that the Local Government Board should call upon Health Committees to organise the milk supply for mothers, infants, and sick persons.

The Executive Committee, which is now known as the Workers' National Committee, has carried through a very large amount of work on the lines indicated by the decisions of the Conference.

The Committee is composed of the following representatives of all the various sections of the Labour and Socialist movement. The members are :—

Chairman, Robert Smillie (Miners' Federation of Great Britain); Vice-Chairman, J. O'Grady, M.P.; Treasurer, W. A. Appleton (Hamilton House, Bidborough Street, London, W.C.); J. A. Seddon, H. Gosling, L.C.C., Fred Bramley, C. W. Bowerman, M.P. (Trades Union Congress), J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., John Hodge, M.P., W. C. Anderson, M.P., W. H. Hutchinson (The Labour Party), Ben Cooper, Ben Tillet, W. A. Appleton (General Federation of Trade Unions), David Gilmour (Scottish Trades Union Congress), Robert Smillie, Herbert Smith, J. Winstone (Miners' Federation of Great Britain), J. Cross (United Textile Factory Workers), Albert Bellamy (National Union of Railwaymen), Robert Williams (National Federation of Transport Workers), W. B. Steer (National Union of Teachers), F. W. Jowett, M.P., H. Dubery (Independent Labour Party), Mrs. M. A. Gasson, B. Williams (the Co-operative Union), H. J. May (Co-operative Congress Parliamentary Committee), W. H. Brown (Stratford Co-operative Society), Miss Mary Macarthur (Women's Trade Union League), Miss Margaret Bondfield (Women's Co-operative Guild), Dr. Marion Phillips (Women's Labour League), Miss Susan Lawrence, L.C.C., Sidney Webb, W. Stephen Sanders (Fabian Society), H. M. Hyndman (British Socialist Party), and John Stokes (London Trades Council); Secretary, J. S. Middleton, 1, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

When the Local Government Board issued a circular in August, 1914, urging the formation of Local Committees to deal with distress arising through the war the Workers' National Committee promptly circularised Socialist, Co-operative, and Women's organisations throughout the country calling upon them to press for the establishment

of Local Committees and to do their utmost to secure adequate representation thereon. The Workers' National Committee also continually pressed upon the Local Government Board, with considerable success, the necessity of ensuring that the workers were represented on these Committees.

The method of relief of distress arising from the war also engaged the attention of the Workers' National Committee. It carried on an agitation for a proper scale of relief from the Prince of Wales' Fund, and had a vigorous discussion on the amount to be granted to persons and families in need, by correspondence with the Committee of that fund and the Cabinet Committee, which controlled the policy of relieving distress. The Workers' National Committee was not able to get its own scale adopted, but it secured a considerable improvement on that originally proposed by the Cabinet Committee.

One of the earliest successes of the Workers' National Committee was that it largely prevented the use of unpaid women's labour in connection with work rendered necessary by the war. It raised a strong protest against the appeals then being made for women to work for nothing, while hundreds of thousands of working women were out of employment. As the result of this protest the Central Committee for the Employment of Women was inaugurated by the Government. The Central Committee carried out a large amount of excellent work, including the establishment of work-rooms for women and the placing of Government contracts in trades where ordinary work had ceased or seriously declined.

The Workers' National Committee attempted to secure that no deductions from wages for National Insurance contributions should be made, during the war, from casual or low-paid labour. A deputation for this purpose waited upon the National Insurance Commissioners, who, however, declined to adopt the proposal, but promised amelioration of hardship by other means.

The Committee considered the subject of military and naval pensions and allowances, which, as first announced by the Government, were extremely low. The Committee organised a series of conferences on the subject throughout the country, and by this means and a vigorous Press campaign a large body of public opinion was created in favour of an increased scale. The Government eventually appointed a Committee to consider the matter, and its report, although not satisfactory to the Workers' National Committee, contained proposals now carried into effect which are a considerable improvement upon the old scale.

The Committee considered very thoroughly the question of food and fuel prices, which rose rapidly after the outbreak of war. The recommendations of the Conference, held on August 5th, were pressed upon the Government by deputation and correspondence, but the Government took no effective action. The Committee organised a series of conferences throughout the country calling for State action for the organisation of the food and fuel supply and the prevention of the exorbitant prices charged by private traders. After a long delay the Government has dealt, though in a most inadequate manner, with the price of coal, but with regard to food, except in the matter of sugar, the Government has taken no direct action.

The question of war contracts was taken into consideration by the Workers' National Committee, especially in relation to the erection

of huts for the Army. The Government had declined to follow the usual practice of publishing the names of their contractors, thus rendering it difficult to deal with the many complaints of sweating, long hours, and bad material which came before the Committee. However, after the Committee had exercised considerable pressure, the Government gave way and the list of contractors was published, as heretofore, in the "Labour Gazette." The Workers' National Committee then appointed a special Sub-Committee to inquire into the carrying out of contracts for the Army, and, after an exhaustive examination of evidence, a report, dealing chiefly with the contracts for huts, was issued and sent to the War Office. A discussion on the report arose in the House of Commons, where the statements of the Committee were met with the usual official denial. The Committee then pressed for a deputation to the War Office, which was received; the matter was discussed at length, and arrangements were made for all complaints from the Committee to be dealt with by the War Office.

The important question of War Service for Women was dealt with by the Committee. The Board of Trade issued in March, 1915, a circular asking women to enter certain occupations in order to release men for the Army. In order that proper safeguards should be insured against sweating and conditions the Committee called a National Conference in London on April 16th, 1915, at which resolutions were passed declaring that women should be paid equal pay for equal work; that they should join the Trade Union of the occupation they entered; that a living wage should be fixed as a minimum; that after the war preference in giving employment should be shown to men whose places had been filled by women, etc. These resolutions were sent to the Government, and the Conference was widely noticed in the Press.

The above are only a few of the subjects dealt with by the Committee. Others of importance are the Employment of Belgian Refugees, Child Labour in Agriculture, Old Age Pensions and the Rise of Prices, Outdoor Poor Relief, the Naval and Military War Pensions Bill, Distressed Relatives of Prisoners of War, London County Council Coal Contracts, Notification of Births (Extension) Bill, etc.

One of the latest successes of the Committee was its agitation to prevent £2,000,000 being taken from the Prince of Wales' Relief Fund to supplement military and naval pensions. It also secured declarations from the Home Secretary and the Minister of Education that no steps would be taken to allow of further increase in the employment of children of school age; nor would anything further be done to slacken regulations under the Factory Acts with regard to child labour.

The Committee has issued numerous reports and memoranda on the subjects it has considered, especially on food and fuel prices, war contracts, etc. The most important of the Committee's recent publications is a pamphlet effectively stating the case against conscription. It is in constant touch with many Government departments on questions arising from the effects of the war, and is the recognised channel by which the workers' grievances and complaints are brought to the notice of the departments. Its minutes and most of its reports are circulated regularly to Trade Unions, Trade Councils, Socialist organisations, and Co-operative Societies throughout the country.

THE RISE IN PRICES.

Coincident with the gradual disappearance of unemployment in the main industries of the country came a startling and unchecked rise in food prices. In the following table we show the percentage increase in prices during the fourteen months of war, from July, 1914, to September, 1915. The figures used are based on between 500 or 600 Board of Trade returns, taken from all towns with over 50,000 inhabitants, and the prices ruling in July, 1914, have been taken as a basis of comparison.

1914.					
July.	August 8th.	September.	October.	November.	December.
100	116	111	113	113	117

1915.								
Jan.	Feb.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.
119	123	126	126	128	135	135	136	137

A clearer conception of what this rise meant to the working class home can be obtained from the three following tables. They show respectively the percentage rise for particular necessities, the actual effect on the household's income, and the actual rise in the retail prices of 17 staple kinds of food.

A.

Article.	Percentage increase from July, 1914, to Sept., 1915.		Article.	Percentage increase from July, 1914, to Sept., 1915.	
	Large towns.	Small towns and villages		Large towns.	Small towns and villages
Beef, British—			Bread	40	36
Ribs.....	40	38	Tea	31	29
Thin flank.....	53	44	Sugar (granulated)	73	67
Beef, chilled or frozen—			Milk	13	11
Ribs.....	51	46	Butter—		
Thin flank.....	71	62	Fresh	24	26
Mutton, British—			Salt	23	27
Legs	30	30	Cheese	26	27
Breast.....	51	36	Margarine	5	4
Mutton, frozen—			Eggs (fresh)	43	38
Legs	47	40	Potatoes	2	5*
Breast.....	67	58			
Bacon (streaky)	26	20	All above articles		
Fish.....	85	55	(weighted net percent-		
Flour (households).....	41	47	age increase)	37	33

* Decrease

B.

(Illustrated from the changes in cost of the Board of Trade Standard Working-Class Budget*)

	Cost of one week's food for family.	Percentage increase above July, 1914.
1904	s. d. 22 6	...
1914—		
July	25 0	...
August 8th.....	29 0	16 per cent.
„ 29th.....	27 9	11 „
September 12th.....	27 9	11 „
„ 30th.....	28 3	13 „
October 30th.....	28 3	13 „
December 1st	29 3	17 „
1915—		
January 1st.....	29 9	19 „
February 1st.....	30 9	23 „
March 1st.....	31 6	26 „
April 1st.....	31 6	26 „
May 1st.....	32 0	28 „
June 1st.....	33 9	35 „
July 1st.....	33 9	35 „
August 1st.....	34 0	36 „
September 1st.....	34 3	37 „

* In this table the 1904 Estimate of the Board of Trade which gave 22s. 6d. as the standard weekly expenditure on food per working class family is taken as the basis of comparison. The cost, 22s. 6d., was taken by the Board of Trade to be 61 per cent. of the family income, which was reckoned at 36s. 10d. a week. Needless to say, this does not represent the average wage of the worker. The average wage of even the adult male worker throughout the United Kingdom is certainly not more than 25s. 9d. per week.

C.

AVERAGE PRICES PAID BY THE WORKERS FOR CERTAIN ARTICLES OF FOOD AT 1st MARCH, 1914, 1st MARCH, 1915, AND 1st JUNE, 1915.

The figures relate to the average of retail prices in 80 of the principal towns of the United Kingdom.

Article.	Average price per lb. (except bread—4lb.)		
	1st March, 1914.	1st March, 1915.	1st June, 1915.
Bread.....	5½d.	7¾d.	8½d.
Butter:			
Fresh.....	1s. 3½d.	1s. 4½d.	1s. 5d.
Salt.....	1s. 3d.	1s. 3½d.	1s. 4½d.
Jam*.....	5d.	5¾d.	5¾d.
Cheese.....	8¾d.	10½d.	11¾d.
Bacon†.....	11d.	1s.	1s. 1d.
Beef, British:			
Ribs.....	9¾d.	11d.	1s. 1¾d.
Thin flank.....	6½d.	7¾d.	9½d.
Beef, chilled or frozen:			
Ribs.....	7½d.	8¾d.	10½d.
Thin flank.....	5d.	6½d.	7¾d.
Mutton, English:			
Leg.....	10½d.	11½d.	1s. 1½d.
Breast.....	6½d.	7½d.	9d.
Mutton, frozen:			
Leg.....	6¾d.	8½d.	9½d.
Breast.....	4½d.	5½d.	6½d.
Oatmeal, Scotch.....	2d. to 2½d.	2½d.	2½d.
Tea.....	1s. 6d.	1s. 9½d.	1s. 10½d.
Sugar, granulated.....	2d.	3½d.	3½d.

* The figures stated are the means of the prices of three popular kinds of jam.

† The kind of bacon enumerated in the form of inquiry is "streaky," but in places in which such bacon has only a small sale, the price of the popular local variety is substituted.

How has this situation been dealt with by the Government and by Labour? After their first action in checking the purely panic rise of the first weeks of August by fixing maxima, the Government retired from the scene. When prices still continued to rise afterwards, Mr. Asquith cynically advised patience until June. With the coming of June the Government became less somnolent, and produced a Coal Prices Bill which only allowed for the limitation of coal prices at the pit-mouth. With that for the moment we leave the action of the State, and turn to examine the demands of the workers. The War Emergency: Workers' National Committee had turned its attention to this question from the very first, and later, as shown in its programme as given on page 35, it had tabled the following proposals:—

The encouragement and development of home-grown food supplies by the National Organisation of Agriculture, accompanied by drastic reductions of freight charges for all produce, in the interests of the whole people.

Protection of the people against exorbitant prices, especially in regard to food, by the enactment of maxima and the commandeering of supplies by the nation wherever advisable.

Right through the first few months of the war there was a general feeling that each month prices had reached their climax, and that by waiting a little longer the workers would see prices fall again. By the New Year it was clear that this hope was illusory, and the Prices Campaign was begun in earnest. The Workers' Committee issued a memorandum on January 21st, 1915, on the prices of wheat, in which they proved conclusively that increased freightage rates were the chief cause. They reprinted an illuminating sentence from the "Journal of Commerce" for November 27th, a periodical representing shipping interests, which ran as follows:—

The opportunities now open to British shipping are obvious. There are no more cut rates by subsidised German vessels. German ships being swept off the sea, we have now no serious competitors in the carrying trade of the world.

In a further memorandum on coal they showed that coalowners, and still more the retail coal merchants, were making large profits from war conditions. The other causes of the rise in prices need not be detailed here, but it should be noted that the high contract prices ruling in munition trades and the full use made by the capitalists of the law of supply and demand had no small effect on the general rise in the cost of living. The Committee, therefore, issued the following recommendation on January 28th, 1915:—

1. That maximum prices for coal should be fixed by the Government.
2. That railway trucks belonging to the separate railway companies and to private traders should be pooled and run to their fullest economic use.
3. That in fixing shipping freights for vessels under their control the Government should have regard to normal rates rather than to the excessive rates inflicted by private shipowners. We also reiterate our demand for public control of general merchant shipping.
4. That the Government commandeer coal supplies and distribute to household consumers through municipal or co-operative agencies.
5. That district conferences on this and kindred subjects be organised in various industrial centres.

On the same day it was also resolved:—

That the recommendations of the Prices Sub-Committee be endorsed, and that the Secretary arrange for a series of District Conferences to be held on Saturday, February 13th.

Two days before the District Conferences were held a debate took place in the House of Commons on the following motion, which had been tabled by the Labour Party:—

That, in the opinion of this House, the present rise in the prices of food, coal, and other necessities of life is not justified by any economic consequence of the war, but it

largely caused by the holding up of stocks and by the inadequate provision of transport facilities. This House is, therefore, further of opinion that the Government should prevent this unjustifiable increase by employing the shipping and railway facilities necessary to put the required supplies on the market by fixing maximum prices and by acquiring control of commodities that are or may be subject to artificial costs.

It was during the course of this debate that Mr. Asquith tendered the workers his sympathy, and advised them to "wait till June," perhaps the most definite contribution of the Government to the subsequent Labour unrest. This speech aroused great irritation throughout the country, and at all the conferences the following resolution was carried unanimously:—

That this conference expresses its deep indignation and disappointment at the refusal of the Government to take effective measures to deal with the alarming rises in the cost of food and fuel. It appeals to the House of Commons to force the Government to take immediate steps to relieve the unupportable burden which the cost of the necessities of life is imposing upon the working classes, and to demand that the following definite proposals be substituted for the policy of inaction put forward by the Prime Minister.*

The London Conference of February 13th went further, and added the following clause:—

That we express our approval of the splendid stand made by Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., in the House of Commons on Thursday during the debate on food prices. Further, we express the hope that the Labour Party, in view of the Prime Minister's speech, will force the issue in support of their own resolution to a division unless a more satisfactory statement be secured from the Government.

The House of Commons debate, which had been adjourned, was resumed on February 17th. The Labour Party, in accordance with the London resolution, tried to press their amendments to a division, but the Speaker refused to allow a division to be taken. On February 18th, the Workers' Committee again met, and resolved to call a National Conference on food and fuel prices for March 12th, to be held in London. This Conference was duly called, and, after considerable discussion and amendment, passed the following resolutions:—

WHEAT PRICES, ETC.

1. That the most effective action that the Government can now take to reduce wheat prices is to intervene to remedy the deficiency in carrying-ships; and that the Government should at once take steps to obtain the control of more ships and itself bring wheat from Argentina, Canada, and elsewhere at the bare cost of transport.

2. That the Government should endeavour to secure control over such proportion of the Russian and other supplies as may be necessary for the need of the country, and so prevent further speculation and exploitation.

3. That the Government should buy the present stock of British wheat at fair prices.

4. That the Government should set up a representative Committee, upon which Labour interests should be adequately included, to determine the price to be paid for the home supply, freightage charges on imported wheat not being taken into account in determining the purchase price. The Committee shall also fix prices for the re-sale of both the home and imported supplies at rates not exceeding 40s. per quarter, any loss thus incurred to be borne by the National Exchequer.

5. That the Government should take steps to develop and commandeer the 1915 crop, and sell at a fixed price, to be determined by the Committee indicated.

6. That in determining prices the payment of adequate wages to agricultural workers should be taken into consideration.

7. That the Government should take immediate steps to fix maximum prices for other foodstuffs and control house rents.

COAL PRICES.

1. That maximum prices for coal should be fixed by the Government.

2. That railway trucks, belonging both to the separate railway companies and to private traders, should be pooled and run to their fullest economic use.

3. That in fixing shipping freights for coasting vessels under their control the Government should have regard to normal rates rather than to the excessive rates inflicted by private shipowners

* The proposals referred to are the five recommendations on page 42.

4. That the Government commandeered coal supplies and distribute to consumers through municipal or co-operative.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. That the municipal representatives present be requested to convene town's meetings in their respective localities to urge the Government to take action as indicated in the foregoing resolutions.

2. That should the Government decline to carry out what is demanded by this Conference the Conference calls upon the Labour Party in the House to take all and every measure possible—by drastic political action, by dividing the House or by any other steps—to force the Government to take action in the manner indicated.

3. That copies of the resolutions passed by this Conference be sent to the executives and branches of all Trade Union and Co-operative Societies, and to the municipal Councils, Socialist, and other bodies represented here to-day, with a request that in every district throughout the country deputations to local Members of Parliament be organised and a request be made that such members support the proposals in the House of Commons; and that the War Emergency Workers' National Committee be asked to organise a national deputation, representative of this Conference, to wait upon the Prime Minister and Ministers concerned in order to lay the proposals before them and to urge upon the Government the seriousness and gravity of the present national crisis.

With the adoption of these resolutions the action of the workers for the time being came to an end. Largely, however, as a result of the agitation, a Departmental Committee, which included a Labour Member of Parliament, Mr. Will Crooks, was appointed by the Government to inquire into retail coal prices. Their report, issued at the beginning of April, completely bore out the contentions of the workers' representatives as to the cause of the rise in the price of coal. The Committee appear to have been alive to the seriousness of the situation, and their final remarks and recommendations are as follows:—

The Committee direct attention to the fact that certain owners have made a practice of reducing their deliveries under contract, on the ground of reduction of output. The Committee have grave doubts as to the legality of this practice, and cannot but regard it as highly questionable when it enables the coalowner to sell a larger quantity of "free coal" at greatly enhanced prices.

The Committee regard the outlook for next winter as serious and requiring immediate consideration. They consider that the question can only be dealt with by measures affecting the coal industry as a whole (including gas and industrial coal as well as household coal); and they recommend:—

- (a) The temporary restriction of exports to neutral countries;
- (b) Consultation with the London County Council and other public bodies concerned, with a view to considering whether those bodies should not, during the coming summer, acquire and store in or near London stocks of household coal to be sold to traders supplying small consumers during next winter;
- (c) A further reduction of freights on the interned steamers now being used to convey coals, especially gas coals, from the North;
- (d) Use for coal transport of suitable enemy ships condemned by prize courts;
- (e) If prices do not shortly return to a reasonable level, the Government should consider a scheme for assuming control of the output of collieries during the continuance of the war.

For three more months the Government delayed. At length in July the Coal Prices Bill was introduced into Parliament, and became law. Despite drastic amendment, the Act really failed to deal with the problem as it had affected Labour for the previous ten months.

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR LIMITATION OF THE PRICE OF COAL.

[29TH JULY, 1915.]

BE it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

I.—LIMITATION OF PRICE OF COAL AT THE PIT'S MOUTH.

(1) Coal at the pit's mouth shall not be sold or offered for sale directly or indirectly by the owner of the coal or on his behalf at a price exceeding by more than the standard amount per ton the price of coal of the same description, sold in similar quantities, and under similar conditions affecting the sale, at the pit's mouth at the same coal mine on the corresponding date (or as near thereto as, having regard to the course of business,

may be practicable) in the twelve months ended the thirtieth day of June nineteen hundred and fourteen (in this Act referred to as the corresponding price).

(2) The standard amount shall be four shillings: Provided that the Board of Trade may, by order, if they are satisfied, as respects any class of coal mines specified in the order or the coal mines in any district so specified, that owing to special circumstances affecting those mines the standard amount of four shillings should be increased, substitute for that amount such higher sum as they may think just in the circumstances; and as respects those mines this Act shall have effect as if the higher sum so substituted were the standard amount.

(3) If any person sells or offers for sale any coal in contravention of this section he shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds or, at the discretion of the court, to a fine not exceeding treble the amount by which the sum paid or payable for any coal sold by him in contravention of this section exceeds the maximum sum which would have been paid or payable for the coal if there had been no contravention of this section: Provided that a person shall not be liable to a fine under this provision if he shows that he had reasonable grounds to believe that he was not committing an offence.

(4) This section shall apply (both as respects the price at which coal is sold or offered for sale and as respects the corresponding price) to a case where the owner of coal at the pit's mouth has sold or offered to sell that coal at a price which includes the cost of railway or other incidental services besides the actual value of the coal at the pit's mouth, as if he had sold or offered to sell it at the pit's mouth at that price reduced by an amount representing the cost of those services.

(5) It is hereby declared that nothing in this section shall affect the rights or obligations of any person under any contract or agreement for the sale of coal except, in cases where the sale is in contravention of this section, as respects so much of the price as exceeds the maximum price which could have been charged for the coal if there had been no contravention of this section.

2.—LIMITATION OF CHARGE FOR WAGON HIRE.

(1) Where coal is conveyed from the pit's mouth over any railway in trucks not belonging to a railway company, the seller of such coal shall not be entitled to charge for the use of the trucks any sum exceeding by more than 50 per cent. the sum which the railway company conveying the coal was actually charging for the provision of trucks at the commencement of this Act.

(2) If any person charges or attempts to charge for the use of any trucks in contravention of this section, he shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds.

3.—DECISION OF QUESTION BY THE BOARD OF TRADE.

(1) If in any proceedings any question is raised as to the corresponding price of any coal, or as to the cost of railway or other incidental services, or as to the sums charged for the use or provision of trucks, the court shall refer the question for determination by the Board of Trade, and the decision of the Board shall be final and conclusive for all purposes.

(2) If for any reason there are not adequate data at any coal mine from which to ascertain, in accordance with the foregoing provisions of this Act, the corresponding price at that mine, the Board of Trade may fix that price having regard to data afforded from sales of coal at other mines.

(3) The Board of Trade may require the owner of any coal mine to furnish such information as appears to them necessary for the purpose of carrying into effect this Act; and if any person refuses to furnish any such information when so required, or furnishes information which is false in any material particular, he shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds.

(4) The Board of Trade Arbitrations, etc., Act, 1874, shall apply as if this Act were a special Act within the meaning of the first-mentioned Act.

4.—APPLICATION, SHORT TITLE AND DURATION.

(1) This Act shall not apply to any sale of coal for export, or to any sale of coal for the manufacture of patent fuel for export, or to any sale of coal to be used on any ship.

(2) This Act shall not apply to the sale of coal supplied in pursuance of a contract made before the commencement of this Act:

Provided that where any contract has been made on or after the first day of April, nineteen hundred and fifteen, and before the commencement of this Act, for the sale of coal by the owner thereof at the pit's mouth, coal delivered under that contract after the expiration of the period fixed under this provision, and shown to be excepted coal within the meaning of this provision, shall, if the other party to the contract within two months after the commencement of this Act gives notice in writing to that effect to the owner of the coal at the pit's mouth, be deemed for the purposes of this Act to be sold at the time of the delivery thereof.

If, in consequence of this provision, the price to be paid by any person to whom coal is delivered is reduced by any amount, the price to be paid by any person to whom the coal is delivered in pursuance of any subsidiary contract shall be reduced by an equivalent amount; and any purchaser under any such subsidiary contract shall have the same right to give notice to the owner of the coal at the pit's mouth as the person who has made the original contract with that owner, and any person who has sold the coal shall, if required, communicate to the purchaser the name of the person from whom the coal has been bought.

For the purpose of this provision "excepted coal" means coal supplied for domestic or household purposes to any person and coal supplied for any purpose to any local authority, or to any undertakers supplying gas, water, or electricity in any locality in pursuance of authority given by an Act of Parliament, or by an Order confirmed by, or having the effect of, an Act.

The period fixed under this provision shall be a period of three months after the commencement of this Act, but the owner of the coal at the pit's mouth may apply to the Board of Trade for an extension of that period, and the Board of Trade may, if they are satisfied that there are special reasons in the case in question for such an extension, extend the period for such time as they think just under the circumstances, and the period as so extended shall in such a case be the period fixed under this provision.

(3) This Act shall not apply to coal raised in Ireland.

(4) This Act may be cited as the Price of Coal (Limitation) Act, 1915.

(5) This Act shall have effect during the continuance of the present war and a period of six months thereafter.

In May the Board of Trade, as a consequence of consultations with representatives of the retail coal merchants in the London district, announced that a large number of firms had come to an arrangement for a limitation of profits during the summer, and it was anticipated that the arrangement would be carried into the winter. Nevertheless, prices ruling in London in early October are 29s. to 34s. per ton, as against 30s. to 32s. in January, 1915, so that a slight reduction in the lower grades is more than balanced by the increases charged for the better qualities.

The fact that the London County Council contracted for coal at rates exceeding previous contracts by 5s. 8d. to 15s. 9d. per ton is a notable indication of the power of the coal trade over the public, though it is anticipated that the Prices Limitation Act will serve to reduce these charges to some extent.

With this we may conclude the account of the attitude that was taken up by the Government and the capitalist towards Labour, so long as Labour confined its efforts to the passing of resolutions, to the criticism of scandals, and within the ordinary channels of political agitation. With the closing of the Food Prices Campaign, Labour found itself economically in a worse position than at any time since 1900. The prices of necessities were still rising; wages were still, in the main, stationary: the financier, the shipowner, the railway magnate, and the contractor had been treated by the Government with indulgent generosity; the workers were still vainly knocking at the door. As Mr. Cole has rightly pointed out, "Labour alone has been expected to make every sacrifice without return or gratitude. Employed, the worker was handed over to the sweater; unemployed, he fell into the clutches of the Relief Committee; as consumer, he was the victim of profiteers whom the Government would not control; but as soon as he stirred a finger in his own interest, he was proclaimed a traitor and ordered back to work."*

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* "Labour in War Time," p. 114.

THE COMMITTEE ON PRODUCTION.

WAGES AND THE INDUSTRIAL TRUCE.

As we have seen, the opening months of 1915 found Labour profoundly dissatisfied. In the early autumn it had ceased from its unrest, but during the winter many things had happened to make it regret its premature and one-sided sacrifice of the industrial weapon. First comes the hostility or indifference of the Government to the interests of the workers; then the unexampled rise in the cost of living; and finally, the growing feeling that the capitalists were "making good" out of the war and out of the needs of the nation.

To these three things in particular must be ascribed that renewal of trade movements which has been called the breakdown of the Industrial Truce.

How real this sacrifice was can be seen from the fact that in August, 1914, practically every outstanding dispute was declared closed on the basis of the *status quo ante*, that new movements were abandoned, and that the number of strikes fell from 118 and 99 in June and July respectively to 15 and 23 in August and September; and the number of workers involved from 45,747 in July to 2,792 in September. As the following three tables show, the recourse to a "down tools" policy has only been at all noticeable since February, 1915, and even then the number of disputes and disputants is infinitesimal compared with any ordinary year:—

A.—LABOUR DISPUTES DURING THE WAR.

	Disputes beginning.	Workers involved in new disputes.		Workers involved in all disputes.
		Directly.	Indirectly.	
June*	118	33,606	7,511	82,752
July*	99	45,747	3,623	98,112
August	15	1,975	29	49,804
September	23	2,972	383	13,025
October	27	5,026	4,420	20,677
November	25	4,665	427	8,061
December	17	1,190	2	3,065
1915—				
January	30	3,436	646	5,889
February	47	26,129	2,878	31,060
March	74	12,982	3,377	33,903
April	44	5,137	440	10,222
May	63	39,913	8,327	51,575
June	72	17,904	4,426	40,999
July	40	202,095†	1,989	209,261†
August	49	23,945	2,918	28,870
September	55	14,170	2,169	52,869

* The figures for June and July, 1914, are given to show the fall in the number of disputes which followed the declaration of war.

† These figures are due to the dispute in the South Wales coalfield.

B.—I. DISPUTES IN THE LAST FIVE MONTHS OF 1913 AND OF 1914.

Groups of trades.	August to December, 1913.			August to December, 1914.		
	No. of disputes.	Number of workers involved.	Aggregate duration in working days of all disputes in progress.	No. of disputes.	Number of workers involved.	Aggregate duration in working days of all disputes in progress.
Building	73	13,524	376,629	...	*	*
Coal mining	89	85,957	687,414	37	21,688	273,400
Other mining and quarrying	9	3,835	236,070	6	335	19,600
Engineering	82	18,853	403,564	13	2,793	322,800
Shipbuilding	48	12,433	81,095	16	503	16,100
Other metal	49	25,855	325,736	11	1,681	56,500
Textile	91	29,576	717,900	14	2,743	244,200
Clothing	25	4,808	35,410	11	1,046	2,200
Transport	52	28,873	217,492	17	1,887	25,900
Other trades	126	32,192	510,022	43	2,474	78,300
TOTAL	644	255,906	3,591,332	168	35,150	1,039,000

* The figures for Building are small, and it has been found impossible to ascertain them exactly. The whole of the Tables B I. and B II. must be regarded as approximate and subject to revision.

B.—II. DISPUTES IN THE FIRST SEVEN MONTHS OF 1914 AND OF 1915.

Groups of trades.	January to July, 1914.			January to July, 1915.		
	No. of disputes.	Number of workers involved.	Aggregate duration in working days of all disputes in progress.	No. of disputes.	Number of workers involved.	Aggregate duration in working days of all disputes in progress.
Building	143	38,914	3,250,300	31	10,102	88,900
Coal mining	114	249,995	3,464,100	33	232,861	1,423,800
Other mining and quarrying	13	1,039	42,900	2	103	3,100
Engineering	74	16,432	600,300	65	19,831	191,900
Shipbuilding	71	16,455	107,100	32	3,555	27,300
Other metal	42	12,359	235,000	29	10,041	48,100
Textile	81	19,110	480,900	48	26,718	219,300
Clothing	35	2,934	56,700	26	3,405	15,200
Transport	38	11,755	68,600	56	17,408	109,100
Other trades	161	43,138	599,900	92	19,656	207,000
TOTAL	772	412,131	9,105,800*	414	343,680	2,333,700

* The aggregate duration in 1914 of the general dispute at Dublin (200,000 working days) is included in the total, but not in the separate groups of trades

C.—PRINCIPAL LABOUR DISPUTES DURING THE WAR.

		Duration in days.
1914.		
August	1,200 miners, Bishop Auckland (abnormal places)	4
September ...	750 shipyard workers, Leith (alteration in walking time allowance)	5
"	600 leather workers, Birmingham (wages)	1
October.....		—
November ...	1,375 miners, Ruabon (Minimum Wage Act).....	4
"	1,000 seamen, Liverpool (wages)	10
December ...		—
1915.		
January.....	500 moulders, etc., Birmingham (wages)	5
"	266 boot operatives, Rushden (refusal to work with non-unionists)	3
February	700 navvies, etc., Edinburgh (wages)	15
"	4,000 carpenters and labourers, Salisbury Plain (against deductions for bad time-keeping)†	—
"	8,350 engineers, etc., Clyde (wages).....	14
"	4,000 jute workers, Dundee (wages).....	6
"	5,000 dockers, London (demand for engagement outside dock gates)	6
March	2,136 miners, Merthyr Tydvil (against employment of non-unionists)	2
"	464 engineers, etc., Sandbach (wages—recognition)	?
"	2,000 dockers, Birkenhead (against new agreement).....	4 week-end stoppages
"	1,500 stevedores, London (wages).....	5
April	850 miners, Pontardawe (against employment of non-unionists)	7
"	600 moulders, Paisley (wages)	1
"	570 malleable iron casters, etc., Walsall (wages)	18
May	1,500 builders' labourers, Woolwich (wages)	3
"	639 building workers, Northampton (wages)	24
"	3,000 miners, Dudley (dispute about war bonus).....	3
"	5,000 miners, Cannock and Pelsall (dispute about war bonus)	3
"	700 motor-cycle makers, Bristol (wages)	8
"	1,047 engineers, Leicester (against cheap labour)	?*
"	10,000 hosiery workers, Leicester (wages).....	2
"	6,900 tramway workers, London (wages, etc.)	19
June	1,084 miners, near Pontypridd (refusal to work with non-unionists)	3
"	1,538 miners, Rhondda Valley (refusal to work with non-unionists)	2
"	300 (about) engineers' labourers, etc., Darlington (wages).....	3
"	944 card and ring room (cotton) workers, Oldham, etc. (wages)	22
"	330 dock workers, Preston (wages).....	7
"	306 pottery workers, the Potteries (wages)	21
"	449 woodyard workers, Bo'ness (refusal to work with non-unionist)	3
"	2,000 explosives workers, Ardeer (victimisation of two clerks)	4
July	260,000 miners, South Wales (wages).....	9
August	2,289 building workers, London (for discharge of general foreman and reinstatement of sectional foreman)	1
"	792 miners, etc., Wrexham (for discharge of a fireman)	1
"	1,500 miners, etc., Pontypridd (refusal to work with non-unionists)	1
"	12,000 miners, etc., South Wales (payment at rate of six shifts for five to enginemen, etc.).....	7
"	431 Shipwrights, Clyde (reinstatement of two men)	9
"	592 razor grinders, etc., Sheffield (wages).....	—
"	1,200 weavers, etc., near Burnley (for standard price list)	—

* Soon settled.

† Strike soon broken; no actual settlement.

Only when it had been proved beyond doubt that the Government and the employers were not ready to secure to the workers the real rates existing before the war did Labour begin to exert industrial pressure. With the failure of peaceful methods came the adoption of active Trade Union effort; union after union, industry after industry, put forward claims for increased remuneration to meet the extra cost of living.

The extent to which these claims were met depended almost entirely upon the strategic position of the workers, and in hardly a single case was an increase granted without considerable difficulty.

During the last five months of 1914 there had been practically no important advances in wages. Only two cases are deserving of mention. In the London district 20,000 engineers who had not accepted the Industrial Truce secured advances of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on piece rates, or 3s. a week ($\frac{3}{4}$ d. an hour) on time rates; and 15,000 Birmingham engineers won 5 per cent. or 2s. a week. In January, 1915, the advances were still confined to the engineering industry, 7,500 Liverpool engineers securing $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. or 3s. a week, and 6,100 Bolton engineers $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. or 1s. a week. In February the movement for increases became general, and advances began to be won in other industries.

About the middle of the month the National Union of Railwaymen and the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen accepted from the railway companies a war bonus of 3s. a week to all men earning less than 30s. and 2s. a week to all who were earning more than 30s. With this acceptance of a war bonus by the railwaymen a step had been taken that largely conditioned the actions and plans of the rest of Labour. Henceforward war bonuses and not permanent advances in wages became the rule. Here it is perhaps well to point out that the whole policy of accepting war bonuses has been, and still is, adversely criticised by many leaders. To them the danger lies in the fact that no permanent increase of wages results. Certain it is that the need for extra remuneration will not disappear with the cessation of hostilities, and the indefiniteness of the meaning of the term "war bonus" may well be taken advantage of by the employers. In too many agreements it can be argued that the end of the war means the end of the bonus. If this is the case the acceptance of a bonus will involve Labour in a struggle for the maintenance of the standard of living just when Labour is weakest, in the period immediately succeeding the war.

The next important event in the Labour world is the beginning of the Clyde strike on February 16th. It is worth while, in view of the fact that this marks a very definite stage in the history of Labour during the war, to give a detailed account of this strike.

Since January, 1912, the engineers' standard rate in the Glasgow district had been 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour. Under the agreement made when this rate was secured no change could take place for three years. During that period, and particularly in 1913, all other classes of organised workers, including engineering workers in other centres, obtained substantial increases in their money wages as the result of unprecedented trade prosperity. In June, 1914, the Glasgow District Committee of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers decided that, on the agreement terminating, a demand should be made for an increase of 2d. per hour. This amount was fixed (1) to meet the increased cost of living, (2) to keep pace with the rising standard of life, and (3) to bring the engineers' wages more on a level with those paid in other skilled trades in the district and with engineers' rates in other districts. Thus the application made by the engineers was decided on before the war broke out, and independently of the rise in the cost of living due to the war. The usual notice of a proposed change is four weeks, and on December 7th a demand for the determined increase was sent to the North-Western

Employers' Association, the advance to take effect with the pay-week commencing January 13th, 1915.

An agreement for avoiding disputes between the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and Employers' Federation provides that no stoppage of work, partial or general, shall take place until any question raised has been taken from the works involved to a local conference, and thence to a central (or national) conference. On either party asking for a local conference, it must take place within seven days. Central conferences meet on the second Friday of each month and deal with any question referred not less than a fortnight previously. Taking full advantage of a technical omission from the society's communication, the employers did not reply until December 30th—on the eve of the New Year holidays—and then, without discussion, refused the demand as unreasonable. The District Committee issued an instruction to the men to withdraw their labour on January 20th, failing an adequate offer by the employers to meet the demand. The employers took fright and offered a conference for the 21st, but the District Committee insisted that it must be held prior to the 20th, and a meeting took place on the 19th. After five hours' discussion, during which the employers offered $\frac{1}{4}$ d. immediately and another $\frac{1}{4}$ d. three months afterwards, the conference was adjourned until the 22nd. On this date the employers' attitude was found to have changed for the worse. Despite the impossible offer the discussion at the first meeting had been quite friendly; the second conference lasted only 15 minutes; the employers refused to argue the question further, and tabled an immediate rise of $\frac{1}{4}$ d. as their final word. The dispute was then referred to the Central Conference, whose first ordinary meeting was due on February 12th. The men's demand was originally made in time for reference to the Central Conference of January 15th.

Incensed by this delay and the paltry offer, the men in several shops ceased working overtime on war contracts. An unofficial mass meeting demanded that the District Committee should order a stoppage of overtime until the employers agreed to hold a special conference. While at one with the men's demand the District Committee urged fruitlessly the continuance of overtime. About 15 shops, including all the important armament firms, were affected. At an official mass meeting the Executive Council of the society, through two representatives, appealed for a resumption of overtime on the ground that the stoppage would prejudice their demand. The E.C. had received a letter from the Employers' Federation which hinted that their Conference Committee might consider the men's action to be "a partial stoppage of work," and refuse to discuss the wage-reference from the north-western area at the Central Conference. The men, however, remained firm, and re-emphasised their demand for the full 2d. increase. The conference of February 12th resulted in a joint recommendation of an increase of $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per hour for six months or the duration of the war, to date from acceptance.

The men's Executive explained later that without a joint recommendation the conference would have ended in disagreement, and as all over the country offers of considerably less than the original demand had been accepted they felt justified in giving the Clyde members an opportunity of voting on the $\frac{3}{4}$ d. But this explanation, whether satisfactory or otherwise, was too late, and the Executive gave fresh cause for exasperation by dating the return of the ballot figures for March 9th! This was the last straw. In view of their certain

rejection of the offer with almost as certainly another conference following, the men felt the delay was intolerable, and at dinner time on February 16th the shop where the discontent was strongest came out. Shop after shop on the Clyde followed, and by the end of the month fully half the engineers in the district were on the streets. A Central Withdrawal of Labour Control Committee aided by district committees kept the men together. This committee not only insisted on the full 2d., but claimed that the employers or the Government (now threatening intervention) must deal with them and not with the society's officials. Their claim was based on the ground (1) that the officials were not, owing to Government pressure, free agents; and (2) only the C.W.L.C.C. represented all the unions concerned.

The ballot, now returnable by February 24th, resulted in a decisive rejection of the employers' offer by 8,927 votes to 829. At this point the Government intervened. On February 26th the following letter was sent by the Chief Industrial Commissioner to employers and workers:—

Sir,—From inquiries which have been made as to the position of the disputes in the engineering trade in the Glasgow district, it appears that the parties concerned have been unable to arrive at a settlement. In consequence of the delay the requirements of the nation are being seriously endangered.

I am instructed by the Government that important munitions of war urgently required by the Navy and Army are being held up by the present cessation of work, and that they must call for a resumption of work on Monday morning, March 1st.

Immediately following resumption of work arrangements will be made for the representatives of the parties to meet the Committee on Production in Engineering and Shipbuilding Establishments for the purpose of the matters in dispute being referred for settlement to a Court of Arbitration, who shall also have power to fix the date from which the settlement shall take effect.

I am, yours faithfully,

G. R. ASKWITH, Chief Industrial Commissioner.

Whether this letter was meant as a request or a command has never been clearly explained. At any rate, the Executive Committee of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers took it in the latter sense and urged the men to return. The Central Withdrawal of Labour Control Committee, on the other hand, subject to certain conditions, advised the men to resume on Thursday, March 4th, three days after the expiry of the Government's ultimatum. The resumption actually began on the Wednesday, and was complete by the week-end.

Though work was resumed, feeling still ran very high. When the Central Conference met on March 6th it reached no agreement, and on the request of the Government the matter was referred to arbitration of the Committee on Production. On March 24th the Government Committee issued its award as follows:—

We have given full consideration to the arguments advanced by the respective representatives and to all the circumstances of the case, and our finding is that in settlement of the application for an advance the wages of the workers in the trades represented should be increased as follows, viz.: 1d. per hour or 4s. per week (according to the custom of payment in the various shops) on time rates, and 10 per cent. on piece rates, the advances to come into operation as from the beginning of the first full pay week after February 22nd, 1915, and to be regarded as war wages and recognised as due to and dependent on the existence of the abnormal conditions now prevailing in consequence of the war.

Thus, instead of getting the permanent increase of 2d. an hour which they had demanded all through the negotiations and disputes, the Clyde engineers received only 1d. an hour and that in the form of a "war bonus." That is, the advance in money wages they secured was not sufficient even to bring the Clyde standard rate up to

the level obtaining in other parts of Britain, let alone to meet the rise in the cost of living prior to the war, whilst it did nothing whatever to make up for the increase in the cost of living due to the war.

During the Clyde strike there was felt for the first time that need for the better organisation of munition industries, which became more and more pressing as the year proceeded. After the New Year the Government had begun to perceive that the question of the proper supply of munitions was too large to be dealt with through the ordinary channels of War Office and Admiralty contracts and sub-contracts. At first the whole business of the organisation of industry was confined to the organisation of Labour. It was gradually being discovered that affairs in the world of employers and workers would not go smoothly if left to themselves. Therefore, on February 4th the Government appointed a Committee on Production in Engineering and Shipbuilding Establishments "to inquire and report forthwith, after consultation with the representatives of employers and workmen, as to the best steps to be taken to ensure that the productive power of the employees in engineering and shipbuilding establishments working for Government purposes shall be made fully available so as to meet the needs of the nation in the present emergency."

The Committee, which consisted of Sir G. Askwith, Sir F. Hopwood, and Sir G. Gibb, lost no time in getting to work, and by March 4th had issued four reports, covering six different questions.

Section B of the Second Interim Report dealt with stoppages of work, and recommended that any differences arising between workers and employers should be referred to an impartial tribunal nominated by the Government. At the same time (March 4th), the Government intimated their concurrence in the Committee's recommendation, and with a view to providing the necessary tribunal indicated therein, extended the original reference to the Committee by empowering them to accept and deal with any cases arising under the recommendation. Thus the Committee of Production was given a second function, that of dealing with Labour disputes. With this second function we shall deal first, and in so doing we shall survey the history of the more important disturbances and trade movements after the 4th of February.

THE ORGANISATION OF LABOUR.

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND ENGINEERS IN DECEMBER, 1914, AND JANUARY, 1915.

The attempt made by the employers to organise their own concerns before the Government stepped in and their failure must first be briefly narrated. The shortage of labour in the engineering industry (largely caused by the lack of foresight of the employers and the Government) was already becoming acute in November, 1914. In December, 1914, the employers approached the unions with proposals for overcoming the difficulty. These proposals meant nothing less than the scrapping of all Trade Union regulations as to skilled and unskilled, demarcation of work between trades, the employment of non-union and female labour, and the limitation of overtime. Guarantees which covered only federated employers were offered as to the resumption of the old conditions on the conclusion of the war and as to the payment to all workers of the standard rates for the jobs on which they were engaged.

To these proposals made on December 17th the unions would not agree for the following reasons :—

1. The proposals came only from the federated employers, and those outside the Federation would not necessarily be bound by these guarantees. The men's representatives claimed that only a promise from the Government to enforce the guarantees all round could even partially get over the difficulty.

2. The granting of an absolutely free hand to the employers would mean that by the end of the war, when the engineers in the army returned to their trades, there would be a surplus of skilled labour. This would lead inevitably, despite all guarantees, to a state of competition so extreme as to lower wages and conditions all round.

At the same time the unions put forward counter-proposals. These ran as follows :—

(a) Firms not engaged in the manufacture of war goods to be given such work.

(b) Firms that are at present working "short time" to transfer their workmen to firms engaged in Government work.

(c) Joint representations to be made to the Government to pay subsistence allowance money to men working in places at a distance from their homes.

(d) That the Government draft skilled engineers from Australasia, Canada, and South Africa.

(e) In view of the fact that 10,000 skilled engineers have recently enlisted, thus reducing the supply of skilled labour, the Government should withdraw from military duties all those available for industrial purposes.

The unions' representatives are of the opinion that, if the foregoing suggestions were sympathetically given effect to, a sufficient supply of skilled labour would be at the service of the nation to cope with the exigencies of the national situation without encroaching upon the hard-won trade rights of the operative engineer.

To these proposals the Engineering Employers' Federation replied as follows :—

The employers have given very careful consideration to the proposals now submitted by the unions.

These proposals do not provide any adequate remedy for the present difficulty of obtaining the necessary supply of workpeople.

The requirements of the nation are pressing and must be met, and the employers much regret to see that the unions now represented (namely, Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Steam Engine Makers, United Machine Workers' Association, Amalgamated Toolmakers, and Scientific Instrument Makers) appear to regard the strict adherence to their rules, regulations, and restrictions as of greater importance than the supply to the nation of its requirements in this crisis.

The employers further desire to place on record their disappointment that their proposals to assist the country should have met with no response.

HENRY LAWTON, Chairman.

ALLAN M. SMITH, Secretary.

To this patent reversal of the truth the men, through their unions, replied: repudiated the suggestion that they were unpatriotic, and offered to meet the employers again in conference. The employers answered that, provided only the unions would first concede all demands, they were willing to resume the conference. To this impossible demand for concessions in advance the unions refused, naturally enough, to agree; but none the less reiterated their desire to discuss the whole matter. Finally, a further conference was arranged for 13th January, 1915. No agreement was reached at this conference; the employers' final word was that "the proposals and suggestions of the unions did not in any way afford the remedy required."

Now, while it may be that the proposals put forward by the unions would not have entirely met the shortage of labour they would have certainly gone a long way to meet it. It is an interesting commentary on the bluff "sagacity" of the employers that practically all the workers' proposals have since been adopted by the Government.

Matters were still in this unsatisfactory condition when the Government, as we have seen, appointed the Committee on Production on 4th February, 1915. Before the Committee issued its reports two things of importance occurred. On February 8th Mr. H. J. Tennant, Under-Secretary for War, made a speech in the House of Commons in which he appealed to the Labour Members to get the unions to scrap their rules. No mention was made of guarantees, nor did the speaker suggest even the possibility of any *quid pro quo* in the form of limitation of profits. As far as an understanding of the workers' point of view was concerned, the speech might have been delivered by a member of the Employers' Federation. It was justly resented by the Labour Members of Parliament, who told Mr. Tennant to go to the unions themselves, if he wished to negotiate about union rules. This the Government eventually did.

The second event was the concessions secured on February 18th by the threat of a strike at the Elswick works of Armstrong, Whitworth, and Company. The engineers and shipyard workers objected to the unskilled labour which had been introduced without any consultation with the union. The threat of a stoppage led to an immediate conference, at which the following provisional settlement was reached:—

(1) That whatever the class of labour taken on, the district rate for the job must always be paid; (2) that the unions should inspect not only the credentials of the imported workers, but also the actual work done by them; (3) that the employers should furnish a complete return of all unskilled men taken on, together with the name of their unions; (4) that the services of such workers should be dispensed with at the end of the war, and that copies of the list containing their names be sent to every member of the Engineering Employers' Federation, with the instruction that they should in no case be employed; (5) that for the present no further unskilled workers be set on skilled jobs, and that the unions be consulted on all doubtful cases.

The national negotiations with the employers did not arrive at a settlement, but this important local decision had at any rate shown just how a possible settlement could be reached.

We now come at length to the Reports issued by the Committee of Production. The Report issued on February 16th :—

IRREGULAR TIME-KEEPING.

It was represented to us that irregular time-keeping in shipyards is an important contributory cause of failure to attain the maximum degree of output. We have accordingly given this question careful consideration, and deem it advisable to issue as an Interim Report an immediate recommendation under this head.

We are informed that a considerable proportion of the time lost by riveting squads in shipyards is due to habits of irregularity which the method of working appears to encourage. We understand that the members of the respective squads present themselves for work, but if one of the members is absent the squad is a "broken" squad, and the other members are unable to begin work.

The method of dealing with such broken squads differs in different yards; the statements made to us as to the extent to which lost time exists indicate that the methods hitherto adopted fall far short of what is necessary, and we are satisfied that a considerable improvement can be, and ought to be, effected.

Attempts to deal with the matter have been made by the employers and the representatives of the men in the past. After having discussed the matter with representatives of both sides, we believe that some arrangement can be arrived at, and we are of opinion that further efforts in this direction should at once be made. In view of the nature of the matter, involving as it does an acquaintance with the varying conditions in different yards, we consider that the parties directly concerned should be charged in the first instance with the duty of making such efforts. We are advised, however, that their endeavours may not meet the urgency of the situation with the necessary promptitude; we recommend, therefore, that our Report be communicated at once to the parties concerned, with an intimation on behalf of His Majesty's Government that it is essential that the employers and workpeople should agree upon and establish within ten days an arrangement for dealing effectively with the question of broken squads. Failing agreement within that time, we recommend any outstanding differences should be referred forthwith to this Committee for immediate and final settlement.

We are satisfied that an effective arrangement for dealing with broken squads will assist considerably in removing the evil of lost time. There may still be instances of bad time-keeping by individuals, but their effects will be minimised.

In order that we may be able to ascertain whether instances of bad time-keeping by individuals occur so as materially to hamper the progress of work, we think the employers should report, for the information of this Committee, the results of the proposed new arrangements in the various yards. On receipt of such reports we will consider whether further steps should be taken to deal with the matter.

To a certain extent this recommendation was carried out. By agreement between the unions and the employers a reserve of labour was created by which to overcome the difficulty.

SHELLS AND FUSES.

The second Report issued on February 20th dealt with the Production of Shells and Fuses :—

It has been represented to us very strongly by both the Admiralty and the War Office that there is a present and continuously increasing need for shells and fuses for use by both the naval and military services, and that it is necessary for the existing production to be increased rapidly in order to meet the demand. We need not enlarge upon the vital importance of such a matter and its effects upon the successful prosecution of the war. Under these circumstances there is no reason to doubt that all sections of the community, and not least the workpeople, will desire that everything possible shall be done to maintain and accelerate adequate supplies of ammunition to the fleet and the troops. Restrictive rules or customs calculated to affect the production of munitions of war or to hamper or impede any reasonable steps to achieve a maximum output are under present circumstances seriously hurtful to the welfare of the country, and we think they should be suspended during the period of the war, with proper safeguards and adjustments to protect the interests of the workpeople and their Trade Unions.

Dealing in this part of the present report with the pressing question of shells and fuses, there appear to be two methods whereby the present rate of production of these munitions of war can be increased.

(1) We are of opinion that the production of shells and fuses would be considerably accelerated if there were a relaxation of the present practice of the workmen confining their earnings, on the basis of the existing piece rates, to "time-and-half," or whatever the local standard may be. We understand this practice is due to some extent to a desire to protect the piece rates; we agree that the present circumstances should not be

utilised as a means of lowering rates of wages, and we think the rates in question should be protected. This can be adequately done, however, by other means than restriction of earnings and output. As the only consumers of shells are the Government we recommend that firms engaged in the production of shells and fuses should give an undertaking to this Committee on behalf of the Government to the effect that in fixing piecework prices the earnings of men during the period of the war should not be considered as a factor in the matter, and that no reduction in piece rates will be made, unless warranted by a change in the method of manufacture, *e.g.*, by the introduction of a new type of machine. The protection afforded by this guarantee should remove apprehensions on the part of the men that their piece rates might be endangered, and we think, therefore, that the Government would be fully justified in calling upon each man to increase his production to the fullest possible extent, irrespective of his former limits of earnings or shop customs.

Any difference which may arise on this matter which cannot be settled by the parties directly concerned or by their representatives should be referred as suggested in our recommendation respecting "Avoidance of Stoppage of Work."

(2) We are satisfied that, in the production of shells and fuses, there are numerous operations of a nature that can be, and are already in some shops, suitably performed by female labour. We therefore recommend that, in order to increase the output, there should be an extension of the practice of employing female labour on this work, under suitable and proper conditions.

If the conditions of employment cannot be mutually arranged by the parties directly concerned, or by their representatives, we think the matter should be referred as suggested in our recommendation respecting "Avoidance of Stoppage of Work."

DEMARCATON OF WORK.

The third Report issued on March 4th begins by pointing out the delay in the production of munitions caused by rules governing demarcation of work between skilled crafts. The following are its practical suggestions, the distinctive question of employment of skilled and semi-skilled labour being treated separately:—

A.—DEMARCATON OF WORK.

We understand that in the Government establishments the demarcation restrictions are less numerous than in private shipyards and workshops; where they exist in Government establishments we think they should at once be suspended.

In private establishments we are of opinion that on work required for Government purposes or affecting the same the demarcation restrictions which at present exist in regard to the work of the different skilled trades in the engineering and shipbuilding industries should be suspended during the continuance of the war. The suspension should be accompanied by the following safeguards:—

- (1) That the men usually employed on the work required are not available.
- (2) That if no suitable labour is available locally, but men can be found from a distance who are unemployed or who can be spared from their existing employment, and the work is of sufficient magnitude to warrant the transfer of men from a distance, opportunity of employment shall be given to such men, providing that the work in hand is not delayed by waiting for them.
- (3) That the relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job. In cases where the men who ordinarily do the work are adversely affected by relaxation, the necessary re-adjustments should be mutually arranged.
- (4) That a record of the nature of the departures from the *status quo* shall be kept.
- (5) That any difficulties which cannot be settled between the parties or their representatives shall be referred to the Board of Trade within seven days for speedy settlement. Pending such reference there shall be no stoppage of work.
- (6) That the form of guarantee to workpeople which we have suggested in our Second Interim Report, of February 20th, shall be adopted.

B.—UTILISATION OF SEMI-SKILLED OR UNSKILLED LABOUR.

Where an employer is unable to meet the requirements of the Government because of his inability to secure the necessary labour customarily employed on the work, we think it imperative that during the war it should be open to him to make greater use of unskilled or semi-skilled labour, with proper safeguards and adjustments to protect the interests of the workpeople and their Trade Unions. We have suggested, in our Second Interim Report, of February 20th, a form of guarantee which we consider satisfactory for the purpose of safeguarding the position of the Trade Unions and of the workpeople concerned.

If it is claimed by the workpeople or their representatives that the arrangements in any specific case are not necessary or are unduly prejudicial to their interests, the matter should at once be discussed between the firm and the men's representatives. If the question cannot be amicably adjusted, it should be referred in accordance with our recommendation as to "Avoidance of Stoppage of Work."

AVOIDANCE OF STOPPAGE OF WORK.

We have left to the last the Report (issued February 20th) which dealt with stoppages of work and with recommendations as to the setting up of an impartial tribunal. To this Report we have already made reference in dealing with wages disputes.

In private establishments we are of opinion that on work required for Government purposes, or affecting the same, the demarcation restrictions which at present exist in regard to the work of the different skilled trades in the engineering and shipbuilding industries should be suspended during the continuance of the war. The suspension should be accompanied by the following safeguards:—

(1) That the men usually employed on the work required are not available.

Whatever may be the rights of the parties at normal times, and whatever may be the methods considered necessary for the maintenance and enforcement of those rights, we think there can be no justification whatever for a resort to strikes or lockouts under present conditions, when the resulting cessation of work would prevent the production of ships, guns, equipment, stores, or other commodities required by the Government for the purposes of the war.

We therefore submit for the consideration of His Majesty's Government the desirability of the immediate publication of the following recommendation to Government contractors and sub-contractors and to Trade Unions, and to request their adhesion to this recommendation, viz:—

AVOIDANCE OF STOPPAGES ON WORK FOR GOVERNMENT PURPOSES.

With a view to preventing loss of production caused by disputes between employers and workpeople, no stoppage of work by strike or lock-out should take place on work for Government purposes. In the event of differences arising which fail to be settled by the parties directly concerned, or by their representatives, or under any existing agreements, the matter shall be referred to an impartial tribunal nominated by His Majesty's Government for immediate investigation and report to the Government with a view to a settlement.

GUARANTEE TO WORKPEOPLE.

In order to safeguard the position of the Trade Unions and of the workpeople concerned we think that each contracting firm should give an undertaking, to be held on behalf of the unions, in the following terms:—

To His Majesty's Government.

We hereby undertake that any departure during the war from the practice ruling in our workshops and shipyards prior to the war shall only be for the period of the war.

No change in practice made during the war shall be allowed to prejudice the position of the workpeople in our employment or of their Trade Unions in regard to the resumption and maintenance after the war of any rules or customs existing prior to the war.

In any readjustment of staff which may have to be effected after the war, priority of employment will be given to workmen in our employment at the beginning of the war who are serving with the colours or who are now in our employment.

Date..... Name of Firm.....

Any difference which may arise under this head which cannot be settled by the parties directly concerned or their representatives should be referred as suggested in our recommendation "Avoidance of Stoppage of Work."

These Reports at once conclude the first stage of the attempts of the Government to deal with the problem of the organisation of industry, and form the prelude to the history of the direct negotiations between the Government and the unions. It is worth noting that none of these Reports was of any value without the ratification of the unions concerned. This ratification was forthcoming in every case, except that of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, from the Executive of the union, but events moved so rapidly that hardly any use could be made of these voluntary concessions.

THE ORGANISATION OF LABOUR.

THE TREASURY CONFERENCE.

On March 17th, 1915, representatives of the chief Trade Unions in industries producing commodities for the war were invited to a conference with the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Lloyd George) and the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Runciman) "to consider the general position in reference to the urgent need of the country in regard to the large, and a larger, increase in the output of munitions of war, and the steps which the Government propose to take to organise the industries of the country with a view to achieving that end."

The following is a list of the organisations represented* :—

A.—GENERAL.

The Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress.†	The General Federation of Trade Unions.†
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B.—ENGINEERING.

Amalgamated Society of Engineers.	Associated Ironmoulders of Scotland.
Steam Engine Makers.	Associated Blacksmiths and Ironworkers.
United Machine Workers.	Electrical Trades Union.
Amalgamated Toolmakers.	Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades.†
United Patternmakers.	
Friendly Society of Ironfounders.	

C.—SHIPBUILDING.

United Boilermakers.	Sheet Iron Workers and Light Platers.
Shipwrights' Association.	Shipbuilding Trades Agreement Committee.†

D.—IRON AND STEEL TRADES.

British Steel Smelters.	Associated Iron and Steel Workers.
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E.—OTHER METAL TRADES.

National Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers.	General Union of Braziers and Sheet Metal Workers.
	Operative Plumbers.

F.—WOODWORKERS.

Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.	Scottish Painters.
General Union of Carpenters and Joiners.	Furnishing Trades Association.
House and Ship Painters and Decorators.	Woodcutting Machinists.
	Amalgamated Cabinet Makers.

G.—LABOURERS.

Gas and General Workers.	National Amalgamated Union of Labour.
Workers' Union.	

H.—TRANSPORT.

National Union of Railwaymen.	National Transport Workers' Federation.
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I.—WOOLLEN.

General Union of Textile Workers.

J.—BOOT AND SHOE.

Boot and Shoe Operatives.

To this conference Mr. Lloyd George made a speech in which he first dealt with the power of the Government to assume control of factories under the Amended Defence of the Realm Act passed the

* The Miners' Federation of Great Britain was represented on the first day, but withdrew as it was unwilling to accept compulsory arbitration. (See p. 78.)

† Federations consisting wholly or partly of unions which were separately represented.

previous day. This power it could only exercise if it had the complete co-operation of employers and workers. A limitation of profits would be considered as a counterweight to the relaxation of Trade Union rules. He then appealed to them to accept arbitration and to relax the Trade Union rules under adequate safeguards.

After Mr. Lloyd George's speech a Sub-Committee of seven was appointed to draw up proposals for submission to the conference. The Sub-Committee was as follows :—

Arthur Henderson, M.P. (Ironfounders).
 C. W. Bowerman, M.P. (Parliamentary Committee).
 John Hill (Boilermakers).
 W. Mosses (Patternmakers).
 A. Wilkie, M.P. (Shipwrights).
 Frank Smith (Cabinetmakers).
 J. T. Brownlie (Engineers).

The proposals were submitted to the conference next day and agreed to by the officials of all the unions present except the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. The agreement ran as follows :—

The workmen's representatives at the conference will recommend to their members the following proposals with a view to accelerating the output of munitions and equipments of war :—

1. During the war period there shall in no case be any stoppage of work upon munitions and equipments of war or other work required for a satisfactory completion of the war :—

All differences on wages or conditions of employment arising out of the war shall be dealt with without stoppage in accordance with paragraph 2.

Questions not arising out of the war should not be made the cause of stoppage during the war period.

2. Subject to any existing agreements or methods now prevailing for the settlement of disputes, differences of a purely individual or local character shall unless mutually arranged be the subject of a deputation to the firm representing the workmen concerned, and differences of a general character affecting wages and conditions of employment arising out of the war shall be the subject of conferences between the parties.

In all cases of failure to reach a settlement of disputes by the parties directly concerned, or their representatives, or under existing agreements, the matter in dispute shall be dealt with under any one of the three following alternatives as may be mutually agreed, or in default of agreement, settled by the Board of Trade.

(a) The Committee on Production.

(b) A single arbitrator agreed upon by the parties or appointed by the Board of Trade.

(c) A court of arbitration upon which labour is represented equally with the employers.

3. An Advisory Committee representative of the organised workers engaged in production for Government requirements shall be appointed by the Government for the purpose of facilitating the carrying out of these recommendations and for consultation by the Government or by the workmen concerned.

4. Provided that the conditions set out in paragraph 5 are accepted by the Government as applicable to all contracts for the execution of war munitions and equipments the workmen's representatives at the conference are of opinion that during the war period the relaxation of the present trade practices is imperative, and that each union be recommended to take into favourable consideration such changes in working conditions or trade customs as may be necessary with a view to accelerating the output of war munitions or equipments.

5. The recommendations contained in paragraph 4 are conditional on Government requiring all contractors and sub-contractors engaged on munitions and equipments of war or other work required for the satisfactory completion of the war to give an undertaking to the following effect :—

Any departure during the war from the practice ruling in our workshops, shipyards, and other industries prior to the war, shall only be for the period of the war.

No change in practice made during the war shall be allowed to prejudice the position of the workpeople in our employment, or of their Trade Unions in regard to the resumption and maintenance after the war of any rules or customs existing prior to the war.

In any readjustment of staff which may have to be effected after the war priority of employment will be given to workmen in our employment at the beginning of the war who are serving with the colours or who are now in our employment.

Where the custom of a shop is changed during the war by the introduction of semi-skilled men to perform work hitherto performed by a class of workmen of higher skill, the rates paid shall be the usual rates of the district for that class of work.

The relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions or admission of semi-skilled or female labour shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job. In cases where men who ordinarily do the work are adversely affected thereby, the necessary readjustments shall be made so that they can maintain their previous earnings.

A record of the nature of the departure from the conditions prevailing before the date of this undertaking shall be kept and shall be open for inspection by the authorised representative of the Government.

Due notice shall be given to the workmen concerned, wherever practicable, of any changes of working conditions which it is desired to introduce as the result of this arrangement, and opportunity of local consultation with men or their representatives shall be given if desired.

All differences with our workmen engaged on Government work arising out of changes so introduced, or with regard to wages or conditions of employment arising out of the war, shall be settled without stoppage of work in accordance with the procedure laid down in paragraph 2.

It is clearly understood that, except as expressly provided in the fourth paragraph of clause 5, nothing in this undertaking is to prejudice the position of employers or employees after the war.

D. LLOYD GEORGE.

WALTER RUNCIMAN.

ARTHUR HENDERSON

(Chairman of Workmen's Representatives.)

W. MOSSES

(Secretary of Workmen's Representatives.)

March 19, 1915.

So important was the absence of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers from this agreement that a special conference with them alone was held on March 25th. There had been talk of limitation and of adequate safeguards in Mr. Lloyd George's speech, but until the following statements were signed by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Runciman, the representatives of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers felt the agreement would not satisfy their members. The engineers fell in with the general agreement, when the following additional statements were signed:—

1. That it is the intention of the Government to conclude arrangements with all important firms engaged wholly or mainly upon engineering and shipbuilding work for war purposes, under which these profits will be limited with a view to securing that benefit resulting from the relaxation of trade restrictions or practices shall accrue to the State.

2. That the relaxation of trade practices contemplated in the agreement relates solely to work done for war purposes during the war period.

3. That in the case of the introduction of new inventions which were not in existence in the pre-war period the class of workmen to be employed on this work after the war should be determined according to the practice prevailing before the war in the case of the class of work most nearly analogous.

4. That on demand by the workmen the Government Department concerned will be prepared to certify whether the work in question is needed for war purposes.

5. That the Government will undertake to use its influence to secure the restoration of previous conditions in every case after the war.

Immediately after the A.S.E. conference the Labour Advisory Committee suggested in the agreement was appointed. It consisted of the seven representatives, already mentioned, with Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., as Chairman.

Soon afterwards local Munitions Committees began to be set up in some of the chief centres, especially the North-East Coast and the Clyde. These consisted, like a Trade Board, of an equal number of representatives of employers and workmen, with an additional

number of "impartial" persons. They were, however, unlike Trade Boards in that they did not deal with wages but with the management and control of industry. In this fact rests their importance for the Trade Unionists. Unfortunately, however, these Committees never had definite functions or definite powers, and their utility has varied greatly from district to district. In many districts, other than the chief centres, the Munitions Committees have not functioned at all, or if they have, it has been only so far as the employers are concerned. With the passing of the Munitions Act, the Government began to deprive these local committees even of the functions they had hitherto performed. Many of their powers passed into the hands of the Munitions Tribunals, and, in August, 1915, their last vestige of real authority was transferred to three officials appointed for each area by the Ministry of Munitions, who took over responsibility for the supply of labour in the various localities. This change was effected without the knowledge of the unions concerned, or of the local committees, and, as soon as the change became known, vigorous protests were entered against it by the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades.

DRINK AND THE WHITE PAPER.

The Treasury conference was scarcely over when it was suddenly discovered that the real cause of the deficiency in the supply of munitions was not Trade Unions' rules but drink. Mr. Lloyd George made a series of speeches, in one of which he said that this country had three enemies, the Prussians, the Austrians, "the lure of drink." This attack was very properly resented, and when, after the famous White Paper had been issued on the 1st of May, the attack was seen to have been utterly unsubstantiated by trustworthy evidence, the resentment of Trade Unionists grew very strong. The White Paper (Report and Statistics of Bad Time kept in Shipbuilding, Munitions, and Transport Areas*) consisted of reports from officers in the service of the Admiralty to the War Office, from the Home Office, from certain factory inspectors, and from the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation. Not a particle of evidence seems to have been sought from the side of the workers. The statements furnished by the employers were in particular cases refuted by the Trade Unions, who showed that men who were alleged by the employers to be absent because they were drunk were actually ill and undergoing medical attendance as a result of overwork. Even in the make-up of the fabrications the reports did not tally. A report by Mr. Harry Wilson, an inspector of factories, was the only one which showed any real knowledge of shipyards or of the conditions of life under which production is there carried on. Unfortunately for the scheme of the White Paper, this report reached a conclusion diametrically opposite to the others. Taken altogether, this White Paper is perhaps the most baseless and unfair document ever issued under Government authority. The projects of Mr. Lloyd George were not successful. He began his campaign against drink by insulting the workers of the country; he ended it with an ignominious defeat at the hands of the brewers and distillers.

By the middle of May great changes had taken place. The Liberal Government resigned and Mr. Asquith formed a Coalition Ministry. In this Ministry Labour was asked to take part. By a majority vote

* H.C. 220. 3d.

of the Labour Party it was agreed to enter the Coalition. Mr. Arthur Henderson became Minister of Education, Mr. William Bruce Parliamentary Under-Secretary of the Home Office, and Mr. George H. Roberts a Junior Lord of the Treasury.

On June 3rd the Government introduced its bill establishing a Ministry of Munitions. Immediately Mr. Lloyd George had been appointed Minister he began to push forward his plans for the organisation of industry and of Labour. At first he hinted in several speeches at the extremely wide power he held under the Defence of the Realm Acts. The Act gave power to commandeer any private works needed by the Government and to order the worker, so long as he remained in employment, to work exactly as directed. It gave no power, however, to prevent the worker leaving his job, either individually or in concert with others. That is, the Defence of the Realm Acts gave no power either to constrain the individual worker (industrial conscription) or to prohibit strikes. To achieve the latter end, and if possible the former, was now Mr. Lloyd George's aim. Accordingly a new series of Treasury conferences was held throughout June. The Labour Advisory Committee, along with Mr. Lloyd George, drew up proposals, which were submitted to a full conference of representatives of the munitions industries (with the exception of mining and cotton) and carried by a majority.

MUNITIONS OF WAR ACT.

The proposals passed by the Trade Unionists at the Treasury conferences were brought before Parliament as the Munitions of War Bill on June 23rd, which, after amendment, duly became law. The following is the text of the Act :—

MUNITIONS OF WAR ACT, 1915.

An Act to make provision for furthering the efficient manufacture, transport, and supply of Munitions for the present War; and for purposes incidental thereto.

[2nd July, 1915.]

BE it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same as follows :—

PART I.

1.—(1) If any difference exists or is apprehended between any employer and persons employed, or between any two or more classes of persons employed, and the difference is one to which this Part of the Act applies, that difference, if not determined by the parties directly concerned or their representatives or under existing agreements, may be reported to the Board of Trade, by or on behalf of either party to the difference, and the decision of the Board of Trade as to whether a difference has been so reported to them or not, and as to the time at which a difference has been so reported, shall be conclusive for all purposes.

(2) The Board of Trade shall consider any difference so reported and take any steps which seem to them expedient to promote a settlement of the difference, and, in any case in which they think fit, may refer the matter for settlement either in accordance with the provisions of the First Schedule to this Act, or, if in their opinion suitable means for settlement already exist in pursuance of any agreement between employers and persons employed, for settlement in accordance with those means.

(3) Where a matter is referred under the last foregoing subsection for settlement otherwise than in accordance with the provisions of the First Schedule to this Act, and the settlement is in the opinion of the Board of Trade unduly delayed, the Board may annul the reference and substitute therefor a reference in accordance with the provisions of the said Schedule.

(4) The award on any such settlement shall be binding both on employers and employed and may be retrospective; and if any employer, or person employed, thereafter acts in contravention of, or fails to comply with, the award, he shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.

2.—(1) An employer shall not declare, cause or take part in a lock-out, and a person employed shall not take part in a strike, in connection with any difference to which this Part of this Act applies, unless the difference has been reported to the Board of Trade, and twenty-one days have elapsed since the date of the report, and the difference has not during that time been referred by the Board of Trade for settlement in accordance with this Act.

(2) If any person acts in contravention of this section, he shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.

3. The differences to which this Part of this Act applies are differences as to rates of wages, hours of work, or otherwise as to terms or conditions of or affecting employment on the manufacture or repair of arms, ammunition, ships, vehicles, air-craft, or any other articles required for use in war, or of the metals, machines, or tools required for that manufacture or repair (in this Act referred to as munitions work); and also any differences as to rates of wages, hours of work, or otherwise as to terms or conditions of or affecting employment on any other work of any description, if this Part of this Act is applied to such a difference by His Majesty by Proclamation on the ground that in the opinion of His Majesty the existence or continuance of the difference is directly or indirectly prejudicial to the manufacture, transport, or supply of Munitions of War.

This Part of this Act may be so applied to such a difference at any time, whether a lock-out or strike is in existence in connection with the difference to which it is applied or not:

Provided that if in the case of any industry the Minister of Munitions is satisfied that effective means exist to secure the settlement without stoppage of any difference arising on work other than on munitions work, no proclamation shall be made under this section with respect to any such difference.

When this Part of this Act is applied to any difference concerning work other than munitions work the conditions of labour and the remuneration thereof prevailing before the difference arose shall be continued until the said difference is settled in accordance with the provisions of this Part of this Act.

PART II.

4. If the Minister of Munitions considers it expedient for the purpose of the successful prosecution of the war that any establishment in which munitions work is carried on should be subject to the special provisions as to limitation of employers' profits and control of persons employed and other matters contained in this section, he may make an order declaring that establishment to be a controlled establishment, and on such order being made the following provisions shall apply thereto:—

- (1) Any excess of the net profits of the controlled establishment over the amount divisible under this Act, as ascertained in accordance with the provisions of this Act, shall be paid into the Exchequer.
- (2) Any proposal for any change in the rate of wages, salary, or other emoluments of any class of persons employed in the establishment, or of any persons engaged in the management or direction of the establishment (other than a change for giving effect to any Government conditions as to fair wages or to any agreement between the owner of the establishment and the workmen which was made before the twenty-third day of June, nineteen hundred and fifteen), shall be submitted to the Minister of Munitions, who may withhold his consent within fourteen days of the date of the submission:

Provided that if the Minister of Munitions so directs, or if the Minister's consent is withheld and the persons proposing the change so require, the matter shall be referred for settlement in accordance with the Provisions of the First Schedule to this Act, and the consent of the arbitration tribunal, if given, shall in that case have the same effect as the consent of the Minister of Munitions.

If the owner of the establishment or any contractor or sub-contractor employing labour therein makes any such change, or attempts to make any such change, without submitting the proposal for the change to the Minister of Munitions or when the consent of the Minister has been withheld, he shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.

- (3) Any rule, practice, or custom not having the force of law which tends to restrict production or employment shall be suspended in the establishment, and if any person induces or attempts to induce any other person (whether any particular person or generally) to comply, or continue to comply, with such a rule, practice, or custom, that person shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.

If any question arises whether any rule, practice or custom is a rule, practice or custom which tends to restrict production or employment, that question shall be referred to the Board of Trade, and the Board of Trade shall either determine the question themselves or, if they think it expedient or either party requires it, refer the question for settlement in accordance with the provisions contained in the First Schedule to this Act. The decision of the

Board of Trade or arbitration tribunal, as the case may be, shall be conclusive for all purposes.

- (4) The owner of the establishment shall be deemed to have entered into an undertaking to carry out the provisions set out in the Second Schedule to this Act, and any owner or contractor or sub-contractor who breaks or attempts to break such an undertaking shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.
- (5) The employer and every person employed in the establishment shall comply with any regulations made applicable to that establishment by the Minister of Munitions with respect to the general ordering of the work in the establishment with a view to attaining and maintaining a proper standard of efficiency and with respect to the due observance of the rules of the establishment.

If the employer or any person so employed acts in contravention of or fails to comply with any such regulation, that employer or person shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.

- (6) The owners of an establishment shall have power, notwithstanding anything in any Act, Order, or deed under which they are governed, to do all things necessary for compliance with any provisions of this section, and any owner of an establishment shall comply with any reasonable requirements of the Minister of Munitions as to information or otherwise made for the purposes of this section, and, if he fails to do so, shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.

Where in any establishment munitions work is carried on in some part of the establishment, but not in other parts, the Minister of Munitions may, if he considers that it is practicable to do so, treat any part of the establishment in which munitions work is not carried on as a separate establishment, and the provisions of this Act shall take effect accordingly.

5.—(1) The net profits of a controlled establishment shall be ascertained in accordance with the provisions of this section, and rules made thereunder and the amount of profits divisible under this Act shall be taken to be an amount exceeding by one-fifth the standard amount of profits.

(2) The standard amount of profits for any period shall be taken to be the average of the amount of the net profits for the two financial years of the establishment completed next before the outbreak of the war or a proportionate part thereof.

(3) If in any case it appears or is represented to the Minister of Munitions that the net profits or losses of all or any other establishments belonging to the same owner should be brought into account, or that the average under this section affords or may afford an unfair standard of comparison or affords no standard of comparison, the Minister may, if he thinks just, allow those net profits or losses to be brought into account, or substitute for the average such an amount as the standard amount of profits as may be agreed upon with the owner of the establishment.

The Minister of Munitions may, if he thinks fit, and shall, if the owner of the establishment so requires, refer the matter to be determined by a referee or board of referees appointed or designated by him for the purpose, and the decision of the referee or board shall be conclusive on the matter for all purposes.

(4) The Minister of Munitions may make rules for carrying the provisions of this section into effect, and these rules shall provide for due consideration being given in carrying out the provisions of this section as respects any establishment to any special circumstances such as increase of output, provision of new machinery or plant, alteration of capital or other matters which require special consideration in relation to the particular establishment.

6.—(1) If any workman in accordance with arrangements made by the Minister of Munitions with or on behalf of Trade Unions enters into an undertaking with the Minister of Munitions that he will work at any controlled establishment to which he may be assigned by the Minister, and be subject to the penalty imposed by this Act if he acts in contravention of or fails to comply with the undertaking, that workman shall if he acts in contravention of or fails to comply with his undertaking be guilty of an offence under this Act.

(2) If any employer dissuades or attempts to dissuade a workman in his employment from entering into an undertaking under this section, or retains or offers to retain in his employment any workman who has entered into such an undertaking after he has received notice from the Minister of Munitions that the workman is to work at some other establishment, that employer shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.

7.—(1) A person shall not give employment to a workman, who has within the last previous six weeks, or such other period as may be provided by Order of the Minister of Munitions as respects any class of establishment, been employed on or in connection with munitions work in any establishment of a class to which the provisions of this section are applied by Order of the Minister of Munitions, unless he holds a certificate from the employer by whom he was last so employed that he left work with the consent of his employer or a certificate from the munitions tribunal that the consent has been unreasonably withheld.

(2) If any workman or his Trade Union representative complains to a munitions tribunal in accordance with rules made with respect to those tribunals that the consent of an employer has been unreasonably withheld that tribunal may, after examining into the case, if they think fit, grant a certificate which shall, for the purposes of this section, have the same effect as a certificate from the employer.

(3) If any person gives employment in contravention of the provisions of this section, he shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.

8.—(1) The Minister of Munitions may make rules authorising the wearing of badges or other distinctive marks by persons engaged on munitions work or other work for war purposes, and as to the issue and return of any such badges or marks, and may by those rules prohibit the use, wearing or issue of any such badges or of any badges or marks indicating or suggesting that any person is engaged on munitions work or work for war purposes except as authorised by those rules.

(2) If any person acts in contravention of, or fails to comply with, any such rules, he shall be guilty of an offence against this Act.

9.—This Part of this Act shall apply to any docks used by the Admiralty for any purposes connected with the war as it applies to establishments in which munitions work is carried on, with the substitution in relation to any such docks or persons employed in any such docks of the Admiralty for the Minister of Munitions.

PART III.

10.—The following paragraph shall be substituted for paragraph (d) set out in subsection (1) of section one of the Defence of the Realm (Amendment) (No. 2) Act, 1915, and shall be deemed to have been contained in that Act, namely:—

(d) to regulate or restrict the carrying on of any work in any factory, workshop, or other premises, or the engagement or employment of any workman or all or any classes of workmen therein, or to remove the plant therefrom with a view to maintaining or increasing the production of munitions in other factories, workshops, or premises, or to regulate and control the supply of metals and material that may be required for any articles for use in war.

11.—(1) The owner of any establishment in which persons are employed shall, if so required by the Minister of Munitions, give to the Minister such information, in such form and in such manner, as the Minister may require as to

(a) the numbers and classes of persons employed or likely to be employed in the establishment from time to time;

(b) the numbers and classes of machines at any such establishment;

(c) the nature of the work on which any such persons are employed, or any such machines are engaged, from time to time;

(d) any other matters with respect to which the Minister may desire information for the purpose of his powers and duties;

and the Minister may arrange with any other Government department for the collection of any such information.

(2) If the owner of any establishment fails to comply with this section he shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.

12.—If any employer, or the owner of any establishment or any workman, for the purpose of evading any provision of this Act, makes any false statement or representation, or gives any false certificate, or furnishes any false information, he shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.

13.—There shall be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament to any person being a member of an arbitration tribunal, munitions tribunal, or board of referees under this Act, or being a referee under this Act, and to any other officers required in connection with any such tribunal or board, such remuneration and travelling or other expenses (including compensation for loss of time) as the Minister of Munitions or Board of Trade, as the case may be, with the sanction of the Treasury may determine.

14.—(1) Any person guilty of an offence under this Act—

(a) shall, if the offence is a contravention of or failure to comply with an award, be liable to a fine not exceeding five pounds for each day or part of a day during which the contravention or failure to comply continues, and, if the person guilty of the offence is an employer, for each man in respect of whom the contravention or failure takes place; and

(b) shall, if the offence is a contravention of the provisions of this Act with respect to the prevention of lock-outs, be liable to a fine not exceeding five pounds, in respect of each man locked out, for each day or part of a day during which the contravention continues; and

(c) shall, if the offence is a contravention of the provisions of this Act with respect to the prohibition of strikes, be liable to a fine not exceeding five pounds for each day or part of a day during which the contravention continues; and

(d) shall, if the offence is a contravention of or failure to comply with any regulations in a controlled establishment or any undertaking given by a workman under Part II. of this Act, be liable in respect of each offence to a fine not exceeding three pounds; and

(e) shall, if the offence is a contravention of or failure to comply with any other provisions of this Act, be liable in respect of each offence to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds.

(2) A fine for any offence, under this Act, shall be recoverable only before the munitions tribunal established for the purpose under this Act.

15.—(1) The munitions tribunal shall be a person, appointed for the purpose by the Minister of Munitions, sitting with two or some other even number of assessors, one half being chosen by the Minister of Munitions from a panel constituted by the Minister of Munitions of persons representing employers and the other half being so chosen from a panel constituted by the Minister of Munitions of persons representing workmen and the Minister of Munitions may constitute two classes of munitions tribunals, the first class having jurisdiction to deal with all offences and matters under this Act, the second class having jurisdiction, so far as offences are concerned, to deal only with any contravention of, or failure to comply with, any regulation made applicable to a controlled establishment or any undertaking given by a workman under Part II. of this Act.

The Admiralty shall be substituted for the Minister of Munitions under this provision as the authority to appoint and choose members of a munitions tribunal to deal with offences by persons employed in any docks declared to be controlled establishments by the Admiralty.

(2) The Minister of Munitions or the Admiralty shall constitute munitions tribunals as and when occasion requires.

(3) Rules may be made for regulating the munitions tribunals or either class of munitions tribunals so far as relates to offences under this Act by a Secretary of State, and so far as relates to any other matters which are referred to them under this Act by the Minister of Munitions, and rules made by the Secretary of State may apply, with the necessary modifications, any of the provisions of the Summary Jurisdiction Acts or any provisions applicable to a court of summary jurisdiction, which it appears expedient to apply, and any provisions so applied shall apply to munitions tribunals accordingly.

In the application of this provision to Scotland the Secretary for Scotland shall be substituted for the Secretary of State, and in the application of this provision to Ireland the Lord Lieutenant shall be substituted for the Secretary of State.

(4) A person employed or workman shall not be imprisoned in respect of the non-payment of a fine imposed by a munitions tribunal for an offence within the jurisdiction of a tribunal of the second class, but that tribunal may, without prejudice to any other available means of recovery, make an order requiring such deductions to be made on account of the fine from the wages of the person employed or the workman as the tribunal think fit, and requiring the person by whom the wages are paid to account for any sums deducted in accordance with the order.

16. Any company, association, or body of persons shall have power, notwithstanding anything contained in any Act, order, or instrument by or under which it is constituted or regulated, to carry on munitions work during the present war.

17. Any rule made under this Act shall be laid before each House of Parliament forthwith, and, if an Address is presented to His Majesty by either House of Parliament within the next subsequent twenty-one days on which that House has sat next after any such rule is laid before it praying that the rule may be annulled, His Majesty in Council may annul the rule and it shall thenceforth be void, but without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done thereunder.

18.—The Documentary Evidence Act, 1868, as amended by the Documentary Evidence Act, 1882, shall apply to the Minister of Munitions in like manner as if that Minister were mentioned in the first column of the Schedule to the first-mentioned Act, and as if that Minister, or a secretary in the Ministry or any person authorised by the Minister to act on his behalf, were mentioned in the second column of that Schedule, and as if the regulations referred to in those Acts included any document issued by the Minister.

19. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires,—

(a) the expression “lock-out” means the closing of a place of employment, or the suspension of work, or the refusal by an employer to continue to employ any number of persons employed by him in consequence of a dispute, done with a view to compelling those persons, or to aid another employer in compelling persons employed by him, to accept terms or conditions of or affecting employment:

(b) the expression “strike” means the cessation of work by a body of persons employed acting in combination, or a concerted refusal or a refusal under a common understanding of any number of persons employed to continue to

work for an employer in consequence of a dispute, done as a means of compelling their employer or any person or body of persons employed, or to aid other workmen in compelling their employer or any person or body of persons employed, to accept or not to accept terms or conditions of or affecting employment.

20.—(1) This Act may be cited as the Munitions of War Act, 1915.

(2) This Act shall have effect only so long as the office of Minister of Munitions and the Ministry of Munitions exist:

Provided that Part I. of this Act shall continue to apply for a period of twelve months after the conclusion of the present war to any difference arising in relation to the performance by the owner of any establishment of his undertaking to carry out the provisions set out in the Second Schedule to this Act notwithstanding that the office of Minister of Munitions and the Ministry of Munitions have ceased to exist.

SCHEDULES.

SCHEDULE I.

1. Any difference, matter or question to be referred for settlement in accordance with the provisions of this Schedule shall be referred to one of the three following arbitration tribunals:—

- (a) the Committee appointed by the First Lord of the Treasury known as the Committee on Production; or
- (b) a single arbitrator to be agreed upon by the parties or in default of agreement appointed by the Board of Trade; or
- (c) a court of arbitration consisting of an equal number of persons representing employers and persons representing workmen with a chairman appointed by the Board of Trade.

2. The tribunal to which the reference is made shall be determined by agreement between the parties to the difference or in default of such agreement by the Board of Trade.

3. The Arbitration Act, 1889, shall not apply to any reference under the provisions of this Schedule.

SCHEDULE II.

1. Any departure during the war from the practice ruling in the workshops, shipyards, and other industries prior to the war, shall only be for the period of the war.

2. No change in practice made during the war shall be allowed to prejudice the position of the workmen in the owners' employment, or of their Trade Unions in regard to the resumption and maintenance after the war of any rules or customs existing prior to the war.

3. In any readjustment of staff which may have to be effected after the war priority of employment will be given to workmen in the owners' employment at the beginning of the war who have been serving with the colours or who were in the owner's employment when the establishment became a controlled establishment.

4. Where the custom of a shop is changed during the war by the introduction of semi-skilled men to perform work hitherto performed by a class of workmen of higher skill, the time and piece rates paid shall be the usual rates of the district for that class of work.

5. The relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions or admission of semi-skilled or female labour shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job. In cases where men who ordinarily do the work are adversely affected thereby, the necessary readjustments shall be made so that they can maintain their previous earnings.

6. A record of the nature of the departure from the conditions prevailing when the establishment became a controlled establishment shall be kept, and shall be open for inspection by the authorised representative of the Government.

7. Due notice shall be given to the workmen concerned wherever practicable of any changes of working conditions which it is desired to introduce as the result of the establishment becoming a controlled establishment, and opportunity for local consultation with workmen or their representatives shall be given if desired.

8. All differences with workmen engaged on Government work arising out of changes so introduced or with regard to wages or conditions of employment arising out of the war shall be settled in accordance with this Act without stoppage of work.

9. Nothing in this Schedule (except as provided by the fourth paragraph thereof) shall prejudice the position of employers or persons employed after the war.

REGULATIONS UNDER THE MUNITIONS ACT.

ORDER OF WORK, JULY, 1915.

Under Section 4, sub-section 5, of the Munitions of War Act, 1915, the Minister of Munitions made the following rules operative in all controlled establishments:—

1. The owner of any controlled establishment shall, as soon as practicable, post rules relating to order, discipline, time-keeping, and efficiency conspicuously in his establishment so as to bring them effectively to the knowledge of workmen employed therein. Copies of rules so posted shall be sent to the Minister of Munitions.

2. Every person employed in the establishment shall comply with any rule so posted, provided that no person shall be liable to a penalty under the Act for failing or refusing to comply with any rule, if the Munitions Tribunal is satisfied that the rule is an unreasonable one, or that the person had just cause for his failure or refusal to comply with it.

MEMORANDUM ON SECTION 7.

The following are the main sections of the Memorandum issued by the Board of Trade on August 20th, 1915, in so far as they affect the granting of "Leaving Certificates":—

1. Both the conditions, viz., employment on or in connection with munitions work and employment in an establishment of a class specified in the Order must be satisfied. The section does not cover a workman doing munitions work in an establishment outside the Order (e.g., an establishment engaged in the making of saddlery), and it does not cover a workman doing private work even though he may be employed in an establishment of a class specified in the Order. It should be noted that an Order under Section 7 is quite distinct from an Order under Section 4 declaring an establishment to be a "controlled establishment," and the operation of Section 7 is not in any way limited to controlled establishments.

2. If a workman, apparently covered by the section, gives notice to leave his employment, the employer, if he desires to withhold his consent, should notify the workman of this, at the same time informing the workman of his right to lodge a complaint with a Local Munitions Tribunal (by application through any Labour Exchange) and urging him, pending the decision of the Tribunal to remain at work.

3. An employer withholding consent is, of course, liable to continue employing the workman if willing to remain. In every case where an employer discharges a workman apparently covered by the section, or otherwise refuses to retain him in employment, he should give the workman a certificate in the form set out in Appendix A to this memorandum.

4. If a workman apparently covered by the section persists in leaving employment, and the employer is not prepared to grant a certificate, the employer should give notice to the nearest local office of the Unemployment Fund stating accurately the workman's full name, occupation, department in which employed, nature of work on which engaged, nature of employer's business and (if known) the name of any other employer to whom the workman is believed to be going. Forms for giving this notice may be obtained from any local office.

5. If the workman is insured under Part II. of the National Insurance Act, the employer should with the notice send his unemployment book to the local office, in accordance with the Unemployment Book (War) Regulations, 1915, as set out in Appendix B to this memorandum, in lieu of returning it to the workman. *The unemployment book must on no account be retained by the employer after the workman has left work.* This is an offence against the Unemployment Insurance Regulations.

6. If on complaint by a workman, or his Trade Union representative, to a local Munitions Tribunal, the Tribunal decides that the employer's consent was unreasonably withheld and gives a certificate to that effect, the workman is free to leave and be employed by any other person, and on his leaving the employer must give him his unemployment book (if any) in the ordinary way.

7. The responsibility for engaging a workman in contravention of Section 7 rests upon the employer who wishes to engage the workman. Where, therefore, a workman applying for employment is of a class likely to have been engaged on or in connection with munitions work, it will in general be desirable for the employer either to require the production of a certificate (from the last employers or a local Munitions Tribunal), or to ascertain that the workman's last previous employment was not such as to bring him within the terms of Section 7.

8. The Section does not impose any penalty on the workman, either for leaving employment without the employer's consent or for obtaining fresh employment (though he will be liable to penalties under Section 12 of the Act if he has made any false statements with a view to obtaining such employment). The only penalty imposed by the section is on the new employer, who may be fined a sum not exceeding £50 by a General Munitions Tribunal. Proceedings to enforce this penalty may be taken either by or on behalf of the Minister of Munitions, or by any person aggrieved. Thus an employer, any of whose workmen have left him and been employed by any other person in contravention of this section, may himself lay a complaint before a General Munitions Tribunal.

MUNITIONS TRIBUNALS.

A full account of the rules applying to munitions tribunals, both general and local, will be found in the following Government publications:—

Provisional Rules for Constituting and Regulating Munitions Tribunals [H.C., 345], 1d.

Munitions Tribunals Rules (Scotland) [H.C. 351], 1d.

Munitions Tribunals Rules (Ireland) [H.C. 350], 1d.

LIMITATION OF PROFITS.

The regulations governing the limitation of profits in controlled establishments will be found in the following Government publication:—

Munitions (Limitation of Profits) Rules, 1915 [H.C. 353], 1d.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON MUNITIONS.

In September, a Joint Committee, representing the National Labour Advisory Committee and the Ministry of Munitions, with additional members, was appointed to advise and assist the Ministry in regard to the transference of skilled labour and the introduction of semi-skilled and unskilled labour for munitions work, so as to secure the most productive use of all available labour supplies in the manufacture of munitions of war. The members of the Committee are the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P. (Chairman), Mr. W. H. Beveridge, Mr. J. T. Brownlie, Mr. W. F. Dawtry, Mr. Alexander Duckham, Mr. Charles Duncan, M.P., Mr. Charles Ellis, Mr. J. Kaylor, Miss Macarthur, Mr. W. Mosses, Mr. C. F. Rey, Mr. Allan M. Smith, Mr. G. H. West. Secretary, Mr. R. C. Davison, 6, Whitehall Gardens.

LABOUR AND RECRUITING.

The decision of the Labour Party to participate in the Parliamentary Recruiting Campaign initiated in August, 1914, has already been recorded. It now remains to give some account of the actions of Labour during the autumn of 1915.

The Trades Union Congress in September, 1915, passed practically unanimously resolutions endorsing the national policy upon the war. In view of the various proposals respecting conscription and national service the Parliamentary Committee put forward the following resolution which was unanimously agreed to:—

"That we, the delegates to this Congress, representing nearly three million organised workers, record our hearty appreciation of the magnificent response made to the call for volunteers to fight against the tyranny of militarism.

"We emphatically protest against the sinister efforts of a section of the reactionary Press in formulating newspaper policies for party purposes and attempting to foist on this country conscription, which always proves a burden to the workers, and will divide the nation at a time when absolute unanimity is essential.

"No reliable evidence has been produced to show that the voluntary system of enlistment is not adequate to meet all the Empire's requirements.

"We believe that all the men necessary can, and will, be obtained through a voluntary system properly organised, and we heartily support and will give every aid to the Government in their present efforts to secure the men necessary to prosecute the war to a successful issue."

Later in the month at the suggestion of the Executive Committee of the Labour Party a conference of the three National Committees, together with the Members of the Parliamentary Labour Party, was held at the offices of the Board of Education, under the presidency of the Rt. Hon.

Arthur Henderson, M.P., for the purpose of considering the lines of action to be adopted by the Labour Movement as a result of the Congress resolution.

At the invitation of the Conference, Lord Kitchener (Minister for War) and the Prime Minister addressed the Labour representatives, and discussed with them in the fullest and frankest way the nation's military necessities. Two days later the Conference re-assembled and agreed to inaugurate a Labour Recruiting Campaign, with the object of upholding the voluntary system and so avoiding the infliction of conscription. The following were appointed a Committee to direct the campaign: H. Gosling, L.C.C., and C. W. Bowerman, M.P. (Trades Union Congress); W. S. Sanders and G. J. Wardle, M.P. (Labour Party); J. O'Grady, M.P., and W. A. Appleton (General Federation of Trade Unions, with the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., as a Consultative Member.

Mr. Bowerman and Mr. A. Peters, J.P., have been appointed Joint Secretaries, and the campaign is being directed from 1, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

MINING AND THE WAR.

The year from August, 1914, has been eventful for Trade Unionists in the mining industry. When the war broke out the owners in several districts were in negotiation with the unions for reductions of wages. For the time being these demands for reduction were withdrawn, and within a few months the situation had changed so materially that there were no longer the same grounds for putting them forward. During the winter, however, about 200,000 miners in Durham and Northumberland suffered decreases.

THE DISPUTE IN WEST YORKSHIRE.

The first event in the industry to arouse public attention was the threatened strike in the West Yorkshire coalfield. The dispute arose as follows: The Conciliation Board had allotted three advances in wages of 5 per cent., making 15 per cent. in all; under the Minimum Wage Act Judge Amphlett in July, 1914, had given an award raising the minimum wage rate. A large proportion of the West Yorkshire coalowners refused to carry out this award on the ground that the new award was in substitution for the recent advances, and that the rates under the new award should not be added to the 15 per cent. The miners insisted on the carrying out of the award, and negotiations dragged on through the late autumn and winter of 1914 until in the first week of the New Year a ballot was taken on the question of handing in strike notices at those pits whose owners remained obdurate. The decision to take this ballot was sanctioned on January 7th, 1915, by a special conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.*

After this, which meant that in any dispute the Yorkshire Miners' Association had behind them the whole weight of the M.F.G.B., it became clear that the owners' case was hopeless. Even public opinion, usually hostile to the workers in a coal strike, was on this occasion against the coalowners. Finally, on 9th February, the owners conceded the men's demands, with the proviso that the concession should be for the period of the war only, and to this the men agreed.

* Hereinafter referred to as M.F.G.B

THE EIGHT HOURS ACT AGITATION.

In the first months of the war several districts were working short time and unemployment was prevalent. As the winter advanced there was an amount of enlistment among the miners so large as seriously to affect the coal production of the country. Immediately this was realised the coalowners began to press for a suspension of the Eight Hours Act: they averred that production could not be brought up to the normal level unless this was done. An agitation on these lines was run in the Press and in Parliament. The miners on their part held meetings strenuously protesting against the suspension of the Act, and insisting that the shortage in supplies with the corresponding high prices was due to other causes than the operation of the Eight Hours Act.

By the middle of February the question of coal supplies and coal prices had become urgent. A Home Office Departmental Committee was appointed on February 23rd, 1915, "to inquire into the conditions prevailing in the coal-mining industry with a view to promoting such organisation of work and such co-operation between employers and workmen as having regard to the large numbers of miners who are enlisting for naval and military service will secure the necessary production of coal during the war." Its members were:—

Sir Richard Redmayne, Chief Inspector of Mines (Chairman).

Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.

Vernon Hartshorn.

A. F. Pease.

Charles E. Rhodes.

Robert Smillie.

Stephen Walsh, M.P.

Their report, produced on 27th May, set out to discover how far enlistment had depleted the collieries of labour, how far this depletion was affecting output, and how much time was being lost by the workers, both on account of absenteeism and on account of working conditions, such as the closing of pits on certain days of the week; lastly, it sought for a means of maintaining output. The number of workers in coal mines prior to the war was 1,116,648. Up to the end of February 1915, 17.1 per cent., had enlisted. By the end of April it was estimated that the number of miners with the colours was over 220,000.* The percentages for February for the different countries, being based directly on returns, work out a good deal higher than the percentages for the estimated total figures of the whole industry. They are as follows:—

Scotland	28,413	.....	21.3 per cent.
Wales	31,172	.....	18.7 "
England	125,070	.....	18.0 "
Ireland	4	.....	0.8 "

It is not necessary here to go into the factors which had automatically reduced the effect of this removal of labour; it is sufficient to say it was estimated that the decrease in production for 1915 would be fully 36 million tons. But such a loss of output did not, happily, mean a shortage to the like extent, for fully 18 million tons,

* August, 1915: the number of miners with the colours is now well over a quarter of a million.

normally exported to Russia, Germany, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey would be liberated owing to the closing of these markets alone.

The following means were suggested in the course of the inquiry as calculated, if adopted, to counteract the effect of shortage of labour due to recruiting :—

1. The reduction of avoidable absenteeism on the days on which the mines are open for work.
2. The curtailment of holidays.
3. The suspension of the Eight Hours Act.
4. The introduction of labour from outside.
5. The employment of women to perform the lighter work on the surface of the mines.
6. The reduction of the age limit at which boys are permitted to work at the mines.
7. What may be described as general reorganisation of the work at the mines.

The conclusions of the report did not fall in with these suggestions. Indeed, it will be seen from some of the conclusions subjoined that if any member of the Committee put an unwilling signature to the report it was neither Mr. Robert Smillie nor Mr. Stephen Walsh nor Mr. Vernon Hartshorn

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS.*

1. The number of persons from coal mines who have joined H.M. Forces up to the end of February, 1915, is 191,170.

2. We find from returns representing 89 per cent. of the total labour employed in coal mines that the net decrease in mine labour at the end of February amounted to 134,186 persons, or 13½ per cent. of the persons employed in July, 1914, and that there has been, over the seven months, August, 1914, to (and inclusive of) February, 1915, as compared with the corresponding months twelve months earlier, an average fall in output of 3,044,329 tons (or a total loss in output of 13½ per cent.), which loss will continue unless means are taken to prevent it.

3. We find also that absence from work over all classes of mine workers, on the days on which the mines were open to work, was, for seven months succeeding the outbreak of war, an average of 9.8 per cent., and we have arrived at the conclusion that fully 4.8 per cent. of this is avoidable absence. The absenteeism, taking the coalgetters only, is very much higher; and that were there no avoidable absenteeism the output would be increased to the extent of between 13 and 14 million tons; but perfection in this respect is not to be expected. We believe, however, that the case has only to be put before the miners in order to secure a great response on their part, and we suggest that the body best fitted in all respects to put forward the case is the Executive of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

We suggest, also, that the question of the curtailment of holidays and "stop-days" during the war might receive the attention of the same body.

4. It is not possible to determine the exact extent of the home demand without very far reaching inquiry, and, indeed, it is very doubtful whether it is determinable, but from the evidence before us and the inquiries we have instituted, we incline to the belief that it is not far from what it is in normal times.

5. The loss in production for the year commencing from the outbreak of war, will, unless means are taken to reduce the loss, probably amount to 36 million tons, against which must be put a probable reduction in the quantity of coal exported of 24 million tons, leaving a net shortage of twelve million tons, but if the miners continue to be recruited for the Forces the deficiency will be increased.

The evidence before us is conclusive that if labour is further withdrawn from the collieries (notwithstanding the adoption of all possible ameliorative measures) the output will be so reduced as to seriously affect the industrial position of the country, and the time appears to the committee to have arrived when very full consideration should

* Report of the Departmental Committee appointed to inquire into the conditions prevailing in the Coal Mining Industry due to the War (Cd. 7939) (5½d.).

be given to the question as to whether further recruiting among the miners should be encouraged.

6. With reference to the Eight Hours Act, we suggest that the owners and workmen should confer together and determine to what extent, if at all, the Act should be suspended in individual districts, i.e., to what class of labour the suspension should apply, and the amount in point of time the suspension should cover.

7. We do not advise that women should be employed to a greater extent than at present on the surface of mines.

8. We do not suggest that the age limit at which boys can be employed below ground or on the surface should be reduced.

9. We have indicated certain directions in which, possibly, internal reorganisation in the mines might be further carried out.

10. If the restriction of the export of coal to neutral countries is found to be advisable, we have pointed out that special consideration should be given to those mining districts which, to a large extent, depend on export for the existence of the collieries.

11. We think that the importance of economy in the use of coal should be brought before the public. Savings which at once occur to the mind are economies in public and private lighting, whether by gas or electricity, and the manufacture of luxuries which require coal. The rise in the price of coal will no doubt create a tendency towards economy, but we believe that a considerable further saving could be effected if it were brought home to the public that it is a patriotic duty to economise coal during the period of war.

12. The basis of all the proposals and suggestions made by the Committee is harmonious co-operation between employers and employed through the medium of the organisations on both sides thoroughly representative of the parties.

Unless the organisations possess this power, and are able to act with authority for both owners and workmen, friction may arise and stoppages of work take place which ought to be avoided at the present time to the utmost extent possible.

In the highest interests of the nation it is especially desirable that during the period of the war the employers should co-operate with the representatives of the workmen on such questions as non-unionism, or other questions likely to lead to any friction or stoppage during the present unprecedented circumstances.

During the spring and summer efforts were put forth by the miners to increase the production of coal. On 29th July a conference of the employers and employees in the coal-mining industry was held in London. Sir John Simon, the Home Secretary, presided. He pointed out that they were short of three million tons of coal a month, and that in spite of the sacrifices the miners had made in curtailing their Easter and summer holidays. He appealed to them to increase production by every means in their power. If necessary, at a later date, the Government might consult the industry as to the suspension of the Eight Hours Act. Mr. Lloyd George then made a general appeal. Finally, Mr. Smillie, president of the M.F.G.B., urged an increase on the additional grounds that the grates of the poor should not be empty in the coming winter. Every effort should be made and every means should be tried before recourse was made to a suspension of the Eight Hours Act, to a reduction in the age for boys either below or above the surface, or to a more extensive employment of women on the surface.

Thus matters stood with regard to the production of coal at the end of twelve months of war. There was every indication then that unless production were immensely increased the question of making a temporary change in the regulations concerning hours of labour and employment of women and children would shortly become an issue of extreme urgency.

THE DEMAND FOR A SPECIAL 20 PER CENT. ADVANCE.

During the winter of 1914-15 prices rose steadily. After the New Year wages movements were initiated in various industries. In the middle of March (when the cost of food alone had risen by 24 per cent.) the miners held a conference at which it was decided that the M.F.G.B.

should make a demand, as a national organisation, for a special advance in wages to meet the increased cost of living. The demand was to be for an immediate increase of 20 per cent. on earnings. The Mining Association of Great Britain was to be asked to hold a national joint meeting with the miners. This request the Mining Association of Great Britain refused, on the ground that it existed solely for dealing with legislation affecting the industry and could not touch a question of wages. Wages questions, they held—inasmuch as circumstances differed from locality to locality—must be dealt with by districts and in the districts the employers were willing to meet the men.

On this the Executive of the miners decided to call a conference of the M.F.G.B. on April 21st to consider the policy to be pursued. At this conference a motion by the South Wales Miners' Federation to tender strike notices was rejected, and it was decided to ask for Government intervention to bring the coalowners and miners together. After long delay and much negotiation a meeting was secured through the instrumentality and under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, on the express understanding that it was not to be regarded as a precedent for national conferences on wages questions. The employers at this joint conference offered an immediate national advance of 10 per cent., to be followed by local negotiations for further advances. This the miners rejected, and decided to leave the 20 per cent. demand in the hands of the Prime Minister to be settled by arbitration. Mr. Asquith's decision was that a case had been made out for an immediate advance, but that, owing to the variety of local conditions, the actual amounts should be decided locally.

The results of the local negotiations, as might have been expected, was that some districts were fairly satisfied while others did very badly. Northumberland and Durham, for instance, only got 15 per cent. **on the standard** (less than half of what had been demanded). The federated districts, which include Lancashire and Cheshire, Yorkshire, the Midlands, and North Wales, gained 15½ per cent. **on earnings**. On their standard the Scottish miners got 18½ per cent. and the South Welshmen 17½ per cent. on theirs. Nowhere, however, was there conceded the full 20 per cent. on earnings.

It is worth while noting, in conclusion, that the demand of the M.F.G.B. for **national** negotiations for a wages advance to meet a **national** rise in the cost of living had more behind it than the ostensible arguments given. It has been part of the centralising policy of the M.F.G.B. in recent years to make it the unit for collective bargaining with the employers. The accession of strength which would inevitably result from this is fully realised by the employers, and it was a knowledge of this that stiffened their opposition to national negotiation. Mr. Asquith's award, in so far as it remitted negotiations to the districts, was a set back to this forward policy of the M.F.G.B.

NEW AGREEMENTS.

At the Scarborough Conference of the M.F.G.B. in 1913 a resolution was carried which provided that all new agreements entered into by Conciliation Boards must terminate at one and the same time subject to three months' notice; that in place of the obsolete standards of 1877, 1879, and 1888 a new standard rate of wages should be created by merging into the new standards all bonuses and percentages not less than the existing minimum percentages and bonuses recognised by

the Boards. It was also agreed to demand a minimum wage of not less than 5s. a day for all adult surface workers. The 1st of April, 1915, was fixed as the date on which notice should be given to terminate existing agreements regulated by Conciliation Boards. In pursuance of these resolutions the various districts in the early spring put forward programmes for the new agreements, and on the 4th of February, 1915, the Executive of the M.F.G.B. carried a resolution that no district agreement be considered settled until after confirmation by the M.F.G.B. The employers and miners forthwith began to negotiate the terms of the new agreements. In the English federated area, in Scotland, Cumberland, and in Durham a new agreement was drawn up more or less in accordance with the terms of the Scarborough resolutions. In Northumberland the notice to terminate the sliding scale agreement was withdrawn.

THE SOUTH WALES STRIKE.

The history of the demand for a new wages agreement in South Wales at once presents special features and is of general importance. It will be narrated at length, and under its heading will be treated the attitude of the miners to compulsory arbitration and the Munitions Act.

On the 3rd of March, 1915, the South Wales Miners' Federation put forward proposals for a revision of the Conciliation Board agreement, which had run for a period of five years from 1910. The main heads of their proposals were:—

1. That the existing standard rate (1879) be abolished and a new standard established which shall have merged therein 50 per cent. on the 1879 standard.*
2. That surface workers should have not less than 5s. a day.
3. That workers on the afternoon and night shifts should be paid upon the new standard at the rate of a turn and a-fifth for each shift worked.
4. That the agreement shall apply to all grades of workmen employed in or about the collieries.

There were other important provisions on which the miners eventually yielded. As they did not become a bone of contention they have not been given here.

When these proposals were put forward the South Wales coalowners replied that they felt it was undesirable to begin a new agreement in the midst of war. They urged the miners to continue working under the old agreement, and, in return for this surrender on the part of the men, they were prepared to offer a 10 per cent. war bonus. (It should be noted that the demand for a new agreement had taken place just at the same time as the national demand for a 20 per cent. war bonus.) The miners, naturally, refused to agree. They pointed out that the owners had cleverly confused the issues, that the new agreement demand was quite separate from the war bonus demand, and that the withdrawal of the one could not be made a condition for the granting of part of the other. They pointed out that the 10 per cent. offered was much less than the miners were prepared to accept nationally, quite apart from considerations of standard rates.

It will be remembered that eventually the South Wales miners obtained a war bonus of 17½ per cent. The reply of the owners to this

* Certain collieries worked under a standard of 1877, to which 35 per cent. was to be added to make the new standard of 1915.

was a curt refusal even to meet the miners for the purpose of negotiating upon the proposed new agreement.

The 1st of April marked the termination of the 1910 agreement. The necessary three months' notice was given by the S.W.M.F. for a new agreement. During this period negotiations were supposed to go on, but, as will be seen, the attitude of the owners made such a course impossible. During the three months from April to the end of June the owners persistently refused to negotiate, while the Government, which was afterwards to play a prominent part in the dispute, took no heed of the situation.

Towards the end of June it was suddenly realised that unless a new agreement was made a stoppage would take place in the Welsh coalfield. Mr. Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, then intervened. A series of conferences was held during the last week of June with but little apparent result. Various solutions were proposed, but the representatives of the South Wales miners felt that these solutions would be unacceptable to the delegates' conference. It should be noted that no decision of the Executive of the South Wales Miners' Federation, affecting the whole coalfield, is valid until it has been ratified by a conference of delegates. Eventually, on the 30th of June, when a stoppage seemed inevitable, the three Labour Members of the Government, the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., Mr. W. Brace, M.P., and Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P., together with Mr. Isaac Mitchell, of the Board of Trade, arrived at Cardiff as Government emissaries. On the evening of their arrival the Executive agreed to recommend that the last proposals put forward by Mr. Runciman be accepted, but only as a basis for future negotiations, and that, pending a settlement, the pits should continue working for a fortnight on day-to-day contracts. The delegate meeting accepted this recommendation of the Executive by a majority of eleven out of 235 delegates.

The following is the text of the Government proposals put forward on 1st July as a basis for the new agreement:—

1. The rates of surfacemen which are below 3s. 4d. per day to be advanced to 3s. 4d. per day.
2. Nightmen to receive six turns for five.
3. Hauliers employed on afternoon and night shifts to be paid the same rate of wages as those employed on the day shift.
4. A new standard of 50 per cent. on the 1879 standard to be established. Any standards in operation other than the 1879 standard to be correspondingly adjusted. (It is not intended that the alteration of the standard shall in itself affect an immediate change in wages.)
5. The maximum and minimum provided for in the 1910 agreement not to be operative.
6. Any question of interpretation of these terms to be submitted in writing.

During the first week of July the Executive Council of the South Wales Miners' Federation pressed Mr. Runciman for such an interpretation of these unfavourable terms as might make them more palatable even considered merely as a basis for negotiations. The owners put forward a similar demand. On Friday, the 9th of July, three days before the assembling of the delegate meeting called for Monday (12th) Mr. Runciman gave his interpretations. These were extremely unfavourable to the miners. He made it clear that men on afternoon and night shifts should be paid at the rate of six turns for five, and not as demanded, at the rate of one turn and a fifth for each turn worked. The rates paid underground day-wage men were

left to the consideration of the Joint Conciliation Board instead of being raised to a uniform 5s. minimum.

The question as to what classes of workmen were covered by the terms of July 1st was left to the decision of the independent chairman of the Joint Conciliation Board. The miners had demanded that the agreement should apply merely to those workers who were or might become members of the South Wales Miners' Federation. In other words, non-unionists and members of "sectional" societies were not to benefit. The reason for shelving a decision in this point was that, "as this may affect other Trade Unions, it requires more investigation and inquiry into local circumstances than Mr. Runciman can at present undertake." It may be noted that Mr. Runciman's failure to grapple with this point was, perhaps, more fruitful of dissension than anything else. Finally, the note that ran throughout Mr. Runciman's interpretations was that of reference to the independent chairman of the Conciliation Board. This did not satisfy the miners, who were demanding an immediate decision, and who knew that a question shelved was frequently a question lost. Immediately the nature of Mr. Runciman's interpretations were made public the Executive realised that it would be well-nigh impossible to prevent a stoppage of the coalfield. The Government had given a decision which practically invited a strike. Nevertheless, the Executive Council put forward to the workers' delegate conference on Monday, the 12th, a resolution which endeavoured to secure the further continuance of work. By this time, however, the patience of the miners was exhausted. For five years they had been bound down by an agreement in many ways unfavourable to themselves; notice had run for three months after the termination of that agreement; for 14 days they had extended the period of working. Despite this extended notice, they were as far off a decision as ever. Indeed, the interpretations by Mr. Runciman of his own document only strengthened the opposition to the document itself. Thus they resolved to wait no longer but at once to bring matters to a head. The following was the decision of the delegate meeting:—

"That we do not accept anything less than our original proposals, and that we stop the collieries on Thursday next until these terms are conceded."

The resolution was carried by 1,894 to 1,037 votes, representing a Federation membership majority of 42,850.

To this decision the reply of the Government was to "proclaim" the South Wales coalfield under the Munitions of War Act.*

* To understand how the stoppage on the South Wales coalfield fitted in with the general course of events it is necessary to consider the attitude taken up by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain towards compulsory arbitration. They had always been opposed to it. When the Minister of Munitions summoned representatives of the Trade Unions to meet him at the Treasury and discuss the proposals afterwards to be inserted in the Munitions Act, the Miners' Federation of Great Britain refused to be parties to a conference when they understood that compulsory arbitration was to be proposed and pushed. Throughout June they negotiated with Mr. Lloyd George to be left out of the Bill. Eventually Mr. Lloyd George agreed to insert, after the section in which it is stated that the penal clauses of the Act may be applied by Royal proclamation to *any difference*, the following provision:—

"If, in the case of any industry, the Minister of Munitions is satisfied that effective means exist to secure a settlement without a stoppage of any difference arising on work other than munition work, no proclamation shall be made under this section with respect to such difference."

In spite of this meagre concession, the proclamation was made in the case of South Wales. As will be seen, it proved a dead letter in their case.

This attempt at coercion had absolutely no effect, and the 200,000 workers in South Wales struck despite, perhaps partly because of, the Act.

It was borne in upon the Government that it was impossible, especially when the machinery of the Munitions Act was as yet imperfect, to fine 200,000 strikers. Negotiations were resumed between the Executive and the Board of Trade, but without result. Meanwhile, the strike had taken the chief place in public interest. Public opinion being uninformed of the facts, was against the strikers, and, so far as public opinion is retrospective, it is still against them. For this the capitalist Press was almost entirely responsible. With the honourable exception of the "Manchester Guardian," the capitalist daily newspapers vied with one another in vilifying the miners of South Wales.

After the strike had run for five days Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Runciman, and Mr. Arthur Henderson arrived at Cardiff. After 24 hours' negotiation an agreement was reached. This agreement, the achievement of which was in no small degree due to Mr. Arthur Henderson, conceded those points on which the miners had laid most stress, and it promised that His Majesty's Government would see that it was agreed to by the coalowners. On this the miners returned to work.

A further disagreement was caused a month later by Mr. Runciman interpreting a point in the agreement in a sense other than the apparent meaning of the words. This was the question as to whether the agreement covered enginemen, pumpmen, stokers, etc. Mr. Runciman excluded these men in spite of the clause, which said that the agreement would apply to "all the workers who may be members of the South Wales Miners' Federation." A strike immediately threatened. This was averted by Mr. Runciman revising his decision. The new Conciliation Board agreement, 1915, was then signed.

The history of the negotiations for this new agreement has been dealt with at some length, because of its intrinsic importance, because of its reaction on the working of the Munitions Act, and because it provides an example of the manner in which throughout the twelve months of war employers obstinately refused to maintain the *status quo*, but persistently endeavoured to make the war redound to their own advantage.

The unbending and unpatriotic attitude taken up by the owners in the South Wales coalfield was the cause of all the trouble. In this attitude there was nothing new, but the fact that the system of private profiteering, which made such an attitude possible, was continued in a time of national emergency speaks volumes, not only against the owners, but against the Government which permitted it.

WOMEN AND THE WAR.

Nowhere have the effects of the war been felt to a greater extent than in the sphere of women's labour. Upon women fell the greatest burden of unemployment during the first months of the war. As compared with the position before the war, the total number of women employed in staple industries, excluding agriculture, had decreased by 190,000 in September, by 139,000 in October, by 75,000 in December, and, even in February, by 35,000, and, though unemployment has to

a large extent recovered, there are still considerable numbers of women out of work.

On the outbreak of war an organisation, called Queen Mary's Needlework Guild was established. When originally formed this body declared that its object was to provide comforts for the troops by means of voluntary labour. At once it was pointed out that so far from doing good the Q.M.N.G. would merely make matters worse by causing further unemployment among working women. As a result of continuous protests the following official statement appeared in the papers on August 17th :—

“The details of the plan which the Queen has had under contemplation for some days to collect money to finance schemes of work for women unemployed on account of the war will be announced in a day or two.

“It is the wish of Her Majesty that these schemes should be devised in consultation with industrial experts and representatives of working-class women.

“There has been evident misunderstanding concerning the aims of the Queen's Needlework Guild, some people feeling alarmed at the possibility that the enlistment of voluntary aid of women workers would tend to restrict the employment of other women in dire need of paid work. Voluntary aid was meant to supplement and not to supplant paid labour, and one of the Queen's very first cares when the Guild appeal was decided upon was to avoid the infliction of any hardship.

“The matter has been under earnest consideration ever since, and the announcement that representatives of working women will be called into consultation provides a guarantee that everything possible will be done to safeguard the interests of women workers.”

In accordance with the change of plan thus outlined the Queen's Work for Women Fund was started—nominally as a part of the National Relief Fund, and nominally under the control of the National Relief Fund Committee. Money was, however, set aside for the special purpose of providing work for women, and the control was left almost entirely in the hands of the Central Committee for Women's Employment, which was appointed on August 20th. This Committee, of which Lady Crewe is the Chairman and Miss Mary Macarthur the Honorary Secretary, consists of 14 members, including five representatives of working women, appointed by the War Emergency Workers' National Committee.

The Committee at once got to work. In the words of their own report, they “realised that it is better that workers should be self-maintaining than dependent upon relief, even when that relief is given in the form of work. . . .” The Committee, in these circumstances, considered it to be their duty to use such opportunities as were given to them to increase the number of firms and workers participating in the supply of Government requirements, and for this purpose they created a special Contracts Department under the direction of Mr. J. J. Mallon.

The following is the list of the chief contracts which the Committee had taken up by March, 1915 :—

- (a) Twenty thousand cut out Army grey shirts to be made up.

(b) As from October, when the above-mentioned contract expired, 10,000 similar shirts per week. The Committee in this case became responsible for the cutting as well as the making of the shirts.

(c) One hundred and five thousand flannel body belts for the French and British Armies.

(d) Two million pairs of Army grey socks.

With regard to these contracts the Committee makes the following statements :—

1. The work is only undertaken where the ordinary trade is fully employed.

2. The work is undertaken at trade prices and is self-maintaining. Advances made from the National Relief Fund in connection with certain contracts are merely working capital which at the completion of the contract will be returned in full.

3. The conditions as to the remuneration of workers have been (since October last) those usual in women's trades, that is to say, payment is mainly by piece, and the limits as to weekly earnings which apply in the relief work-rooms are not observed.

The Committee further organised a system of relief work-rooms—some controlled directly by the Central Committee, others under Local Relief Committees—but kept in touch with the Central Committee by the Women's Employment Sub-Committees, on which local women's Labour organisations had to be adequately represented.

Much criticism was levelled at the scale of wages paid in these work-rooms, viz., 3d. an hour, with 40 as the maximum number of hours a week. Later the hours were raised to 46 and 11s. 6d. fixed as the maximum wage. The Committee claimed for its decision in this matter that "it was felt undesirable to fix wages either so high as to attract from ordinary employment or else so low as to fall below the barest subsistence level," and further pointed out "that the lowest minimum so far determined by a Trade Board for a trade of any magnitude has been 3d."

Up to January 23rd about 9,000 workers had passed through the work-rooms, 4,908 being still employed in them at that date. Owing to the absorption of women in the revival of industry most of the work-rooms have now been closed.

The great dislocation of trade on the outbreak of war naturally increased the transference of women into new branches of industry, a tendency which had been apparent before the war, but was afterwards strongly accentuated. In March the Government launched a scheme of voluntary registration, and invited all women who were "prepared, if needed, to accept paid work of any kind—industrial, agricultural, clerical, etc.—to enter themselves upon the register of women for war service at the Labour Exchanges." Within a fortnight 33,000 women enrolled their names upon this register, and it may be noted that, though 110,714 in all registered, by the middle of September employment had only been found for 5,511.

The Women's Freedom League, in reply to the Government scheme, issued the following manifesto :—

"The Women's Freedom League are glad to note the tardy recognition by the Government of the value of women's work brought

before the country in their scheme of war service for women. We demand from the Government, however, certain guarantees.

"Firstly, that no trained woman employed in men's work be given less pay than that given to men.

"Secondly, that some consideration be given when the war is over to the women who during the war have carried on this necessary work.

"Thirdly, that in case of training being required proper maintenance be given to the woman or girl while that training is going on.

"Recognising that the Government's scheme offers a splendid opportunity for raising the status of women in industry, we urge that every woman should now resolutely refuse to undertake any branch of work except for equal wages with men. By accepting less than this women would be showing themselves disloyal to one another and to the men who are serving their country in the field. These men should certainly be safeguarded on their return from any undercutting by women.

"Finally, seeing that the Government are now making a direct appeal to women to come forward and help in the defence of their country, and that fresh responsibilities are being thrust upon them—thousands through the loss of their husband being left to perform the duties of both father and mother—we feel that this is an opportune moment for the Government to guarantee that before they leave office they will bring before the House of Commons a measure for the political enfranchisement of women.

"We urge all suffragists to support us in this demand **now**."

Even more significant was the immediate protest entered by the Workers' National Committee. On March 18th it passed the following resolution :—

"That this Workers' National Committee has had under serious consideration the circular, 'War Service for Women,' issued by the Board of Trade. The Committee points out that there are still 60,000 men and boys and 40,000 women and girls on the live register of the Labour Exchanges for whom the Board of Trade has gone so far afield to find situations or provide training, whilst many thousands more are working short time. It further points out that the object of the circular appears to be specially directed to obtain women's labour in agriculture, and that absolutely no safeguards are proposed to guarantee good conditions and fair wages. The Committee is strongly of opinion that in drafting women into any industries care must be taken to prevent the stereotyping of bad conditions and low wages or to endanger standard conditions where they obtain; that this should be secured by a tribunal representative of the organised wage-earners—men and women; and that further efforts should be made to find situations for those persons now on the register before taking steps to bring in fresh supplies of female labour."

The Agricultural Labourers' Union went so far as to express serious doubt as to the existence of any shortage so far as they were concerned. In their opinion, the farmers, through the loss of their surplus labour, and through the consequent balancing of supply and demand, feared that their workers would demand better conditions

and ask for wages more on a level with those in other forms of employment.

Clerical labour, of course, has been the most fruitful field for the substituting of women for men. It is a notable fact, however, that in one of the most important branches of clerical work—the Civil Service—there has been hardly any change. In the postal service alone, which already employed a very large number of women before the war, has women's labour extended into new grades.

The scale of wages laid down by the Treasury for women engaged as temporary assistants in Government departments is as follows:—

For typing, operating duplicating machines, and ordinary sorting or routine work, 18s. to 20s. a week, with overtime at the rate of 6d. an hour.

For ordinary clerical work, 21s. to 25s. a week, with overtime at the rate of 7d. an hour.

For shorthand-typing, 26s. a week, with overtime at the rate of 9d. an hour.

For higher clerical and supervising work, 30s. a week, with overtime at the rate of 9d. an hour. In normal circumstances clerical posts at this rate are only sanctioned in a proportion not exceeding one to five of those at the lower rate. The normal hours of attendance are determined by the heads of departments at their discretion, and are not less than 42 hours a week. Overtime of less than half-an-hour on any one day is not counted for the purpose of overtime payment. Ordinary leave on full pay may be allowed (subject to the exigencies of the Service) at the rate of one day for each month of service, as well as on the usual public holidays. Sick leave on full pay may be allowed up to a maximum of six weeks in the year, insurance contributions being payable at the reduced rates prescribed by Section 47 of the National Insurance Act, 1911.

The National Union of Clerks' rate is 35s. a week minimum for adult workers. In view of these facts the Workers' National Committee issued an appeal to women to oppose any lowering of the standard of life of the workers, to further the organisation of all women in industry, and to demand that, in any readjustment of staffs after the war, employment should be guaranteed to the women who might be displaced.

After clerical work the replacement of men by women has occurred to a larger extent in the distributive trades—and especially in grocery—than in most other trades and occupations. Practically the only limitations to the openings for women in these trades have been in work requiring physical strength or technical knowledge. It should be noticed that the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks, which includes over 20,000 women among its 90,000 members, refused at its annual conference this year (1915) to demand equal pay for men and women on the ground that the work was not equal, but it in no way raised objections to the extension of women's employment. Where women's labour is introduced the union has sought to enforce a minimum scale based on four-fifths of the rates paid to men.

In industry proper by far the most important developments have been in engineering and the metal trades. The chief change is that women have found their way into the engineering shops, and are now

working together with the male operatives, even if they are engaged on different processes. This gave rise to the proposal that women should be admitted to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, but at the delegate meeting, in June, 1915, the suggestion was definitely rejected. Instead, the society decided to regard the women as emergency workers only, and came to an arrangement whereby they should be organised by the National Federation of Women Workers. It is too early yet to make any comment on the effect of this policy, or indeed with any certainty on the extent to which women are entering general engineering. The cotton industry, which has been depressed, has shown little change, but the agitation for the introduction of women in the spinning processes is being renewed. Consequent upon enlistment there has been, and still is, a more acute shortage of piecers—a poorly paid and almost blind ally process—but the Spinners' Amalgamation, which resists the entrance of women, has pressed instead for an extension of child labour.

On railways women's employment was, even before the war, steadily increasing, the increase between 1901 and 1911 being from 1,411 to 2,636, or 82.9 per cent. The war has had the effect of speeding up this process. The National Union of Railwaymen, at their 1915 annual meeting, decided to admit women to the union and to support their claim to the same rates as were paid to the men; in practice, however, they seem to be paid at lower rates and to work shorter hours. By far the greatest increase in the number of women employed has taken place in the clerical branch of the service, and the Railway Clerks' Association is doing its best to safeguard standards and conditions. The following is a table which approximately represents the scales of wages paid in July, 1915, to women clerks on the North-Eastern Railway, a company which is not by any means the worst employer among British railways:—

Age.	Women's rates per week.		Men's rates per week.		Difference per week.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
16	6	11	11	6	4	7
17	9	2	15	4	6	2
18	11	6	19	2	7	8
19	13	10	23	0	9	2
20	16	1	24	11	8	10
21	18	5	26	10	8	5
22	20	9	28	9	8	0
23	23	0	30	8	7	8
24	25	4	32	7	7	3
25	25	4	34	6	9	2
26	25	4	36	5	11	1
27	25	4	38	4	13	0

Turning to the manipulative grades, we find that the following agreement was reached between the railway companies of Great Britain and the National Union of Railwaymen to take effect as from August 16th, 1915:—

“An assurance was asked for and given that the employment of women in capacities in which they had not formerly been employed

was an emergency provision arising out of the circumstances created by the war, and would not prejudice in any way any undertaking given by the companies as to the employment of men who had joined the colours on the conclusion of the war.

"It was agreed that the employment of women during the war in capacities in which they had not been previously employed is an emergency arising entirely out of the war, and is without prejudice to the general question of the employment of women.

"The pay of women employed in grades in which they were not employed prior to August, 1914, shall, for the duration of the war, be the minimum pay of the grade."

Its application, therefore, is to women employees on the operative staff only (and not the clerical staff), and includes ticket collectors and examiners, messengers, hall and platform attendants, office porters, pneumatic tube attendants, checkers, shippers, weighbridge clerks, timekeepers, and carriage cleaners.

It is interesting to notice that between 1901 and 1911 the proportion of women to men in all forms of employment hardly changed, but the proportion of young women to older women rose—hence the reserve of retired women workers found available in certain cases, such as the woollen industry, when war broke out. Hence also the encouraging fact that some of this competition in the labour market is likely to be withdrawn when things again become normal. At the same time, it makes plain the increased difficulty of the organisation of this labour, a point of importance put forward very clearly at a national conference of Trade Unions with women members and other women's Labour bodies, called together on April 17th by the Workers' National Committee. Miss Margaret Bondfield proposed and the conference passed the following resolution:—

"That this conference, representing the women's Trade Union, Labour, Socialist, co-operative, suffrage, and kindred organisations, declares that as it is imperative in the interests of the highest patriotism that no emergency action should be allowed unnecessarily to depress the standard of living of the workers or the standard of working conditions adequate safeguards must be laid down for any necessary transference or substitution of labour, and it, therefore, urges:—

"(a) That all women who register for war service should immediately join the appropriate Trade Union for which they are volunteering service, and that membership of such organisation should be the condition of employment for war service.

"(b) That where a woman is doing the same work as a man she should receive the same rate of pay, and that the principle of equal pay for equal work should be rigidly maintained.

"(c) That in no case should any woman be drafted from the war register to employment at less than an adequate living wage, and that the stereotyping of sweated conditions must at all costs be avoided.

"(d) That adequate training, with maintenance, should be provided for suitable women whom it is proposed to place in employment under the foregoing conditions, and that

in choosing candidates for such training preference should be given, where suitability is equal, to the normal woman wage-earner now unemployed.

“(e) That in any readjustment of staffs which may have to be effected after the war priority of employment shall be given to workmen whose places have been filled by women.

“(f) That the women who are displaced in this way shall be guaranteed employment.”

It is necessary to bear in mind the elusiveness of the term “equal pay for equal work” in clause (b) and the consequent necessity for clear definition. As Miss Sylvia Pankhurst has pointed out, the Government’s promise to guarantee equal piece rates by no means satisfies the demand. No guarantee has been given in the very numerous cases in which women are employed by the day or hour.

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CHILD LABOUR AND THE FACTORY ACTS.

The position of children in regard to industry and the general standard of life has undoubtedly undergone considerable improvement during the last generation, but it cannot be regarded as at all satisfactory even in normal times at the present day. The war has brought many social evils into prominence, and one of the greatest that has been accentuated by war conditions is the employment of children and their exemption from school attendance at far too early an age.

The ordinary legal position of children has already been fully described in Part II. (page 279), and here we desire to show to what extent the pre-war restrictions on the employment of children have been modified.

In the article in Part II. it has been shown that in 1912 there were some 273,000 children working either part—or whole—time during school hours, together with a further 300,000 in full attendance at school who were employed after school hours. In comparison with these figures the total number of children exempted on account of war conditions seems small, but the important thing is rather the grounds on which exemption was granted than merely the number of cases.

The bulk of the exemptions have been in agricultural districts, the plea being that consequent upon the enlistment of males extra help was needed in farming work. The following tables, compiled by the Board of Education, show the number of children who have been excused from school attendance (A) in county areas from 1st September, 1914, to 31st January, 1915, for purposes specified in the

table, and (B) from 1st February, 1915, to 30th April, 1915, for the purpose of entering agricultural employment:—

A.

RETURNS OF CHILDREN EXCUSED FROM SCHOOL ATTENDANCE,
1ST SEPTEMBER, 1914, to 31ST JANUARY, 1915, OWING TO CIRCUMSTANCES
CONNECTED WITH THE WAR.

COUNTY AREAS.

(a)	(b) No. of children normally liable to attend school who have been allowed to leave school and enter employment.		(c) No. of children in (b) who have entered agricultural employment.		(d) No. of children in (b) who have entered factory or workshop employment.		(e) No. of children in (b) who have entered employments other than those in (c) and (d).	
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
Between 11 and 12 years of age	54	—	54	—	—	—	—	—
12 „ 13 „	920	1	884	1	4	—	32	—
13 „ 14 „	563	52	449	24	26	1	88	27
Total	1,537	53	1,388*	25	30	1	120	27

* The discrepancy of one is accounted for by Berkshire, who furnished no particulars as to the age of one child exempted.

Twenty-five County Council authorities stated that no children had been excused from school attendance during the period above mentioned owing to circumstances connected with the war.

B.

No. of children normally liable to attend school who have been allowed to leave school and enter agricultural employment.		Between 11 and 12 years of age.		Between 12 and 13 years of age.		Between 13 and 14 years of age.	
		Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
3,705		49	2	2,156	13	1,012	72

When (B) was published no returns of children excused in urban areas were given by the Board of Education, and it was stated that "inquiries as to the number of children excused from school in urban areas and for the purpose of employment other than agriculture have not been repeated, as it was found that the number of children so excused was small.

During the period covered by (A) there were 1,388 boys and 25 girls excused attendance for the purpose of agricultural employment; during that covered by (B) (three months as against the other five) there were 3,705 boys and 106 girls so exempted, or nearly three times as many.

These exemptions have taken place as the result of an active policy on the part of Farmers' Associations. Farmers, as a class, have never been well disposed towards education, and the coming of war afforded a good opportunity to translate their dislike into practice. Immediate advantage was taken by them of the general confusion at the outbreak of war and of the natural desire of the Government to foster recruiting to urge the necessity of increasing the supply of labour available for harvest work. The Board of Education adopted no very definite policy, but stated that the granting of exemptions for this purpose was within the powers of the local authorities and the local magistrates. In many localities this attitude was taken as indicating acquiescence in the demands of the farmers, and, as the tables already given show, a large number of exemptions were granted. In most cases the exemptions were given for an indefinite period. The wages paid to the new labour were generally very low: the Board of Education reported that "the wages vary below a maximum of 7s. a week."

In January, 1915, the agitation against child labour became very strong as a result of the action of the Workers' National Committee. At the same time, the farmers renewed their activities, and a definite pronouncement on the subject was made by Mr. Pease in the House of Commons. He stated once more that it rested with the local authorities to settle all particular cases brought to their notice, but added that, in his opinion, no case had been made out for the wholesale relaxation of the Education Acts, and that the Government had no intention of introducing legislation in such a direction. The powers left in the hands of the local authorities were naturally used by them as the bulk of their members desired, and, as the farmers are well represented on rural authorities, the policy of granting exemptions with little trouble was continued, and, indeed, intensified. Whether the action of the local authorities was legally justifiable is open to doubt. To announce publicly that the law of school attendance would not be enforced in the case of certain children was to refuse to administer the Education Acts. As Mr. A. J. Mundella, of the National Education Association, pointed out in a letter to the Press, though the local authority is not bound to prosecute for non-attendance if it is satisfied that there is reasonable excuse for such non-attendance, it is obligatory on the authority to prosecute anyone who employs a child under the age of 14 who has not attained that standard of attendance or education definitely prescribed by law. However, the farmers carried the local authorities with them in practice. On February 24th. the Labour Party initiated a debate in the House of Commons, in the course of which it was stated on behalf of the Board of Agriculture that the Board advocated the use of every available form of labour before the withdrawal of children from school, and that, if the expedients suggested by the Board were adopted, the need for child labour would seem to disappear. These expedients included (1) the raising of wages in the agricultural industry in order to attract more labour; (2) the use of Belgian and other foreign labour; and (3) the employment of women. A further debate was held on March 4th, when a speech by Mr. Asquith again made the real attitude of the Government doubtful, and as a result of the speech the farmers and local authorities were encouraged to go on and chance the consequences. Following these debates special

conferences between the Labour Exchange authorities and the farmers were arranged, and the farmers were asked to adduce evidence in each locality of a shortage of labour. So far as can yet be estimated, the result of these conferences goes to show that no general shortage exists that cannot be met by the offer of decent wages, and that the special difficulties at harvest time have been overcome by the Government allowing soldiers, skilled in such work, special leave to render the necessary help. Indeed, in some districts complaint has been made that soldiers have been engaged at enhanced rates, although fully qualified agricultural labourers have been available.

In general, it may be said with regard to agriculture that the Government too easily gave way to the demands of the farmers, who never really proved their case. Later attempts to remedy the mistake were only partially of use, since matters had really gone too far. There can be no doubt that the whole move of the farmers is simply directed towards a general lowering of the standard of wages, of life, and of education amongst the agricultural labouring classes. It is well to contrast the attitude of the British Government and public on this question with that of the French. The French Minister of Education issued a circular to local authorities which contained the following sentences: "The existing laws on the attendance of boys at school must be maintained this year with more strictness than ever. . . . It would be disgraceful to see children robbed of their education as if the military service of their fathers had left them only the choice between beggary and premature wage-labour."

The attitude of the Agricultural Labourers' and Rural Workers' Union to employment of children in agriculture was one of uncompromising but reasoned hostility. The Workers' National Committee circularised the branches of this union asking for the views of members. The replies received indicate a broad-minded and profound view of social and industrial problems. The general opinion was that sufficient labour could be obtained if adequate wages were offered, and that the ultimate gain of a sound education should not be sacrificed for temporary economic ends.

The view of the problem taken by the National Union of Teachers, as might be expected, was mainly an educational one. They insisted on the permanent need for education; the importance to the nation of rearing a generation fitted to undertake great responsibilities and face great national emergencies.

The employment of children in industrial occupations, as has been said, has been confined within much smaller limits than in agriculture. The total number of boys released from school for industrial occupations from September, 1914, to January, 1915, was 684, and of girls 256. These cases are confined largely to Cardiff, Widnes, South Shields, and Gateshead; these four areas between them accounted for 593 out of a total of 768. The attitude of the Home Office when asked to consent to the relaxation of the Elementary Education Act with regard to the employment of children in factories was firmly negative and a model of what departments can do with reactionary local authorities. The Home Office refused to consent to any relaxation unless the Admiralty or the War Office certified that the observance of the Act was delaying work necessary for naval or military activities.

In conclusion, two facts must be mentioned which seem to show that short-sighted profiteering is not confined to the capitalist classes. At a meeting of the Stockport Trades and Labour Council in July last the following resolution was submitted:—

“That this Council use its influence with the local education authorities to persuade them to reduce the age from 14 to 13 years as the age when children shall be allowed to leave school.”

Happily, the resolution was lost by 7 votes to 80.

Much more serious is the fact that the Executive of the Cotton Spinners' Amalgamation and the Employers' Federation have already jointly approached the Home Secretary and suggested that, during the continuance of the war, full-time employment in cotton mills shall commence at 13 years of age instead of 14, and that the definition “young person” shall apply to workers under 17 years of age, instead of those under 18 years as at present.

FACTORY ACTS.

With regard to the Factory Acts (which deal in the main with the conditions of employment of women and young persons) very little information is available. It is known that very considerable relaxations have taken place, notably in the case of firms engaged on munitions work, but particulars have not been made public by the Government.

The policy adopted by the Home Office at the outbreak of war was to tell employers of labour that demands for the suspension or alteration of the Factory Acts would be considered, and permission given or refused on the merits of each case.

The following case affords a typical instance of the short-sighted attitude towards all industrial questions now prevalent: In the spring of this year a summons was taken out by the Home Office against a Leeds engineering firm for employing two girls for 30 and 25½ hours at a stretch respectively. The second girl left off at this point only because she met with an accident. Her age was 18. This employment was in contravention not only of the Acts, but of an extension of the Acts that had been specially granted to the firm. The case was dismissed by the stipendiary magistrate on the grounds of “national urgency.” The Home Office, with the consent of the War Office, brought the case up a second time, but it was again dismissed, this time under the Probation Acts.

The War Office and the Home Office were both of opinion that the employment in question was undesirable; the view had recently been expressed by the Master-General of the Ordnance Department that “the extension of hours of labour does not produce very satisfactory results or increase the supply of munitions of war.” Nevertheless, it was only necessary for the defence to raise a cry of “national urgency” for the considered judgment of experts to be cast aside and the social legislation of the last century to be suspended at the will of interested opponents.

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NATIONAL LABOUR NEWSPAPERS DURING THE WAR.

"THE DAILY CITIZEN."

This newspaper, established in October, 1912, came to an end in the first week of June, 1915. It had been financed and controlled by the Labour Movement. From the Autumn of 1913 onwards it often found itself in financial difficulties. These were enormously aggravated by the war. By December of 1914 the position was so serious that a national conference of Trade Unions was summoned by the Joint Board of the Trades Union Congress, the General Federation of Trade Unions, and the Labour Party. At this and at subsequent conferences various resolutions were passed. Adequate support, however, was not forthcoming, and the paper was compelled to close down just at the time when the attacks of the capitalist Press were becoming particularly venomous.

"The Daily Citizen" could never have been regarded as fully voicing the demands of Labour. But at the time of its demise it was the only national Labour daily newspaper in the United Kingdom; for that reason alone, its loss was irreparable.

Its circulation at one time reached 300,000, and its total net cost to the Labour Movement was £200,000.

"THE DAILY HERALD."

"The Daily Herald" was established in the Spring of 1912. It was financed from various sources, partly Trade Union, partly Socialist, partly Suffragist. It took up a "forward" policy on Labour questions in distinction to the more "official" view of "The Daily Citizen." Its daily feature was the cartoon by Will Dyson.

In August, 1914, in consequence of the war, it ceased publication as a daily, and became the weekly "Herald."

PROTECTION OF FOODSTUFFS IN WAR TIME.

UNITED KINGDOM.

The Supplementary Budget for 1915-16 introduced by Mr. McKenna on the 21st September, 1915, provided for an import duty, without any corresponding excise duty, at the rate of 33½ per cent. *ad valorem*, or at specific rates corresponding to that rate, on imported motor cars and motor cycles, accessories and parts, cinema films, clocks and parts, watches and parts, musical instruments, hats and other headgear, and plate glass.

After discussion in the House of Commons the resolutions proposing the duties on hats and plate glass were withdrawn; the other duties became chargeable on the 29th September, 1915.

FRANCE.

The following statement shows the measures taken by the French Government in regard to the suspension of the Customs duties on certain food-stuffs imported into France:—

Wheat, spelt and meslin in the grain. Flour of wheat, spelt, and meslin bread	Import duty suspended by Decree of July 31st, 1914
Barley and oats in the grain. Frozen meat, pulse (haricots and lentils)	Import duty suspended by Decree of August 2nd, 1914
Salted meat and potatoes	Import duty suspended by Decree of August 3rd, 1914
Maize in the grain	Import duty suspended by Decree of August 4th, 1914
Rice in the husk	Import duty suspended by Decree of August 13th, 1914, and re-imposed by Decree of March 18th, 1915
Rice broken, whole rice, flour and grits...	Import duties suspended by Decree of August 13th, 1914, part duties imposed by Decree of November 19th, 1914, and normal duties re-imposed by Decree of March 18th, 1915
Oxen, cows, bulls, steers, bullocks, heifers, calves, rams, ewes, wethers, lambs, goats, kids, pigs and sucking pigs	Import duties suspended by Decree of September 10th, 1914
Fresh meat	Import duty suspended by Decree of October 15th, 1914

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

I.—GERMANY.

On September 17th, 1914, H.M. Minister at Copenhagen forwarded a list (in German) of the articles in respect of which Customs duties had been suspended by the German Government up to that date.

This list, which is a lengthy one, includes *inter alia*, bread, beans, butter, eggs, poultry, edible fats, fish, meat, prepared alimentary products, cereals and flour, potatoes, cheese, cattle, pigs and sheep, margarine.

The Board of Trade have also a copy of a German Proclamation, dated the 8th March, 1915, which temporarily suspended the Customs duties on a large number of other articles, including certain fruits, game, arrowroot, sago and tapioca, sugar and yeast.

It is not known whether these lists are complete, or whether the exemptions from duty have since been abrogated in whole or in part.

2.—AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

By an order of the Ministries of Finance, Commerce, and Agriculture, dated 9th October, 1914, the import duties on the following goods were suspended:

Wheat, spelt, rye, oats, barley, maize, buckwheat, millet, peas, beans, lentils.

Meal and meal products from cereals and pulse.

It is not known whether this order has been modified or abrogated.

ITALY.

The import duties on wheat, rye, oats, barley, white maize, unspecified cereals, on flour of these cereals, and on semolina, bran, edible pastes, bread and ship's biscuits were reduced by Royal Decree of the 18th October, 1914, by amounts varying from 40 to 60 per cent.

A Royal Decree of January 31st, 1915, abolished the duties on cereals and flour, as from the 1st February to the 30th June, 1915, and a further Royal Decree prolonged the period of duty free admission up to the 31st December, 1915.

PART II.

THE INDUSTRIAL LABOUR MOVEMENT.

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THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

BY J. A. SEDDON
(President, Bristol Trades Union Congress).

I do not know whether anyone has yet noticed that the Trades Union Congress might, if it chose, regard its meeting at Bristol this year as that of its Jubilee. It is true that we style it only the 47th Congress, but what we usually reckon as the first Congress in 1868, summoned by the Manchester and Salford Trades Council, was preceded by two earlier national gatherings, one summoned by the Sheffield Trades Council in 1867 and the other by the Glasgow Trades Council in 1864. We are, therefore, really well over our 50th year of Congresses, and it is a happy coincidence that we are able to mark this Jubilee by the issue of a fuller, more informing, and more authoritative "Labour Year Book" than the movement has yet possessed.

The Trades Union Congress, which has now met annually from 1871, has become a regular gathering of about 600 delegates, representing about 200 distinct Trade Unions, including somewhere about 2,700,000 members. This is a goodly host. Many of us, however, regret that so many of the Trade Unions fail to appreciate the advantage of adding their weight to the influence of the Congress and of the Parliamentary Committee. The subscription is only 30s. per 1,000 members. The unions are grouped into twelve sections, from which are annually elected the Parliamentary Committee of 16 members. As is well known, the Congress annually elects the Secretary to this Parliamentary Committee, the office being filled since 1911 by Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P. The total resources of the Trades Union Congress and its Parliamentary Committee (apart from special funds and levies) amount, on an average, to no more than £3,000 a year. The annual Congress costs (including entertainment of foreign delegates and the shorthand report) about £300. The annual mission to the United States of two chosen delegates costs about £130. The travelling expenses and fees of the Parliamentary Committee and of all the deputations to Ministers come to something under £100 a month throughout the year. Rent and other expenses of the London office, printing and stationery, postage, telegrams, carriage of parcels, and other miscellaneous expenses run away altogether with £1,000 or so according to the amount of work. Salaries of Secretary and Assistant Secretary come to only £450. The Committee keeps a reserve in hand from year to year to be prepared for any unforeseen emergency that the Congress might need to meet.

Those who know anything of the past struggles of the Trade Union movement know how valuable have been the Congress and its Parliamentary Committee in many a hard fight. But there are some, less familiar with Trade Union history, who ask, "What good is the Congress to-day, and what does the Parliamentary Committee do?" Now I am not one of those who believe much in talk only, or in the speeches made at big meetings. But no one who knows anything at all of political life can have any doubt of the very great value of an annual gathering in which the deep-felt opinions of the Trade Union movement can be expressed in a way to compel the attention of the public. As to the work done by the Parliamentary Committee, it is endless! What the Congress entrusts to us is defined as follows: To watch all legislation affecting Labour; to initiate such legislation as Congress may direct; to arrange programmes for Congress from resolutions sent from trades; to verify all delegates' credentials; to arrange for the meeting of Congress; to ballot for position and order of the resolutions; to transact the business between each Congress. What this means in Committee meetings which last two days, in deputations to Ministers and personal interviews with Government departments, in getting grievances redressed and difficulties adjusted, in answering attacks on Trade Unionism and rebutting complaints, in securing concessions here and advantages there, no one who has not served on that Committee and seen our experienced Secretary grapple with the apparently endless stream of business can properly appreciate. But if the Trades Union Congress wants more done and will indicate what it wants—and if it will provide the necessary sinews of war—I venture to predict that the Parliamentary Committee and its Secretary will not be found wanting.

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE,**Elected Bristol, September, 1915.**

H. GOSLING, L.C.C. (Chairman), Watermen and Lightermen.

F. BRAMLEY, Furnishing Trades.

F. CHANDLER, J.P., Carpenters and Joiners.

W. J. DAVIS, J.P., Brassworkers.

T. A. FLYNN, Tailors.

J. HILL, J.P., Boilermakers.

J. H. JENKINS, J.P., Shipwrights.

W. MOSSES, Patternmakers.

W. MULLIN, J.P., Card-room Operatives.

J. W. OGDEN, J.P., Weavers.

J. SEXTON, J.P., Dock Labourers.

H. SKINNER, Typographical Association.

H. SMITH, Miners.

G. H. STUART, Postmen's Federation.

W. THORNE, M.P., Gasworkers.

J. E. WILLIAMS, J.P., Railwaymen.

Secretary: C. W. BOWERMAN, M.P., General Buildings, Aldwych,
London, W.C.Telegrams: "Tradunic, Estrand, London." Telephone: 6410
Central.**TRADES UNION CONGRESS STATISTICS.**The following table shows the growth in affiliated membership,
etc., of the Trades Union Congress from 1896 :—

Year.	Town.	Number of delegates present.	Number of Trade Unions represented.	Number of members in Trade Unions represented.	Income of the Congress and Parliamentary Committee.
					£
1896	Edinburgh ..	350	145	1,028,104	1,572
1897	Birmingham..	381	149	1,093,191	1,497
1898	Bristol	406	159	1,176,896	1,929
1899	Plymouth ...	385	147	1,120,164	2,061
1900	Huddersfield.	386	140	1,225,133	1,571
1901	Swansea	409	140	1,195,469	1,947
1902	London	487	163	1,363,292	2,011
1903	Leicester	456	162	1,300,732	2,716
1904	Leeds	453	159	1,320,432	2,692
1905	Hanley	458	154	1,469,514	2,814
1906	Liverpool ..	489	165	1,484,101	3,035
1907	Bath.....	521	173	1,627,958	3,298
1908	Nottingham ..	519	163	1,712,031	3,379
1909	Ipswich	497	133	1,651,289	3,329
1910	Sheffield	496	136	1,639,853	3,030
1911	Newcastle ..	520	127	1,645,507	6,928
1912	Newport	494	127	1,987,354	5,290
1913	Manchester ..	551	135	2,217,836	3,692
1914	(No Congress)	542	190	2,866,077	4,083
1915	Bristol	607	192	2,677,357	1,409

SCOTTISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

Chairman : DAVID GILMOUR (Scottish Miners' Federation).

Vice-Chairman : J. O'CONNOR KESSACK (Dock Labourers).

Treasurer : DAVID PALMER (Aberdeen Trades Council).

Members of Committee : Bailie R. CLIMIE (Kilmarnock Trades Council),
Councillor A. R. TURNER (Glasgow Trades Council), Councillor
W. MUIRHEAD (Central Ironmoulders of Scotland), R. ALLAN
(Edinburgh Trades Council), J. GAVIN (Steel and Iron Workers),
W. G. HUNTER (Operative Bakers and Confectioners of Scotland),
and N. S. BEATON (Shop Assistants, etc.).

Secretary : GEORGE S. CARSON, J.P., 156, George Street, City, Glasgow.

The Scottish T.U.C. was inaugurated 18 years ago, and is composed of Trade Unions with a wholly Scottish membership, Scottish sections of British Trade Unions, and a number of Scottish Trades Councils. There are 51 societies of this kind affiliated, with a total membership of over 225,000. The Congress meets annually, the last regular Congress being held at Kirkcaldy in April, 1914. A Special Congress, at which matters connected with the war were the chief subject of discussion, was held at Glasgow in the course of 1915. The Congress concerns itself with all subjects affecting the industrial, political, and social welfare of the Scottish workers on similar lines as that adopted by the British Trades Union Congress. It does not deal with the political organisation, however, that particular function now being exercised by the Scottish Advisory Committee of the Labour Party inaugurated in 1915 (see Part III.).

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

Chairman : JAMES LARKIN (Irish Transport Workers).

Vice-Chairman : THOMAS R. JOHNSTON (Shop Assistants).

Treasurer : D. R. CAMPBELL, 11, Kimberley Street, Belfast (National Life Assurance Agents).

Members of Committee : J. O'SULLIVAN (Cork Brewery Workers' Society), J. O'LEHANE (Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association), W. O'BRIEN (Dublin Trades Council), M. J. EGAN, J.P. (Cork Trades Council), W. E. HILL (Railway Clerks' Association), T. McCONNELL (Belfast Operative Bakers), T. McPARTLIN (Carpenters and Joiners), and R. P. O'CARROLL (Brick and Stone Layers).

Secretary : P. T. DALY, Liberty Hall, Beresford Place, Dublin (Irish Transport and General Workers' Union).

The Irish Trades Union Congress was founded in 1894. Its affiliated bodies number between 60 and 70, and include a number of definitely Irish Trade Unions and Trades Councils, together with Irish sections of Trade Unions with headquarters in Great Britain.

The Congress discusses general industrial and legislative matters on the lines of the British and Scottish Congresses, and in 1913 a scheme was adopted to set up a distinct Irish Labour Party for the purpose of dealing with the political organisation of Irish constituencies returning members to the anticipated Irish Parliament. The outbreak of war and the postponement of Home Rule, however, has interfered with the development of the Party.

THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

By W. A. APPLETON.

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE.

- JAMES O'GRADY, M.P. (Chairman), Furnishing Trades Association.
JOSEPH CROSS, J.P. (Vice-Chairman), Weavers' Amalgamated Association.
Lieut.-Colonel JOHN WARD, M.P. (Treasurer), Navvies, Builders, and General Labourers.
JAS. CRINION, J.P. (Trustee), Amalgamated Card and Blowing-Room Operatives.
ALLEN GEE, J.P. (Trustee), General Union of Textile Workers.
Councillor ALEXANDER WILKIE, J.P., M.P. (Trustee), Associated Shipwrights.
J. N. BELL, J.P., National Amalgamated Union of Labour.
BEN COOPER, Cigar Makers' Mutual Association.
Councillor IVOR H. GWYNNE, Tin and Sheet Millmen.
BEN TILLET, Dock, Wharf, and Riverside Workers.
Councillor T. MALLALIEU, Amalgamated Felt Hatters' Union.
W. MARSLAND, J.P., Amalgamated Cotton Spinners.
Councillor ALF. SHORT, Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders.
T. F. RICHARDS, Boot and Shoe Operatives.
JOHN TAYLOR, J.P., Midland Counties Federation.
SECRETARY.—W. A. APPLETON, Hamilton House, Bidborough Street, London, W.C.
Telegraph Address: "Wellwisher, Eusquare, London." Telephone : Museum 1425.
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From the moment the Trade Union movement took definite shape, the more intelligent of its adherents have advocated and struggled to promote the establishment of an authority for the co-ordination of all Trade Union forces and for the defence of all Trade Union interests. It has always been apparent that as industrial organisation developed, the relative strength of the isolated unions became weaker. The old guard of the movement understood this, and, time after time, sought to build up federations able to resist the stronger attacks of the employers' combinations.

Thirteen years ago Britain rang with the oratory, magnificent oratory, of the advocates of General Federation. Conferences were held, delegates attended from all over the country, rules were formulated, and an organisation created. Press and public discussed the potentialities of this reincarnation, for there had been other national federations, and capital flooded the Press it controls with doleful prognostications concerning the new power it had to combat; but, alas, much of the enthusiasm evaporated when the entrance fees became due, and everywhere particular interests refused to combine for the general good. Out of 1,500 Trade Unions who might have

affiliated, only 100 took the definite step, and at the end of the 15 years the numbers have only reached 146.

Not only did many unions fail to affiliate, but organisations which had experience of concerted action, and who were expected to act more wisely, covertly opposed any attempt to bring the movement into line. This continued aloofness and division reflects upon the intelligence and capacity of the men at the head of affairs, and is a never-ending source of financial waste and industrial danger.

During the past 80 years quite a number of these Trade Union federations have been formed and all of them have failed. They have failed, not because federation was an impossible ideal, but because those responsible for the attempts lacked either the capacity or the power to put in strong foundations, to build up strong reserves, and to check encroachments due to the selfishness of societies or jealousy of individuals.

Not deterred by past failures, and roused to definite action by the consequences of the Engineers' strike in 1897, the stalwarts amongst Trade Unionists resolved to make another attempt; and at Manchester, in January, 1899, they formed the General Federation of Trade Unions.

The dominant idea of the founders was a strong central organisation, gathering to itself all the scattered forces of the movement; unifying these, welding them into a well-ordered and definite army, capable of concerted movement, and backed by a gigantic central fund, the whole of which should be at the service of any society fighting to maintain its existence, or to improve the lot of its members.

This ideal has not been altogether realised; the old selfishness and jealousies are not quite dead. There is still the tendency in some directions to regard the Federation as an institution into which you must pay the minimum contribution and from which you must extract the maximum benefit; while the stupid fear that the Federation may become stronger in money and influence than the individual organisations who are affiliated to it still affects some persons.

In spite of its original limitations and its added burdens the Federation has grown in numbers and in influence. At the commencement there were 43 societies affiliated and the membership was 343,000; the last returns show 146 societies and 1,086,000 members.

The benefits given by the Federation are financial, advisory, moral, and educational. That the financial ones are substantial may be gathered from the fact that during its existence it has paid in benefits to those affiliated societies who were involved in disputes £517,212 4s. 8d., a sum greater than any expended by any other organisation during this period, and without which some societies would have been defeated or destroyed. It is the boast of the Federation that every penny subscribed by way of contribution has been returned to the members in actual strike benefit. The administrative expenses of the Federation have been low and have been earned by investment.

It has been too readily assumed that Parliamentary action will supersede Trade Union effort. It would be impossible to make a greater mistake. Parliamentary action may modify Trade Union effort, but history and experience prove that the effects of such action lose value and tend to disappear, unless there is always at the back a

solid organisation of men whose economic and industrial interests bind them more closely together than their purely political ones.

The immediate ideal of the General Federation is a million members and a million pounds reserve, and it is optimistic enough to believe that the workers will rise to the ideal. It already has the members and is consequently encouraged to expect the money. The machinery is in existence; there are brains enough in the movement; it only remains for the men at the bench, in the shipyard, on the building, at the furnace, and in the transport service to take this matter in hand, and both numbers and financial reserve can be more than doubled. If these men fail to act, and the present disconnected and sometimes antagonistic attitude continues, then woe to the worker.

The opposition of capital is organised on a world-wide basis; it is backed by financial and political strength beyond conception; its weapons are less perishable than those employed by Labour; it presents dangers which apply universally. Why, in the name of commonsense, do the Labour units insist on moving in particular and limited orbits to their own confusion and damage? What is there, except stupidity, to prevent the General Federation, the Miners' Federation, and the Shipping and Engineering Federation meeting together and framing the constitution of an organisation which would leave politics to the Labour Party, and combine, for specific, industrial, and economic purposes, all the forces of Trade Unionism? Such a conference could take actuarial advice as to contributions and benefits, and put the movement on a new financial basis. This is necessary, because present contributions and benefits are, as a rule, based upon guesswork, and because a federation without financial resources and reserves is like an army without ammunition or commissariat. Such a federation could indicate the groups with which individual unions should affiliate, and could direct the tendencies of a distinctly Trade Union Press. It could formulate a general policy and concentrate strength where strength was most needed.

A little of what is termed local autonomy might need to be sacrificed, but surely it is better to sacrifice local autonomy than to suffer local defeat and general disheartenment. Never were the opportunities more favourable or the necessity more pressing. All Trade Unionists are now recognising the mess their lack of unity made of their opportunities under the National Insurance Act; they are awakening to the possibility and necessity of themselves owning and working a general insurance scheme; educational influences are everywhere at work, and all that is required is a little initiative, a fair measure of self-sacrifice, a lot of reciprocal loyalty amongst officials, and a definite and purposeful awakening of the men and women who actually labour in the mines, the fields, and the workshops.

The advisory and mediatory side of the Federation's work has hardly received the recognition and commendation to which it is entitled. This work has been both important and useful. Sometimes it has been in the direction of opening up communication with employers whose mediæval methods led them to ignore the unions; sometimes it has meant assistance in actual negotiations; sometimes it has meant smoothing over differences between Executives and members. The world knows little of this work, because of necessity it must be done quietly and unobtrusively. Sometimes even the

societies which have benefited hardly realise their indebtedness to the Federation, or go to the trouble of recording their thanks for the services rendered.

The value of the moral side of the Federation benefits cannot be estimated; strong and weak alike reap advantages. The strong have sometimes contended that their affiliation was due to their altruistic considerations for their less fortunate brethren, but these should never forget that the strong became stronger in and by association, and their association with the General Federation of Trade Unions is a factor which the employers never lose sight of.

Some of the strong unions have argued that they would never need the assistance of the Federation or receive any return for the contribution they had paid. Facts have proved otherwise, and more than one union has escaped catastrophe because of its connection with the General Federation.

The educational work may very reasonably be accounted one of the benefits of the Federation. It has consistently pressed upon the country the problem of unemployment, and, besides stating causes, has indicated remedies. Nearly two years ago it called attention to the probability of the State introducing schemes of insurance against unemployment, and published a memorandum dealing with the subject. In its reports it has explained the weaknesses and dangers of the Osborne Judgment, and its Model Fair Wage Clause is the ideal towards which Trades Councils are everywhere striving.

It has consistently fought for the right to strike and against the imposition by the State of penalties against strikers or their unions.

Latterly, the Federation has determined to put itself more closely in touch with those who are face to face daily with the actual workshop conditions and difficulties. It has communicated with Trades Councils throughout the United Kingdom, offering to send them, free of cost, speakers who would not only explain the work of the Federation, but discuss as brother with brother the best means of developing and strengthening every phase of the Trade Union movement. Its efforts in this direction have met with enthusiastic responses.

There are still many unions outside the Federation who indirectly benefit by its work and influence. Some of these stand outside for exactly the same reason as the non-unionists give for refusing to join the union, viz., that they cannot see an immediate opportunity of getting out twice as much as they pay in. A number fail to affiliate because they would rather risk annihilation than any suggestion of central advice or direction, while a few remain out because their conceit leads them to assume that they are in all things sufficient unto themselves, or because their snobbishness prevents them associating with their fellow workers. Some officials have advised their unions to secede because their contributions exceed the benefits presently drawn out. This is the blackleg's argument against joining a union, and reflects only upon those who use it.

There are critics of the Federation whose criticism is welcome and helpful. There are critics who generalise from premises founded upon vague and ill-considered rumour. Some critics urge that the Federation does too little, while most expect it to perform financial miracles and to pay benefits which were not even contemplated under the original contributions.

To those critics who complain that the Federation does too little, the reply obviously is: Come inside and help it do more; make it what your intelligence tells you what it ought to be—a real, live, intelligently ordered, and financially stable central directing and sustaining agency. If it is not sufficiently representative, make it so; if its benefits are not sufficiently extensive, endow it with the means to make them so; but do not stand outside whining about the imperfections of what is, after all, the only existing organisation attempting the effective co-ordination of the Trade Union movement.

Their abstention is a source of weakness. By standing outside they prejudice themselves and prejudice the rest of the movement. Most of them tell you they believe in the principle of federation, but they are not prepared to make any sacrifice for principle.

The General Federation has taken the lead in promoting the closer organisation of industries. It has convened meetings of unions catering for similar occupations, and in some cases has persuaded them to amalgamate with a view to securing increased economy, increased efficiency, and increased effectiveness. It is unfortunate that some of the unions which it succeeded in amalgamating have since seceded. It is anxious to continue this work, but the difficulties are increased by so many unions remaining outside its direct influence. There is naturally some diffidence in approaching non-affiliated unions with proposals for amalgamation.

Carefully considered proposals for the creation of a fund for the defence of Trade Union cases carried to the House of Lords have been submitted by unions anxious to see a development of the Federation's work; but these have been rejected, not because they were unimportant, but largely because so many unions remained outside, and these would benefit by the legal decisions given, but would do nothing towards building up the necessary funds.

The General Federation confines itself to what it believes to be purely Trade Union work. It does not interfere in politics, except when legislation threatens the interests of Trade Unions, and then only through the Parliamentary Committee or the Labour Party, whose political province it frankly recognises. Should proposals be made which appear to endanger the unions, it would criticise, but would only attempt Parliamentary representation or action through the recognised organisations.

The development of employers' associations, the aggregation and the internationalisation of capital, will compel more efficient organisation on the part of the workers. Those unions which imagine themselves strong enough by themselves to resist any attack which may be made live in a fool's paradise.

At the moment Trade Unionism is faced with dissension inside its ranks and an unparalleled economic crisis outside. The struggle between the craft unions and those who are in favour of what is called industrial unionism has reached an acute stage. The way out is comparatively easy, and the only real obstacles are the jealousy of individuals and the failure to correctly estimate and provide for the actuarial requirements of the movement. The position of the industrial unionists can be met by collective payments on the part of the craft unions for those members who may, for the time being, be employed under the Trade Union control of the industrial unions. A careful study of statistics suggests that a basic contribution for trade purposes

can be worked out, and the General Federation, with its machinery and experience of business methods, is in a position to provide at comparatively short notice the clearing-house which the co-ordination of the two schemes will demand.

The nation is faced with a gigantic debt and a prospective 400 million Budget. Competitive margins have disappeared or have been adversely adjusted, and the moment the war ends there will be an exceedingly serious dislocation of industry. There is such a thing as allowing judgment to go by default and sentence to follow as a matter of course. That danger faces the Trade Unions of Great Britain. If the personal jealousies and stupidities continue to operate it is almost certain that catastrophe will overtake us. One can only pray that the mass of intelligence which undoubtedly exists throughout the movement will be sufficiently strong and active to overcome the stupidities which stand in the way of the creation of a General Federation of Trade Unions which includes all unions, which collates all forces, and which is in a position to finance and direct all disputes.

THE TRIPLE INDUSTRIAL ALLIANCE.

BY ROBERT SMILLIE

(President of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain).

One definite concrete result of the industrial unrest of recent years is the formation of the Triple Industrial Alliance proposed at a conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, the National Union of Railwaymen, and the National Transport Workers' Federation, held on April 23rd, 1914.

The idea of such a conference was first brought into prominence at the Miners' Annual Conference in 1913, when a resolution was passed "That the Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation be requested to approach the Executive Committees of other big Trade Unions with a view to co-operative action and the support of each others demands."

The miners contented themselves in the first place with securing a joint meeting with the representatives of the two industries most comparable to their own—railways and transport. It was felt that if a working arrangement could first be concluded with a few of the larger sections, afterwards extensions to other groups could be made.

The three bodies have much in common. Their membership is considerable, the miners numbering 800,000, the railwaymen 270,000, and the transport workers 250,000. The miners have done much fighting in the past, sectionally and generally; the railwaymen on more than one occasion have come through struggles similar to our own; and the transport workers are famed for their fighting spirit and fighting qualities. But while we have achieved a great deal by our industrial struggles, and while we can hardly calculate the benefit conferred upon our people by these three bodies, it must be admitted that a great deal of suffering and privation has been caused. A strike on the railway system immediately affects the miners and the transport workers, as well as others. Though these for the moment may not have any quarrel with their respective employers, yet within a few days they are placed in the same position as though they had. They are idle and are thrown upon the funds of their unions. The same result follows if the miners or the transport workers are on strike. When the miners struck in 1912 the cost to the railwaymen alone was about £94,000. Whenever any one of these three great sections have struck the others have had to stand by and suffer in silence.

The meeting of the three Executives, held in April, 1914, to consider ways and means of working in common and so avoiding the evils of disjointed action, was enthusiastic and unanimous. It resolved that a working agreement should be drawn up, and appointed a committee, consisting of the presidents and secretaries of the three organisations, for the purpose.* The idea behind this agreement is not in any way the formation of a federation. The new body is not to be a rival to any other. Nor is it to be sectional in any sense. There is no suggestion, for instance, that if one section of the miners determines

* Miners' Federation of Great Britain: Messrs. Robert Smillie and T. Ashton; National Union of Railwaymen: Messrs. Albert Bellamy and J. E. Williams; National Transport Workers' Federation: Messrs. Harry Gosling and Robert Williams.

to strike they will receive the assistance of the new alliance. Action is to be confined to joint national action. Further, no action will be taken until all three partners have met in conference and have agreed upon the course to be adopted. Sympathetic action, in fact, is no longer to be left to the uncontrolled emotions of a strike period, but is to be the calculated result of mature consideration and careful planning. The predominant idea of the alliance is that each of these great fighting organisations, before embarking upon any big movement, either defensive or aggressive, should formulate its programme, submit it to the others, and that upon joint proposals joint action should then be taken.

It is clear to everyone acquainted with industrial development that capital is now organised for the purpose of attacking Trade Unionism and for defence against Trade Union advance. Should the occasion arise, each section of the alliance must be ready to render sympathetic action, deliberately thought out and agreed upon, should any one of the partners in the scheme be the object of attack.

While the scheme at the moment is not intended to include more than the three trades referred to, it may well be found advisable later on to extend the scope of the alliance in the general interests of Labour as a whole. Even now, indeed, it has already been discussed whether the Triple Alliance might not be in a position to assist our fellow workers in the textile industry if, at an adverse moment, they were threatened with a lock-out. Under such circumstances there is every probability that a stoppage of production would cause an immediate settlement. In every case the results of joint action on a large scale should be rapid and decisive, and all the suffering and loss inseparable from trade troubles of the past could be prevented in the future.

The mere calling of our conference caused somewhat of a sensation among the capitalists on the one hand, while, on the other, it created a new hope in the ranks of the industrial forces throughout the country. With the coming of the war, however, the scheme had to be laid aside for a time, but already the annual meeting of the Railwaymen and the Transport Workers have signified their approval, and it now remains to be considered by the Miners' Conference at Nottingham in October, 1915. If the approval of the miners is forthcoming, and, in view of the scheme being their original suggestion, there is little likelihood of any other decision, the committee will then be at liberty to go ahead with the details. It will be wise, indeed essential, to have the working agreement ready for the days of peace after the war. It is then that we may expect an attack on Labour by the employers; it is now, in the midst of war, that we must prepare for the industrial conflicts that the military peace will bring.

TRADE UNIONS.

NUMBER AND MEMBERSHIP.

The total number of separate Trade Unions in the United Kingdom at the end of 1914 was 1,123, with a total membership of 3,959,863, as compared with 1,135, with a total membership of 3,987,115, at the end of 1913. This represents an increase of 105·3 per cent. compared with 1905. The following table gives the figures for number and membership, together with the annual percentage of increase or decrease :—

ALL TRADE UNIONS.*

1899-1914.

Year.	Number at end of year.	Membership at end of year.	Percentage, increase (+), decrease (-), on the previous year.
1899	1,310	1,860,913	—
1900	1,302	1,971,923	+ 5·9
1901	1,297	1,979,412	+ 0·3
1902	1,267	1,966,150	— 0·6
1903	1,255	1,942,030	— 1·2
1904	1,229	1,911,099	— 1·6
1905	1,228	1,934,211	+ 1·2
1906	1,250	2,128,635	+ 10·0
1907	1,243	2,425,153	+ 13·9
1908	1,218	2,388,727	— 1·5
1909	1,199	2,369,067	— 0·8
1910	1,195	2,446,342	+ 3·3
1911	1,204	3,018,903	+ 23·4
1912	1,149	3,287,884	+ 8·9
1913	1,135	3,987,115	+ 21·5
1914†	1,123	3,959,863	— 0·7

* Exclusive of a few Trade Unions, generally unimportant, for which particulars are not available, and of a certain number of Federations, Employers' Associations, and Trade Protection Societies, which are registered as Trade Unions.

† The figures for 1914 are subject to revision.

This enormous increase in membership is due in great measure to the industrial revival from 1910 onwards, of which a marked feature was the prevalence of disputes, the occurrence of great national strikes and the steady growth of the amalgamation movement. It is due also to the growing feeling among the workers that only by industrial organisation can organised capital be combated. This feeling has expressed itself in increased propagandist activity, and also in the refusal of Trade Unionists to work alongside of non-unionists. In certain special trades there can be no doubt that the Insurance Act was a factor in the increase.

The following tables give particulars of Trade Union membership for each of the years from 1904 to 1913 in the various sub-groups* of which the main industries are made up:—

BUILDING.

Year.	Bricklayers and masons.	Carpenters and joiners.	Painters.	Labourers.	Other building trades.	Total building trades.
1904	65,693	85,122	22,587	25,081	27,229	225,712
1905	58,080	81,068	22,823	17,971	25,840	205,782
1906	54,733	78,434	22,136	16,494	25,193	196,990
1907	50,301	80,692	22,999	15,233	24,530	193,755
1908	45,533	72,210	22,944	13,367	23,664	177,718
1909	39,239	66,601	21,985	11,894	22,559	162,278
1910	36,991	65,436	20,031	12,217	22,310	156,985
1911	37,186	72,602	21,594	18,945	22,855	173,182
1912	40,391	86,167	29,113	22,457	25,645	203,773
1913	48,626	95,705	37,905	38,710	27,701	248,647
1914	*	97,020	*	29,393	*	236,524

* Figures not yet available.

The building industry declined steadily from 1901 to 1910. An examination of the Census of Occupations shows that this was paralleled by a decrease in the total number of building workers from 1,335,820 in 1901 to 1,212,917 in 1911. The decrease in organised labour, however, was proportionally much greater than that in the total number of workers. After 1910 the tide of membership turned, and rose rapidly, until in 1913 the figures were much higher than in any year since 1900, when the membership was 254,142. The increase was most marked in the Carpenters and Joiners' section, where the fusion in 1911 of the Scottish Associated Carpenters and Joiners with the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners had given an impetus to organisation. In 1914 there was a net decrease of nearly 5 per cent. on 1913 (though the number of organised Carpenters and Joiners continued to increase), but the total was greater than in any other year since 1903.

MINING AND QUARRYING.

In mining and quarrying there has been great increase. The numbers, after a slight decline in 1905, rose steadily till 1912. This was the year of the national coal strike. A result of this strike was a further growth in numbers, which was most marked in Lancashire and Cheshire, Yorkshire and South Wales. In the same year the total number of organised miners rose from 757,147 to 915,734. It is noticeable that in 1913 the numbers in Scotland were 110,830, almost exactly double what they were in 1904 at the beginning of our period, 55,148; while the numbers of organised workers in the whole industry have more than doubled since

* The figures for particular groups do not always indicate the total number of organised workers, as in some cases large numbers are organised in the general Labour unions, e.g., Building, Metal, Transport, etc.

1889. In 1914 there was a slight decrease in membership, except in Northumberland and Durham.

Year.	Coal mining.*					Other mining and quarrying.	Total mining and quarrying.
	Northumberland and Durham.	Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire.	Midlands.	Wales and Monmouthshire.	Scotland.		
1904	126,250	92,633	77,857	129,451	55,148	17,931	502,665
1905	128,007	91,691	78,315	123,001	56,679	16,762	497,832
1906	134,747	119,966	97,498	139,782	57,786	18,525	572,763
1907	153,810	157,717	128,908	158,889	79,456	20,322	704,664
1908	163,042	154,889	126,085	168,461	81,538	20,045	719,384
1909	169,584	151,416	123,342	165,704	85,212	20,214	722,639
1910	176,493	150,027	127,740	162,202	86,570	21,533	731,305
1911	189,272	167,012	129,110	142,646	93,340	23,508	752,419
1912	195,033	165,069	137,499	134,056	93,845	23,583	757,147
1913	203,441	215,914	166,553	179,147	110,837	29,900	915,734

* Besides the figures given, there were in 1913 about 10,000 coal miners in other districts. These are included in the total.

METAL TRADES.

The metal trades, until the era of expansion following on 1911, remained fairly stationary. The numbers engaged in iron and steel manufacture doubled in the period under review.

Year.	Iron and steel manufacture.	Iron-founding.	Engineering.	Ship-building.	Miscellaneous metals.	Total metal, etc., trades.
1904	39,434	35,633	151,920	77,097	30,988	335,072
1905	41,270	36,415	156,342	76,518	30,785	341,330
1906	45,311	38,230	167,530	79,456	31,889	362,416
1907	49,054	39,439	177,456	79,341	32,517	377,807
1908	44,803	38,491	174,771	77,125	29,944	365,134
1909	49,206	37,472	171,756	74,453	26,951	359,838
1910	52,784	37,054	177,460	74,724	28,033	370,055
1911	60,327	38,984	199,250	82,188	34,427	415,176
1912	69,245	45,221	236,306	92,201	36,498	479,471
1913	80,278	49,021	271,832	97,273	40,137	538,541
1914	71,457	47,854	269,796	102,201	39,433	557,741

TEXTILE TRADES.

During this period the textile trades, which had been almost stationary from 1899 up to 1904, began to rise steadily.

The increase which more than doubled the total numbers in the period under review was most marked in the membership of unions of textile printers, dyers, finishers, packers and warehousemen, whose membership was nearly quadrupled, and in the cotton weavers' unions, whose numbers rose from 110,307 in 1904 to 221,553 in 1913, an increase of 100 per cent. in ten years. In the woollen industry the number

organised rose from 8,687 to 31,213. Over the whole of the textile trades the number of women organised increased from 113,715 in 1904 to 257,281 in 1913, thus contributing the major portion of the increase over the period. In 1914 the number of women fell to 249,022, of whom 205,904 were engaged in the cotton industry.

COTTON.

Year.	Cardroom operatives.	Spinners and piecers.	Weavers.	Others.	Total cotton trades.
1904	27,574	40,946	110,307	14,449	193,276
1905	32,762	43,533	121,022	15,446	212,763
1906	36,801	45,159	138,476	16,624	237,060
1907	47,131	50,349	157,126	17,674	272,280
1908	51,506	53,091	156,069	17,945	278,611
1909	53,822	53,949	150,659	18,050	276,480
1910	52,720	54,475	148,864	18,381	274,440
1911	54,709	54,672	189,457	19,210	318,048
1912	59,475	55,026	210,226	20,295	345,022
1913	63,830	54,944	221,553	20,862	361,189
1914	*	*	216,146	*	352,822

* Figures not yet available.

OTHER TEXTILE TRADES.

Year.	Woollen, worsted and stuff.	Linen and jute.	Other textiles.	Textile, printing, dyeing, packing, etc.	Total textile trades (including cotton trades).
1904	8,687	14,814	13,922	18,469	249,168
1905	9,372	13,986	12,978	19,856	268,955
1906	12,332	19,400	14,242	22,477	305,511
1907	12,993	23,264	17,205	31,632	357,374
1908	13,497	20,695	17,305	32,432	362,540
1909	14,466	22,726	18,969	33,804	366,445
1910	21,309	25,646	19,844	38,405	379,644
1911	22,408	27,580	21,061	47,830	436,927
1912	23,948	32,032	21,158	55,937	478,097
1913	31,213	31,066	21,987	70,229	515,684
1914	83,901			61,509	498,232

TRANSPORT.

The greatest increase during this period is in the case of seamen, whose membership in 1913 was six times that of 1904. Other sections show similarly remarkable increases, particularly after the successful strikes of 1911. In fact, with the exception of general labour, it is in transport that the greatest progress in numbers has been made. In 1914 there was a general increase, except among dockers.

A large rise in the membership of railway workers' unions will be seen after 1906; this was a consequence of the big forward movement

which characterised the activities of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants in that year. The active policy of the same union resulted in a further large advance in 1911, and the movements of that and the two succeeding years culminated in the formation of the National Union of Railwaymen. This union was formed by the amalgamation of the A.S.R.S., the United Pointsmen and Signalmen's Society, and the General Railway Workers' Union, and the amalgamation stimulated the workers' interest in Trade Unionism and brought large numbers of new members to the movement.

Year.	Railway servants.	Tramway servants, carters, etc.	Seamen.	Dock and canal workers.	Total transport trades.
1904	76,999	36,181	17,800	40,692	171,672
1905	82,695	35,944	16,859	40,809	176,217
1906	102,085	38,311	16,625	43,731	200,752
1907	138,887	41,950	17,874	50,495	249,206
1908	118,713	41,547	18,767	51,015	230,042
1909	112,130	42,759	21,763	47,385	224,037
1910	116,214	48,603	25,930	54,476	245,223
1911	185,513	85,389	88,575	154,061	513,538
1912	202,329	67,467	104,908	140,070	514,774
1913	326,192	94,088	125,550	154,122	699,952
1914	336,671	96,832	128,921	143,263	705,687

MISCELLANEOUS.

In the cases of clothing and woodworking a fairly steady rate of increase has prevailed, with larger rises in 1911, 1912, and 1913. The same may be said of the other miscellaneous trades shown in the tables below. The Shop Assistants' Union calls for special mention: in this union the year 1912 saw an increase over the previous year of 46 per cent., this being an instance of the effect of the Insurance Act.

General labour shows the highest increase of all Trade Unions. A rapid rise occurred in 1906 and 1907, and again in 1911-13, the total membership in 1913 being four times that in 1904.

CLOTHING.				WOODWORKING.			
Year.	Boot, shoe, and clog.	Other clothing.	Total clothing trades.	Cabinet-making, etc.	Coach-building.	Other woodwork-ing trades.	Total woodw'rk-ing, etc.
1904	30,809	27,789	58,598	14,074	11,166	14,473	39,713
1905	30,499	29,920	60,419	14,375	11,788	14,219	40,382
1906	28,516	31,315	59,831	15,493	13,054	14,224	42,771
1907	35,416	33,417	68,833	16,521	13,761	14,630	44,912
1908	35,085	30,552	65,637	15,080	13,000	13,717	41,797
1909	34,686	31,196	65,882	14,186	11,961	13,093	39,240
1910	34,753	32,405	67,158	14,286	11,736	12,859	38,881
1911	38,925	35,498	74,423	17,244	12,856	15,374	45,474
1912	47,577	44,278	91,855	18,078	15,843	16,932	50,853
1913	54,725	51,204	105,929	25,412	20,409	18,621	64,442
1914	55,433	46,885	102,318	*	*	*	64,686

PRINTING, SHOP ASSISTANTS, ETC.

Year.	Printing paper, etc.	Chemical glass, pottery, etc.	Food and tobacco.	Shop assistants, etc.	Other trades.
1904	62,428	15,696	18,010	30,402	40,800
1905	62,368	15,310	18,320	33,612	41,750
1906	64,451	15,691	18,738	39,466	47,592
1907	68,221	18,792	18,607	46,117	58,090
1908	72,970	19,619	18,472	49,600	61,913
1909	71,531	17,654	18,251	53,302	58,986
1910	74,275	16,219	19,098	56,312	66,388
1911	77,252	21,038	21,048	58,375	84,429
1912	76,807	21,131	21,022	108,000	104,241
1913	84,414	23,861	23,578	98,277	134,038
1914	92,055	*	*	105,880	*

GENERAL LABOUR, ETC.—GRAND TOTAL.

Year.	General labour.	Employees of public authorities.		Grand total of all Trade Unions.
		National.	Municipal.	
1904	95,664	56,235	9,264	1,911,099
1905	94,361	63,863	13,710	1,934,211
1906	109,345	73,954	18,364	2,128,635
1907	125,136	74,389	19,250	2,425,153
1908	110,927	73,878	19,096	2,388,727
1909	111,498	78,751	18,735	2,369,067
1910	118,745	86,155	19,899	2,446,342
1911	227,306	93,499	24,817	3,018,903
1912	251,787	99,524	29,402	3,287,884
1913	390,596	105,561	37,861	3,987,115
1914	*	150,295		3,959,863

* Figures not yet available.

PROPORTION OF TRADE UNIONISTS TO NON-UNIONISTS.

No table can at present be drawn up to show the proportion of Trade Unionists to the total number employed in each industry. In the first place, it will be found that the limits of the industries in the table given below do not correspond with the industries as mapped out by the Trade Unions. Besides, there are many Trade Unions, such as the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, or the General Labour Unions, which cater for workers in different industries and whose figures, when brought into the total, again make useless any system of comparison.

The tables that follow, showing approximately how the workers are distributed by industries, can give for the purposes of comparison only the most general idea of the proportion of Trade Unionists to non-unionists.

OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

Table showing the numbers occupied in the principal industries or services in **Great Britain*** at the date of the Census of 1911:—

England and Wales.

(Industries or services employing more than 100,000 persons.)

Industries or Services.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Domestic indoor service	41,765	1,260,673	1,302,438
Agriculture (on farms, woods, and gardens) ..	1,134,714	94,841	1,229,555
Coal mining	968,051	3,185	971,236
Building	814,989	2,953	817,942
Cotton manufacture	250,991	372,834	623,825
Local Government (including police and Poor Law services)	412,501	176,450	588,951
Railway companies' service	535,799	7,170	542,969
Engineering and machine-making, iron- founding and boiler-making	502,942	7,284	510,226
Dressmaking	3,826	333,129	336,955
Teaching	89,648	211,183	300,831
Inn, hotel service	178,550	110,506	289,056
Grocery	210,387	58,935	269,322
Tailoring	127,301	127,527	254,828
Printing, bookbinding, and stationery ..	161,856	87,609	249,465
National Government (excluding Army and Navy)	215,110	34,089	249,199
Wool and worsted manufacture	105,552	127,637	233,189
Boot, shoe, etc., making	172,000	45,986	217,986
Bread, biscuit, cake, etc., makers, bakers and confectioners (dealers) ..	134,745	78,425	213,170
Drapery	93,171	110,955	204,126
Laundry workers: washers, ironers, manglers, etc.	22,218	169,376	191,594
Iron and steel manufacture (including pig iron manufacture, tube manu- facture, steel manufacture, smelting, founding)	164,837	747	165,584
Butchers, meat salesmen	134,073	15,819	149,892
On seas, rivers, and canals: shipping and navigation service (including railway companies' shipping and navigation service)	142,300	1,687	143,987
Harbour, dock, wharf, lighthouse service	139,588	216	139,804
Carrying and cartage service	137,453	1,433	138,886
Ship and boat building	121,264	475	121,739
Insurance	96,617	4,930	101,547

Scotland.

(Industries or services employing more than 20,000 persons.)

Industries or Services.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Agriculture	166,770	33,118	199,888
Domestic† and institution service	32,814	160,082	192,896
Iron manufacture	164,198	6,485	170,683

* Similar particulars relating to Ireland are not available. † Includes both indoor and outdoor domestic servants.

Industries or Services.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Coal industry	154,301 ..	2,936 ..	157,237
Preparation and sale of provisions.....	101,444 ..	42,137 ..	143,581
House, etc., building and decorating....	88,213 ..	1,330 ..	89,543
Local Government service	50,756 ..	20,665 ..	71,421
Tailoring, dressmaking.....	21,041 ..	49,563 ..	70,604
Shipbuilding	62,471 ..	618 ..	63,089
Railway service	59,436 ..	664 ..	60,100
Hemp, jute, rope, and mat industries ..	18,605 ..	32,878 ..	51,483
Fishing	34,390 ..	6,562 ..	40,952
Shipping* and docks	38,841 ..	479 ..	39,320
Wood and furniture industries	31,520 ..	5,074 ..	36,594
Hotel, eating-house service	17,921 ..	14,548 ..	32,469
Printing, publishing, and allied industries	19,508 ..	12,283 ..	31,791
Road transport service	28,244 ..	370 ..	28,614
Wool industry.....	12,278 ..	15,610 ..	27,888
Commerce	18,589 ..	8,801 ..	27,390
Chemical and rubber industries	20,052 ..	6,449 ..	26,501
Paper and stationery manufacture.....	11,645 ..	12,531 ..	24,176
Linen industry	7,029 ..	16,543 ..	23,572
Civil Service	17,950 ..	4,288 ..	22,238
Bleaching, dyeing, and allied industries..	12,145 ..	8,720 ..	20,865
Bootmaking.....	15,679 ..	5,103 ..	20,782

* Under this heading are included all seamen, British and foreign, on shore or on board vessels which were in the ports of England and Wales or Scotland on census night, or which arrived on the following day.

THE REGISTRATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

Trade Unions may be registered with the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies. Briefly, the advantages of registration are that a registered union has greater legal facilities in respect of property held by it; it has a more expeditious legal remedy against persons making wrongful use of its property; it is entitled to certain exemptions from income tax. Among the disadvantages of registering are to be counted the publicity involved as to membership, reserve funds, etc., and the consequent information obtainable by employers as to enduring capacity in a strike.

The registered union is bound to provide to the Registrar—

(a) A copy of its rules (which must specify in full the objects of the union and the general conditions of membership);

(b) an annual return showing the assets and liabilities of the union at the date of making the return, together with details of receipts and expenditure (the latter in respect of the several objects of the union) during the preceding year.

Its rules in general must conform in all respects to the Trade Union Acts.

The following fees are payable by a Trade Union to the Registrar: On registry, £1; on alteration of rules, 10s.; on change of name, 10s.; on amalgamation, 10s.

For further details see Guide Book of the Friendly Societies Registry Office, price 6d.

REGISTERED AND UNREGISTERED TRADE UNIONS* AT THE END OF 1913.

Trades.†	Registered.		Unregistered.		Total.	
	No. of unions.	No. of members.	No. of unions.	No. of members.	No. of unions.	No. of members.
Building trades.....	48	241,523	18	7,124	66	248,647
Coal mining	54	769,430	27	116,404	81	885,834
Other mining and quarrying	9	25,700	1	4,200	10	29,900
Iron and steel manufacture	12	78,151	2	2,127	14	80,278
Engineering and iron-founding.....	47	304,911	28	15,942	75	320,853
Shipbuilding	7	96,148	6	1,125	13	97,273
Miscellaneous metal..	32	26,711	48	13,426	80	40,137
Total, metal, etc., trades	98	505,921	84	32,620	182	538,541
Cotton	23	116,648	124	244,541	147	361,189
Woollen, worsted, and stuff.....	10	22,304	17	8,909	27	31,213
Other textiles	31	22,574	34	30,479	65	53,053
Textile printing, dyeing, packing, etc...	11	33,504	24	36,725	35	70,229
Total, textile trades..	75	195,030	199	320,654	274	515,684
Clothing trades	23	81,330	17	24,599	40	105,929
Railway service	5	326,192	..	..	5	326,192
Other transport	43	353,764	13	19,996	56	373,760
Total, transport trades	48	679,956	13	19,996	61	699,952
Printing, paper, etc...	24	46,069	11	38,345	35	84,414
Woodworking, etc. .	31	53,304	53	11,138	84	64,442
Shop assistants, etc. .	4	98,231	1	46	5	98,277
Other trades	96	130,059	107	51,418	203	181,477
General labour.....	13	389,918	2	678	15	390,586
Employees of public authorities	19	65,904	60	77,518	79	143,422
Grand total	542	3,282,375	593	704,740	1,135	3,987,115

* Exclusive of a few Trade Unions, generally unimportant, for which particulars are not available, and of a certain number of federations, employers' associations and trade protection societies which are registered as Trade Unions.

† It will be understood that a minority of the members of a union may be employed in other trades than the one under which the union is classed. For example, many carpenters and joiners are employed in shipbuilding, etc., but the entire membership of the carpenters and joiners' unions is entered under Building Trades and none under Shipbuilding.

STRUCTURE.

A contrast is often drawn between the 50 Trade Unions of Germany and the 1,123 separate unions of the United Kingdom. This contrast is often used to the disadvantage of this country. Trade Unionists are bidden to look to Germany and to observe how there the problem of too many unions has been tackled. With their 2,548,763 members in 47 organisations, the German order apparently compares favourably with the British lack of method. It is not our purpose here to discuss at length the reasons for this difference; suffice it to say that Germany has reaped all the profit of coming into the field later and of being faced with capitalism in a much more advanced stage. Moreover, the very contrast is misleading unless the nature of the 1,123 British unions is further defined. Though much remains to be done to lessen the number of organisations and to introduce more uniformity into the methods, yet it is unfair to make a bald comparison between the two countries by a mere juxtaposition of figures. Only recently have British Trade Unionists begun to tackle the problem of multiplicity of unions; only recently have they become keenly alive to the questions which advancing capitalism has put before them. It is, in fact, no exaggeration to say that British Trade Unionism is at present passing through a transition period, and that when that period is over, even if the method adopted be a mere juxtaposition of figures, Great Britain will compare not unfavourably with Germany. Even as things stand now, certain considerations make the organisation of British Trade Unionists much more healthy than appears at first sight. Of the British unions the majority are local, though the greater part of the members are in the comparatively small number of national unions. The local union was the normal type of organisation down to 1850, when the foundation of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers set up the "new model" of Trade Union structure. Unions drawing their members from a small area are slowly decreasing in number, as they are absorbed by the national unions. This does not apply to big district unions such as those of the Miners.

Local unions vary greatly in the area which they cover. Some are confined to a single town; others are large county unions covering a wide area and including a large membership. Thus there is little resemblance between a small local union and the great Yorkshire Miners' Association, which in this classification would rank as a local union. Where local unions are the rule, as in the cotton industry, they are often linked up in national federations so strong as to be in effect practically national unions. For instance, the Weavers' Amalgamation, which is classed as a federation of local unions, differs in no important respect from the Spinners' Amalgamation, which is registered as a Trade Union. But it should be noted that, at the 1915 meeting of the United Textile Factory Workers' Association, a resolution was passed instructing the Executive Committee to prepare a scheme for the complete amalgamation of all the cotton associations. Sometimes small local unions have high-sounding national names even though their membership is drawn wholly from one centre. On the other hand, when an industry is localised a union which caters for all the workers in its own section of that industry is to be counted as a national union.

The national unions may be further divided into craft unions, kindred craft unions, and industrial unions. The craft union, such as the Stonemasons, Patternmakers, and the London Society of Compositors, carries out the principle of organising in one union all who are of one craft. The kindred craft union, such as Steam Engine Makers or the Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association, is built on the principle that all who are of the same occupation, all skilled workers in kindred crafts, should be in the same union. The industrial union, such as the National Union of Railwaymen or the National Union of Scottish Mine Workers, attempts to include in one organisation all who are of one industry, whether skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled. One of the problems at present facing the Trade Union movement is the struggle that is now going on between the N.U.R. and the Miners' Federation on the one hand, and, on the other, various craft and kindred craft organisations. Serious differences of opinion naturally arise during any transition period, and what is needed is some scheme that will present unity whilst fostering efficiency.

Again, Trade Unions may be divided into unions for unskilled workers, called General Labour Unions, and unions for skilled workers. This classification is valid in an industry where the craftsmen are organised separately from the labourers; it ceases, however, to be important in the case of an industrial union in which all grades are catered for.

The multiplicity of unions inevitably has two results; there is competition between unions of the same kind and there is overlapping—with its consequent demarcation disputes—amongst unions of different kinds. Sometimes there is complete confusion, and in one locality there may be two local unions, two, or even three, national craft unions, and an industrial union, each striving to enrol among its members some particular group of workers.

The disruptive tendencies inevitably caused by conditions such as these are counteracted to some extent by the existence of various federations within Trade Unionism. These federations may be in structure close-knit or loose; their purpose may be general or particular; they may be the only cohesive force in one industry; in another they may have no particular reason for existing. Apart from the Trades Union Congress (which is strictly what its name implies, a Congress), the Labour Party, which is a mixed federation composed of Trade Unions and Socialist bodies, united for a special political purpose, and those local Labour parties and Trades Councils, which, though federal in structure, have functions so special as to entitle them to separate treatment, there are about 119 federations, of which one-third are local. But besides these 119 federations, all of which are fully constituted, there are numerous other Joint Committees and working agreements serving to link up the sections of the movement.

FEDERATIONS.

General Federation of Trade Unions.—(See special article on page 96.)

The Miners' Federation of Great Britain consists of the following 18 district associations, one of which is itself a federation. Each

association is a separate organisation, and for local purposes possesses complete autonomy. Their rules vary from district to district :—

Northumberland.	Somersetshire.
Durham.	South Derbyshire.
Cumberland.	Kent.
Yorkshire.	North Wales.
Lancashire and Cheshire.	South Wales.
Derbyshire.	Midland Federation.
Nottinghamshire.	National Union of Scottish
Bristol.	Mine Workers.
Leicestershire.	Cleveland (ironstone miners).
Forest of Dean.	

[The National Union of Scottish Mine Workers, now an industrial union catering for all workers in or about mines in Scotland, was, prior to October, 1914, the Scottish Miners' Federation, composed as follows :—

Fife and Kinross.	Clackmannanshire.
Mid and East Lothian.	Kirkintilloch and Twechar.
West Lothian.	Lanarkshire.
Ayrshire.	Stirlingshire.

The Midland Federation, which is one of the bodies composing the M.F.G.B., is itself composed of the following seven unions :—

South Staffordshire.	Shropshire.
North Staffordshire.	Cannock Chase.
Old Hill and District.	Pelsall and District.]
Warwickshire.	

The Miners' Federation of Great Britain is organised so as eventually to include all workers in or about a mine. It includes all the coalmining unions recognised by it, and it does not accept in its membership any one of the numerous craft unions catering for colliery enginemen, colliery mechanics, deputies, and firemen. Some of these, however, are affiliated locally to local federations, such as the Northumberland Federation Board of Miners, Deputies, Mechanics, Enginemen and Firemen, and the Durham County Mining Federation Association.

A contribution of 1d. per member per month is paid by districts to the M.F.G.B. for management expenses and 3d. per member per quarter to the political fund, 1d. of which is returned to the districts to be used for local expenses, Parliamentary, municipal, etc. The federation may call for levies from districts at any time in support of any district involved in a dispute approved of by the federation or for any other cause that the Executive Committee or conference have decided to support. Thus, during 1914 a levy of 3d. per member per quarter was being paid in support of the "Daily Citizen" newspaper. There is no standing central dispute fund. The M.F.G.B. is the really effective industrial unit of the miners. Recently its policy, as defined by the "Scarborough resolution," has been that all open agreements in the mining industry should terminate at the same date. It aims at a single national Conciliation Board. As a type of large federation the M.F.G.B. stands by itself, being a federation of district associations strongly centralised.

The National Federation of Blastfurnacemen, Ore Miners, and Kindred Trades is composed of five district unions. It pays no

benefits and is similar in structure to the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, but has less centralised control. A proposal for closer unity, including the centralisation of dispute funds, was recently defeated. There have recently been proposals that this federation should itself become a member of the Iron and Steel Trades Federation.

The Iron and Steel Trades Federation, formed in 1913, consists of five unions. Amongst these are included the Associated Iron and Steel Workers, the Amalgamated Steel and Iron Workers, and the Tin and Sheet Millmen, but not the British Steel Smelters. It has a central fund for dispute pay, to which the contribution is 3d. per member per quarter. Strike pay is at the rate of 10s. per week.

The British Metal Trades Federation is simply the British Section of the International Metal Workers' Federation. As such it aims at the institution of greater uniformity and co-operation, the interchange of information, the fostering of international relations, etc. It includes the Steel Smelters and the Ironfounders, but not the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Boilermakers, or Shipwrights. It has no benefits and no industrial functions.

Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades.—At the end of 1913 this federation had a membership of 598,343. In 1904 the membership was 344,208, and in 1911 401,472. Some 27 unions belong to the federation, amongst which are the A.S.E., the Scottish Associated Ironmoulders, Boilermakers, Shipwrights, Patternmakers, Gasworkers, and National Amalgamated Union of Labour, but not the Ironfounders or the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. This is a federation, not of local societies, but of distinct and often overlapping national unions. It pays no benefits and has no finances save the sums needed for administrative expenses, and these are kept at a minimum. It exists largely to provide facilities for the discussion of common objects and grievances and for the settlement of demarcation disputes between one union and another. The problem of closer unity has engaged its attention at regular intervals. Ballots have been taken on the question. (The Amalgamated Society of Engineers recorded a negative vote on the ground that nothing less than amalgamation was acceptable.) A new scheme of closer unity is at present being considered.

It is thus a loose federation, and its industrial functions are at present limited to the purely consultative.

Textile Federations.—In the cotton industry there are several large federations of local associations. These federations have central dispute funds and exercise a large amount of control over the industrial activity of the affiliated local associations. The list of these amalgamations is as follows:—

Amalgamated Association of Card and Blowing-Room Operatives.

Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners (the Piecers are separately organised by the local associations, and are not represented in the amalgamation).

Amalgamated Weavers' Association.

General Union of Associations of Loom Overlookers.

Amalgamated Association of Beamers, Twisters, and Drawers.

General Union of Lancashire and Yorkshire Warpdressers' Associations.

Lancashire Amalgamated Tape Sizers' Protective Society.

These federations (or amalgamations of local associations) are joined in two other bodies. The first is the **Northern Counties Textile Trades Federation**, founded in 1905. This includes the Weavers, Overlookers, Beamers, Twisters and Drawers, and Clothlookers, but not the Tape Siders or the Warpdressers. For the Spinners and the Card and Blowing-Room Operatives it does not cater. It is to be noted that if an amalgamation (such as the Amalgamated Weavers) belongs to the Northern Counties Textile Trades Federation the affiliated associations (such as the Padiham and District Weavers) must join the local federation (such as the Padiham and District Textile Trades Federation); and in some cases the local federations include tape sizers and warpdressers. This federation of amalgamations engaged in the manufacture of cotton has no benefits. Its aim is organisation and the achievement of closer unity. It takes an active participation in all negotiations. Its membership in 1913 was 216,191.

The other is the **United Textile Factory Workers' Association**, which includes all these unions or amalgamations except the Card and Blowing-Room Operatives. Its function is mainly legislative. Its objects are the removal of any grievance from which its members may be suffering for which Parliamentary or Governmental interference is required. For example, it watches the operation of the Factory Acts and suggests changes. It is the body that represents the cotton workers on the War Emergency : Workers' National Committee, and it is the British Section of the International Textile Workers' Federation.

National Transport Workers' Federation.—This federation was founded in 1910, and in 1911 it gained a sure footing in the Trade Union world by its conduct of the great disputes of that year. It consists of unions having members engaged in transport work, and includes most of the big waterside workers' unions. Notable exceptions are the Irish Transport Workers and the Waterside Societies on the North-East Coast. It also includes unions catering for seamen (National Sailors and Firemen's Union, Ship Cooks', etc., Union), carters, and cabmen, together with some General Labour Unions or part of their membership. The declared objects of the federation include the furtherance of amalgamation amongst its constituent unions, the establishment of an information bureau, and of a "Transport Workers' Journal," and the organisation of the industry in general.

The contributions are at the rate of 3d. per member per annum ; no benefits are paid, the funds being used solely to cover management expenses.

The federation works largely through local district committees, which may be formed in any locality where two or more affiliated unions exist, and which consist of delegates from the local affiliated unions. The objects of the district committee are precisely those already described, practically all detailed administrative work being in its hands.

To the district committees are referred questions of overlapping and competition among affiliated unions, and on them devolves the duty of observing industrial developments and collecting the information for the bureau at headquarters.

The federation is itself affiliated to the International Transport Workers' Federation.

General Labourers' National Council.—This is a consultative body, and includes amongst its affiliated unions all the big general labour unions. It discusses and advocates amalgamation among general labour unions. It has drawn up and secured the acceptance of an agreement under which members of any of the affiliated unions can transfer from one union to another or can take up work on a job among members of any of the unions.

In 1914 there came into prominence a large scheme for the amalgamation of all unions affiliated to the G.L.N.C. and the National Transport Workers' Federation. The proposals included (1) the merging of all the members of all unions affiliated into one consolidated union of Labour; (2) the creation of a central fund for trade purposes and a graduated scheme of contributions for friendly benefits designed to meet the varying requirements of all classes of the members; (3) a Central Executive with full control over the Central Trade Fund; (4) district and departmental sections, allowing full free play of initiative and autonomy, consistent with the powers of financial control exercised by the Central Executive. These departments to make adequate provision for sectional and sub-sectional groupings, where called for and necessary. This scheme is at present suspended owing to the war.

The Printing and Kindred Trades Federation includes almost all the important Trade Unions engaged in papermaking, letterpress printing, lithographic printing, bookbinding, typefoundry, and press telegraphy. Its paying membership was 67,508 in 1913. The contribution is 1s. per member per year, on 90 per cent. of the total membership of each union. Strike pay is given at the rate of 10s. per week for 20 weeks. The federation, on the vote of the members, can, in emergency, impose a levy of not more than 3d. per member per week. The federation called an amalgamation conference three years ago and brought forward an amalgamation scheme. The federation runs a system of district sections to which each union in the federation must be locally affiliated. This ensures unity of action in each local centre.

The federation is the British Section of the International Typographical Workers' Federation.

The National Federation of Enginemen, Stokers, and Kindred Trades is a non-benefit paying federation with amalgamation as its object. It consists of—

- (1) Colliery enginemen (who are separately federated);
- (2) general enginemen; and
- (3) the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen.

This federation, as representing colliery and railway enginemen, applied for admission to the initial conference of miners, railwaymen, and transport workers, who were then forming their triple industrial alliance.

The National Joint Committee of Postal and Telegraph Associations.—This non-benefit paying federation is the medium through which are made joint wages demands. It has recently concerned itself with the question of the control of industry. It is affiliated to the International Federation, and includes all the important postal unions except the Engineering and Stores Associations.

FEDERATIONS OF TRADE UNIONS, 1904-1913.

Year.	General Federation of Trade Unions.	Building.	Mining.	Metal engineering, etc.
1904	396,226	122,772	552,384	383,221
1905	477,891	67,263	548,203	314,393
1906	623,449	56,410	573,952	403,308
1907	601,195	58,151	741,234	477,448
1908	705,630	52,880	881,466	460,476
1909	698,950	43,729	906,240	474,621
1910	709,564	37,807	912,742	627,228
1911	861,482	67,094	936,539	529,314
1912	930,739	59,837	948,759	619,391
1913	932,789	85,738	1,037,663	753,036

Year.	Textile.	Transport.	General labourers and Government employees.	Other trades.	Total.
1904	287,095	23,187	57,988	71,918	1,894,791
1905	395,774	4,161	34,001	71,783	1,914,469
1906	437,265	4,327	37,455	71,566	2,207,732
1907	577,599	4,293	181,247	199,312	2,840,479
1908	616,792	12,518	138,348	268,841	3,137,051
1909	633,849	12,360	136,201	266,575	3,172,525
1910	629,176	14,297	172,997	271,040	3,374,831
1911	733,548	217,736	264,530	209,471	3,819,714
1912	848,973	181,373	338,148	205,509	4,132,729
1913	868,717	169,385	358,615	157,590	4,363,533

FINANCE.

BENEFITS.

Trade Union benefits may be divided into :—

A. "Trade" benefits, including strike, lock-out, victimisation, and legal defence.

B. Unemployment.

C. "Friendly" benefits, including sick, accident, superannuation, funeral, emigration, and others.

Trade benefits as a rule take the form of a weekly rate of pay, the amount of which is specified in the rules. Legal aid consists of the payment of expenses incurred in any legal action taken by a member with the sanction of the union.

Unemployment benefit and sick benefit each consist of a weekly rate of pay. The rate diminishes as time goes on, and is sometimes limited to a definite number of weeks; in other cases pay continues until employment is resumed. Funeral and accident benefits are

given in a lump sum. In the case of funeral benefit the common practice is for a portion of the benefit to be paid on the death of a member's wife, such portion being deducted from the sum payable on the death of the member himself. (See also Social Insurance.)

Trade benefits being essentially bound up with the maintenance of Trade Union principles are compulsory in all cases, and are usually paid at an equal or flat rate. Unemployment and friendly benefits are optional in some unions, compulsory in others. In the majority of unions payment of contributions for trade benefits brings with it all the rights of membership. In some instances, however, especially in some of the old-established unions of skilled workers, full membership rights are given only to those who pay the contribution for all three classes of benefits.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

These vary from industry to industry and from union to union and according to the number and amount of benefits given. Generally in unskilled unions there is a low rate of contribution and only trade benefits; in skilled unions a high rate of contributions, with trade, unemployment, and friendly benefits. But it should be noted that (1) in some skilled unions (as in mining, where there are usually only trade benefits) the rate of contribution is low; (2) when a union caters for different grades of worker a graduated scale (or different scales) may come into operation and benefits vary accordingly; (3) in some cases women are specialised and graded on a lower scale.

LEVIES.

Trade Unions are supported by interest from property, by contributions, and by levies. In effect levies play a great part. The fact that nowhere are benefits on an actuarial basis compels frequent recourse to levies, and in many cases it is laid down in the rules that the general funds shall be kept up to a certain minimum per member, if necessary, by means of levies.

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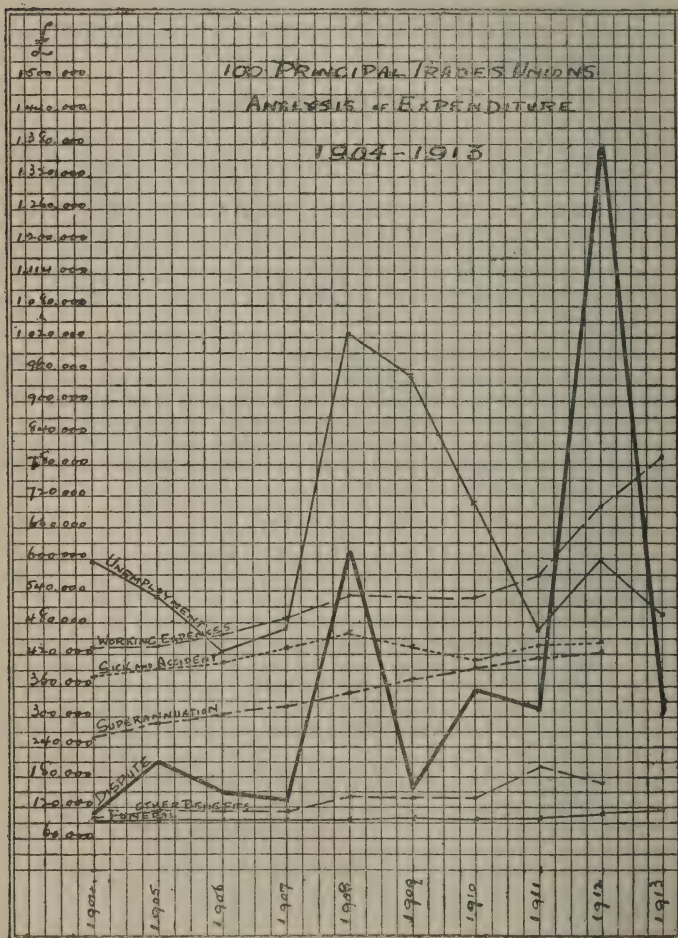
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FINANCE OF SELECTED UNIONS FOR 1913,

TOGETHER WITH MEMBERSHIP FOR 1912-14

The membership figures for 1914 may convey a wrong impression, as some Unions have deducted from their membership those who are absent at the war, while some have included them.

Name and year of establishment.	Number of members.			Funds at end of 1913.	Income in 1913.	Expenditure in 1913.						
	1912.	1913.	1914.			Dispute Pay.	Unem- ployed, Travel- ling and Emigra- tion Benefit.	Sick and Accident Benefit.	Funeral Benefit.	Other Benefits (includ- ing Sup- erannua- tion and grants to mem- bers).	Pay- ments to Federa- tions, to grants to other ex- penses, etc.	Manage- ment and other ex- penses.
BUILDING.												
Operative Stonemasons (1833)	8,479	11,204	10,957	£ 8,896	£ 16,594	£ 1,092	£ 2,815	£ 837	£ 1,217	£ 918	£ 87	£ 5,267
Operative Bricklayers (1848)	24,633	29,034	23,363	55,315	59,746	6,178	6,533	22,598	3,187	10,853	898	12,813
General Union Operative Carpen- ters and Joiners (1827)	7,202	8,733	8,505	10,406	15,354	1,486	2,143	2,570	598	2,694	74	4,481
Amalgamated Society of Carpen- ters and Joiners (1860)	78,965	86,972	89,618	123,143	224,305	9,846	41,909	42,338	8,272	61,423	1,558	41,800
United Operative Plumbers (1865).	11,972	12,923	12,604	38,757	52,204	1,903	14,314	8,427	1,228	7,887	848	9,465
National Association Operative Plasterers (1860)	7,918	8,300	7,143	21,139	24,871	10,459	6,147	4,368	896	3,363	1,439	2,240
National Amalgamated Society Operative House and Ship Painters and Decorators (1886)	21,679	30,158	27,879	33,489	78,661	8,886	45,332	10,041	2,433	2,942	1,292	10,512
Scottish Painters (1898)	5,136	5,392	6,150	8,776	9,052	476	3,679	921	310	61	394	1,868
United Order General Labourers of London (1878)	5,017	8,863	9,400	1,010	4,649	138	...	1,532	550	127	46	1,560
United Builders' Labourers (1889)	3,029	8,421	7,000	1,741	4,676	285	...	1,253	328	...	29	1,778
Navvies, Builders' Labourers and General Labourers (1889)	3,909	4,756	3,946	1,605	4,885	1,006	336	759	64	...	178	1,871
National Association Builders' Labourers (1907)	5,945	10,634	8,927	8,770	7,381	190	843	751	504	...	165	2,435
MINING AND QUARRYING.												
Northumberland Miners' Asso- ciation (1863)	39,357	43,479	32,592	20,942	23,204	6,986	569	...	1,006	411	4,215	7,643

Expenditure in 1913.

FINANCE OF SELECTED UNIONS FOR 1913—*con.*

Name and year of establishment.	Number of members.			Funds at end of 1913.	Income in 1913.	Expenditure in 1913.					Manage- ment and other ex- penses.	
	1912.	1913.	1914.			Dispute Pay.	Unem- ployed, Travel- ling and Emigra- tion Benefit.	Sick and Accident Benefit.	Funeral Benefit.	Other Benefits (includ- ing Sup- pensation and grants to mem- bers).		Pay- ments to Federa- tions, grants to other so- cieties etc.
Durham Miners' Association (1869)	136,966	139,887	106,147	125,219	211,253	2,681	28,221	137,957	8,764	18,351	7,493	28,357
Cumberland Miners' Association (1872)	7,500	9,282	7,868	3,650	7,779	150	1,405	...	...	...	597	3,243
Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation (1881)	59,829	80,773	...	35,354	64,055	28,934	...	...	...	1,108	4,869	10,615
North Staffordshire Miners' Fed- eration (1869)	12,487	27,190	21,699	27,241	21,024	425	900	...	...	846	1,741	7,900
Derby Miners' Association (1880).	42,130	40,747	43,500	281,463	58,176	23	2,438	...	...	4,993	2,760	10,521
Warwick Miners' Association (1885)	11,000	11,000	11,000	12,626	14,388	...	67	...	...	...	954	6,469
Leicester Miners' Association (1887)	6,408	6,663	6,516	8,766	7,665	...	115	...	...	692	575	955
Notts Miners' Association (1880)...	33,001	34,184	33,915	152,305	38,512	...	2,761	...	...	6,304	2,815	3,200
South Wales Miners' Federation (1868)	114,208	153,813	152,112	76,556	165,798*	30,194	1,806	...	...	1,706	15,991	77,020
North Wales Miners' Association (1892)	13,069	13,339	12,447	8,426	9,242*	104	1,666	...	14	171	980	1,827
National Union of Scottish Mine Workers (formerly Scottish Miners' Federation)	85,750	85,750	94,350	640	5,987	2,569	...	...	...	...	3,437	2,556
Cleveland Miners' and Quarry- men's Association (1872)	9,239	9,296	9,119	4,151	6,683	...	325	...	...	1,170	550	2,603
North Wales Quarrymen (1874)	3,874	3,856	4,865	8,478	2,797	599	...	...	84	156	312	444
METAL.												
IRON AND STEEL MANUFACTURE.												
British Steel Smelters (1886).....	29,290	34,705	34,142	106,815	50,838	4,048	5,011	1,682	3,547	1,698	441	18,933
Associated Iron and Steel Workers (1887)	10,035	12,068	7,050	27,251	13,167	7	1,431	...	671	..	1,164	3,796

Amalgamated Steel and Iron Workers (Scotland) (1888)	8,369	8,694	7,797	31,681	9,573	749	10	2,755	463	...	907	3,636
Cleveland and Durham Blast- furnacemen (1878)	5,003	6,363	5,794	8,168	7,505	5	16	...	429	9	792	2,664
Cumberland and Lancashire Blastfurnacemen (1880)	2,257	2,671	2,575	2,661	3,065	306	287	289	...	...	361	1,020
IRON FOUNDRY.												
Friendly Society of Ironfounders (1809)	24,279	26,279	25,225	77,901	97,782	13,782	25,372	15,486	3,426	27,224	3,193	12,549
Associated Ironmoulders of Scot- land (1831)	8,493	8,559	7,932	58,171	33,524	...	6,552	...	3,590	13,458	909	3,122
Central Ironmoulders' Association (1889)	6,002	6,170	6,297	22,618	16,425	16,052	5,150	45	751	1,301	633	3,313
ENGINEERING.												
Amalgamated Society of Engineers (1852)	143,998	161,055	174,253	936,233	553,294	9,451	66,926	82,707	16,889	146,270	14,751	66,587
Steam Engine Makers' Society (1824)	15,504	16,660	17,775	128,835	45,010	795	3,821	8,917	1,979	10,618	336	5,587
Amalgamated Society of General Toolmakers, Engineers, and Machinists (1882)	7,870	11,488	15,360	39,262	27,015	1,777	5,568	3,336	390	3,075	1,686	4,751
United Machine Workers' Asso- ciation (1844)	7,269	9,944	11,259	18,361	21,444*	...	3,355	3,637	428	815	892	4,864
United Pattern Makers' Associa- tion (1872)	8,158	8,477	8,652	65,238	31,715*	1,836	10,815	6,587	763	2,309	373	4,489
SMITHS.												
Associated Blacksmiths' and Iron- workers' Society (1857)	6,496	7,993	10,788	24,528	15,019	1,784	2,002	3,016	454	3,033	149	4,038
Amalgamated Smiths and Strikers (1886)	6,362	7,765	8,491	4,342	9,846	1,270	1,270	1,906	790	317	379	3,520
SHIPBUILDING.												
United Society of Boilermakers (1834)	61,835	66,288	67,288	277,423	234,013	1,661	25,415	43,348	10,867	60,869	5,782	35,795
Ship Constructors and Ship- wrights' Association (1882)	26,223	26,719	28,268	143,213	67,918	715	2,734	22,562	2,658	5,797	1,324	15,371
MISCELLANEOUS METAL AND ENGINEERING TRADES.												
Tin and Sheet Millmen's Associa- tion (1899)	2,972	2,804	2,150	6,446	2,680	98	814	186	167	16	599	903

* These figures taken from the Registrar of Friendly Societies show a discrepancy with those furnished to the Editors.

FINANCE OF SELECTED UNIONS FOR 1913—cont.

Name and year of establishment.	Number of members.			Funds at end of 1913.	Income in 1913.	Expenditure in 1913.						
	1912.	1913.	1914.			Dispute Pay.	Unem- ployed, Travel- ling and Emigra- tion Benefit.	Sick and Accident Benefit.	Funeral Benefit.	Other Benefits (includ- ing Sup- erannua- tion and grants to mem- bers).	Pay- ments to Federa- tions, grants to societies etc.	Manage- ment and other ex- penses.
National Society Brassworkers and Metal Mechanics (1872) Electrical Trades Union (1889) ...	10,331	12,947	14,166	26,377	18,701	...	3,550	2,646	814	4,331	216	3,482
General Union of Braziers and Sheet Metal Workers (1861) National Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers and Braziers (1876)	5,214	7,272	8,195	9,762	12,444	1,336	1,939	335	133	298	343	3,859
National Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers and Braziers (1876)	2,087	2,351	2,469	3,933	3,265	413	595	1,242	241	1,792	609	562
National Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers and Braziers (1876)	8,363	9,279	9,810	3,999	2,627	1,080	...	...	...	...	69	657
Amalgamated Gold, Silver, and Kindred Trades Association (1911)	2,235	2,388	3,522	7,319	4,325	96	426	...	60	3	392	839
TEXTILES. COTTON.												
Amalgamated Association Card and Blowing Room Operatives (1886)	51,914	58,062	...	70,006	24,998	8,745	...	800	20	...	5,149	1,326
Amalgamated Association Cotton Spinners (1879)	23,500	23,787	23,645	545,612	135,063	29,084	18,268	7,010	1,327	15,194	3,411	15,881
General Union of Lancashire and Yorkshire Warp Dressers' As- sociations (1894)	3,451	3,425	3,362	74	88	...	...	8	...	...	14	36
WOOLLEN.												
General Union of Textile Workers (1881)	7,500	12,936	13,733	10,241	9,569	312	1,664	129	...	856	969	3,191
National Society Machine Wool- combers (1890)	3,134	4,471	5,435	3,367	2,485	129	...	218	65	24	32	1,423

HOSIERY. Leicestershire Amalgamated Hosiery Union (1885)	291	3,400	...	2,948	2,379	734	79	273	...	16	326	653
LACE. Amalgamated Society of Operative Lace-Makers (1874)	2,591	2,561	2,500	37,691	8,322	237	2,355	925	782	2,089	107	1,173
DYEING AND FINISHING. Amalgamated Society of Dyers, Bleachers, Finishers and Kin- dred Trades (1878)	16,714	23,309	17,037	50,282	31,175	17,664	1,715	4,352	441	831	2,078	4,766
National Society of Dyers and Finishers (1851)	6,078	8,268	6,924	13,694	11,122	4,644	917	428	104	40	1,240	2,083
CLOTHING. National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives (1874) & ¹⁹⁰² Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses (1865)	41,440	48,256	49,055	159,686	89,652	13,568	9,799	21,553	1,747	71	4,625	33,098
Scottish Operative Tailors and Tailoresses	14,675	14,774	12,610	6,522	18,965	923	104	8,190	1,617	28	1,428	7,041
Amalgamated Jewish Tailors Machinists and Pressers (1893)	3,429	3,767	4,046	1,623	4,454	66	...	1,629	250	1,052	8	1,205
	2,465	4,465	3,701	3,625	3,612	581	17	291	14	90	408	1,099
TRANSPORT. RAILWAYS. National Union of Railwaymen (1913)	132,002	267,611	273,362	476,435	199,297	7,875	9,598	4,948	2,648	17,311	1,435	72,760
Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (1880)	26,500	32,200	32,900	176,018	39,114	840	219	10,330	1,702	4,690	2,260	11,979
Railway Clerks' Association (1897)	19,151	25,791	29,394	7,650	13,526	...	11	...	412	734	305	9,588
TRAMWAY AND VEHICLE WORKERS. Amalgamated Association of Tram- way and Vehicle Workers (1889)	21,161	27,192	28,263	49,966	30,747	1,294	5	13,332	1,078	1,584	599	9,882
London and Provincial Union of Licensed Vehicle Workers (1894)	4,972	15,326	19,000	4,044	45,380	33,798	...	164	373	1,673	882	7,408
National Union of Vehicle Workers (1888)	5,781	8,834	6,400	317	5,693	165	...	636	365	1,382	57	2,911

FINANCE OF SELECTED UNIONS FOR 1913—*con.*

Name and year of establishment.	Number of members.			Funds at end of 1913.	Income in 1913.	Expenditure in 1913.						
	1912.	1913.	1914.			Dispute Pay.	Unem- ployed, Travel- ling and Emigra- tion Benefit.	Sick and Accident Benefit.	Funeral Benefit.	Other Benefits (includ- ing Sup- perranua- tion and grants to mem- bers).	Pay- ments to Federa- tions, to grants to societies etc.	Manage- ment and other ex- penses.
United Carters and Motormen's Association (1890)	5,927	9,621	8,000	4,744	7,040*	1,257	...	2,352	391	61	54	3,433
Amalgamated Carters, Lurrymen and Motormen's Union (1890)	5,563	5,869	6,000	10,399	7,174	220	1	3,644	124	148	61	2,482
Mersey Quay and Railway Carters' Union (1889)	7,306	9,301	8,628	13,013	7,728	213	...	1,250	688	1,353	623	1,629
Scottish Horse and Motormen's Association (1898)	7,665	9,311	11,045	7,499	11,086	7,067	...	4,597	614	84	54	2,336
SEAMEN. National Sailors and Firemen's Union (1894)	71,041	82,851	83,950	31,196	74,401	5,130	...	2,863	919	4,923	887	38,383
British Seafarers' Union (1911).....	6,173	7,605	10,025	3,369	5,066	161	...	305	84	63	45	2,120
National Union of Ship Stewards, Cooks, Butchers and Bakers (1909)	9,335	15,316	18,203	7,456	9,616	83	...	667	45	...	121	4,639
LIGHTERMEN. Amalgamated Society of Water- men, Lightermen, and Barge- men (1872)	4,758	4,411	3,886	5,764	7,175	189	...	1	604	2,018	755	3,054
DOCK AND RIVERSIDE LABOUR. Dock, Wharf, Riverside and Gen- eral Workers' Union (1887)	40,229	48,060	42,658	30,709	30,808	1,676	31	...	1,188	...	3,361	18,241
National Union of Dock Labourers and Riverside Workers (1889)	44,227	51,755	47,000	18,475	28,663	9,202	...	...	2,619	...	2,585	14,099
Scottish Union of Dock Labourers (1911)	7,250	8,450	...	756	6,041	2,688	...	...	247	...	328	3,402

Amalgamated Stevedores Labour Protection League (1870)	6,210	5,171	4,766	3,152	7,810	...	...	...	850	...	481	5,680
Labour Protection League (1889)...	3,600	3,382	...	Deficit 169	357	...	...	...	...	...	18	368
Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (1909)	24,135	22,935	...	2,381	8,641	3,842	...	147	615	...	55	3,395
AGRICULTURE.												
National Agricultural Labourers Rural Workers' Union (1905)	5,000	10,000	12,298	1,121	1,748	513	...	...	...	...	12	1,072
Scottish Farm Servants (1913).....	...	7,477	...	9	863	...	...	...	...	...	...	854
PRINTING AND KINDRED TRADES.												
Typographical Association	22,078	22,925	23,783	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Scottish Typographical Association (1853)	4,888	4,894	4,801	11,470	10,032	1,131	2,217	2,772	559	3,103	432	1,996
London Society of Compositors (1785)	11,804	11,650	12,384	50,395	51,059	355	26,262	...	2,804	13,516	1,806	4,824
National Society of Operative Printers' Assistants (1889)	4,364	5,245	6,387	10,676	8,540	245	329	...	624	480	1,051	3,801
Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers (1880)	4,600	5,100	5,166	17,713	13,851	38	2,658	1,551	534	3,248	2,225	2,425
WOODWORKING.												
National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association (1865)	10,234	15,707	13,796	9,426	37,349	17,248	5,486	3,568	416	237	1,326	7,326
Amalgamated Society of Wood-cutting Machinists (1866)	7,576	8,825	9,022	12,956	19,419	3,524	3,476	4,219	714	1,185	61	4,497
GLASS AND POTTERY.												
National Amalgamated Male and Female Pottery Workers (1906)	5,660	7,000	6,141	2,670	7,332	2,459	1,500	...	...	...	896	2,508
FOOD AND TOBACCO TRADES.												
Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers and Confectioners (1861)	8,648	9,119	...	5,068	4,326	1,275	...	...	956	...	78	2,496
Operative Bakers and Confectioners of Scotland (1888)	5,236	6,065	5,927	13,723	5,226	311	1,092	...	532	...	83	1,861
ENGINEEMEN.												
National Amalgamated Union of Enginemen (1889)	9,737	16,209	16,450	15,285	12,786	1,053	1,070	748	74	...	259	4,747

FINANCE OF SELECTED UNIONS FOR 1913—*cont.*

Name and year of establishment.	Number of members.			Funds at end of 1913.	Income in 1913.	Expenditure in 1913.						
	1912.	1913.	1914.			Dispute Pay.	Unem- ployed, Travel- ling and Emigra- tion Benefit.	Sick and Accident Benefit.	Funeral Benefit.	Other Benefits (includ- ing Sup- pementa- tion and grants to mem- bers).	Pay- ments to Federa- tions, and grants to other ex- penses. etc.	
Northern United Enginemen's Association (1893)	1,795	1,906	2,018	1,469	1,932	92	...	658	129	51	32	761
SHOP ASSISTANTS, CLERKS, ETC. National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants (1891)	64,842	85,945	88,449	59,033	55,519	119	11,007	6,227	437	658	414	27,221
Amalgamated Union of Co-opera- tive Employees (1891)	36,982	40,942	45,044	59,714	35,869	926	2,530	15,444	1,124	1,739	368	5,924
National Union of Clerks (1890) ...	8,840	11,750	12,680	4,562	7,640	12	742	1,201	38	31	23	4,783
National Union of Journalists (1907)	3,138	3,495	3,232	4,778	3,786	238	764	10	...	300	...	1,535
MUSICIANS, THEATRICAL EM- PLOYEES, ETC. Amalgamated Musicians Union (1893)	6,745	8,572	8,459	2,505	8,322	148	13	...	254	133	225	7,383
Variety Artistes Federation (1906)	2,612	2,662	3,264	11,523	4,707	...	...	...	741	...	...	2,739
National Association of Theatrical Employees (1889)	1,511	3,571	...	1,937	1,834	29	...	33	58	...	104	1,231
GENERAL LABOUR. National Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers (1889)	82,135	134,538	110,073	30,298	76,065	16,836	5,830	1,480	...	1,940	1,890	29,845
Amalgamated Society of Gas- workers, Brickmakers, and General Labourers (1889)	7,146	14,420	13,000	4,605	6,504	2,955	351	1,253	262	...	230	2,579
Workers' Union (1898)	22,644	91,000	159,600	11,743	42,664	9,235	4,860	4,832	842	1,515	250	14,933
National Amalgamated Union of Labour (1889)	49,972	60,003	55,453	12,694	39,889	7,058	...	6,341	2,222	...	3,100	15,083

National Amalgamated Labourers' Union, G.B. & I. (1889)	5,065	5,862	5,144	6,445	5,024	205	...	399	190	9	439	1,859
British Labour Amalgamation (1892)	3,577	4,872	4,220	3,514	2,839	2	100	213	19	15	67	1,200
National Federation of Women Workers (1906)	10,255	12,152	20,000	2,804	4,700	768	2	176	...	18	432	2,628
POST OFFICE.												
Postmen's Federation (1891).....	42,607	44,308	44,107	540	7,543	...	...	106	...	...	600	5,144
Postal and Telegraph Clerks' Association (1913)	...	...	21,829	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fawcett Association (1890)	5,670	6,107	6,305	814	3,533	...	...	353	75	80	126	2,867
Amalgamated Society of Telephone Employees (1905)	9,951	10,884	10,247	2,515	4,672	...	...	1,157	92	...	74	4,125
Post Office, Engineering & Stores Association (1896)	3,159	4,898	5,125	308	1,315	...	...	...	...	...	122	1,169
MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES.												
Municipal Employees' Association (1894)	21,102	25,563	25,341	9,488	14,950	1,181	...	2,287	1,749	7	344	7,649
National Union of Corporation Workers (1907)	4,150	7,600	9,000	2,026	2,843	402	23	61	1,491

DIRECTORY OF TRADE UNIONS, FEDERATIONS, ETC.

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The following abbreviations have been used throughout: Amal. (Amalgamated or Amalgamation); Assd. (Associated); Assn. (Association); Dis. (District); Gen. (General); G.B. (Great Britain); G.B. & I. (Great Britain and Ireland); Lab. (Labour or Labourers); Nat. (National); Op. (Operative); Soc. (Society); U. (Union); Utd. (United).

Affiliations to national organisations are indicated thus: (T.), Trades Union Congress; (L), Labour Party; (F.), General Federation of Trade Unions; (S.), Scottish Trades Union Congress; (I.), Irish Trades Union Congress.

GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

W. A. Appleton, Hamilton House, Bidborough St., London, N.

AGRICULTURE AND FISHING.

Agricultural Labourers.

UNIONS.

Agricultural Lab. & Rural Workers' U., Nat. (T.): R. B. Walker, Wensum House, Hempton, Fakenham.

Farm Servants' U., Scottish: The Secretary, 35a, Union St., Aberdeen.

Lab. League (Hempton), Amal.: J. Dennis, Golf House, Hempton, Fakenham.

Fishermen.

UNIONS.

Buckie Hired Men's U.: A. Reid, 1, Great Western Rd., Buckie.

Granton & Dis. Trawl Fishermen's Protective U.: T. Flucker, 5, Ann St., Newhaven, Leith.

Grimsby Steam Fishing Vessels Enginemmen & Firemen's U. (T.L.): J. Collins, 8, Riby Square, Grimsby.

Highland Fishermen's U.: A. Morison, Portland Villas, Stornoway.

Humber Amal. Steam Trawlers Engineers & Firemen's U.: A. A. Pollard, 65 & 67, West Dock Av., Hessle Rd., Hull.

Port of Grimsby Fishermen's Friendly Protective Soc.: J. J. Whyte, 1, Pelham St., Grimsby.

Port of Hull Trawl Fishermen's Protective Soc.: G. W. Holmes, St. Andrew's Hall, West Dock St., Hull.

Scottish Steam Fishing Vessels Enginemmen & Firemen's U. (L.): J. F. Duncan, 12, Regent Quay, Aberdeen.

Weekly Hands Branch of the Port of Hull Trawl Fishermen's Protective Soc.: G. W. Holmes, St. Andrew's Hall, West Dock St., Hull.

BUILDING TRADES.**FEDERATIONS.**

Federated Builders' Labourers of G. B. & I. (F.): W. Mabbott, 61, Port Arthur Rd., Nottingham.

LOCAL BUILDING TRADES FEDERATIONS.

Barrow Building Trades Fed.: F. J. Simpson, 72, South Row, Roose, Barrow-in-F.
 Blackburn & Dis. Building Trades Fed.: R. Allen, 15, Walnut St., Blackburn.
 Blackwood & Dis. Building Trades Fed.: F. W. Lewis, 26, Bloomfield Av., Newport (Mon.).

Bolton & Dis. Building Trades Fed.: J. Seddon, 164, Deane Rd., Bolton.

Darlington & Dis. Building Trades Fed.: W. Lee, 18, Dodd's St., Darlington.

Hull Building Trades Fed.: W. Turner, 43, Terry St., Hull.

Liverpool Building Trades Committee: T. McConville, 29, Standale Rd., Wavertree, Liverpool.

London Building Industries Fed.: G. Dew, J.P., L.C.C., 42, Lowden Rd., Herne Hill, S.E.

London Labourers' Council: S. J. Wright, 15, Gt. Percy St., King's Cross Rd., W.C.

Manchester & Salford Dis. Building Trades Fed.: E. Donohoe, 37, Ramsey St., Moston, Manchester.

North Staffordshire Building Trades Fed.: F. Faulkner, 31, Charles St., Cobridge, Burslem, Staffs.

Preston Building Trades Council: B. Hackett, 9, St. David's Rd., Preston.

Rugby & Dis. Building Trades Fed.: C. W. Browning, 59, Windsor St., Rugby.

Sheffield & Dis. Building Trades Fed.: J. H. Blincow, 72, Burns Rd., Sheffield.

Tamworth & Dis. Building Trades Fed.: W. E. Simpson, 3, Heath St., Tamworth.

Wigan & Dis. Building Trades Fed.: T. Hodson, 204, Gidlow Lane, Wigan.

UNIONS.

Brick & Stone Layers (I.): R. O'Carroll, 49, Cuffe St., Dublin.

Brick & Stone Layers Limerick Guild of: J. Flavin, 21, Carey's Rd., Limerick.

Bricklayers, Utd. Op. (Manchester Unity): J. Gregory, 102, Grenville St., Stockport.

Bricklayers' Soc., Op. (T.): J. Batchelor, 58, Southwark Bridge Rd., S.E.

Bricklayers' Labourers' U., Leigh & Bedford Dis.: C. Castle, 93, Twist Lane, Lanes.

Builders & Gen. Lab., Catshill Soc. of: W. Juggins, Golden Cross Lane, Bromsgrove.

Builders' Labourers' U., Utd. (T.): D. Haggerty, 195, Blackfriars Rd., S.E.

Builders' Lab. & G.W. of Dublin T.U., Utd.: T. McCullagh, 116, L. Clanbrassil St.

Builders' Labourers' U., Cork: Secretary, B.L.U., 96, North Main St., Cork.

Builders' Labourers' U., Accident & Burial Soc., Wigan: J. Gaskell, 8, Turner St., Wigan.

Builders' Labourers' Protective, Accident, & Burial Soc., Coventry & Dis.: A. Turrall, 368, Stoney Stanton Rd.

Builders' Labourers' Trade Soc., Nottingham: W. Mabbott, 61, Port Arthur Rd., Sneinton Dale.

Builders' Labourers' Protective, Accident, & Burial Soc., Wolverhampton & Dis.: T. Duffy, 7, Herbert St.

Builders' Labourers' T.U., Blackburn & Dis.: M. O'Malley, 23, Wensley St., Blackburn.

Builders' Labourers, National Assn. of (L.): P. Flanagan, 62, Hopwood St., Hull.

Building Workers' Industrial U.: J. V. Wills, 10, Layard Rd., Rotherhithe, S.E.

Carpenters & Joiners, Gen. U. of Op. (T.L.): W. Matkin, 65, Kennington Oval, S.E.

Carpenters & Joiners, Amal. Soc. (T.L.I.): F. Chandler, J.P., 95, Brunswick St., Manchester.

Decorative Glass Workers of the U.K.: A. Jenkinson, 99, Oxford Rd., Manchester.

Fret Lead Glaziers & Cutters' U.: A. W. Thomson, 17, Randolph St., Camden T., N.W.

Gas Fitters' T. Assn. (Birmingham): H. J. Sabin, Eachelhurst Rd., Walmley.

Glass Painters' U. (London): H. W. Ball, 22, Arthur Rd., Holloway, N.

Glaziers' T. & F.S., Glasgow Op.: D. McDonald, 326, Crown St., Glasgow.

Glaziers' Soc., Edinburgh Op.: G. Gibson, 27, Riego St., Edinburgh.

Glaziers' Soc., Dundee Op.: J. Nisbet, 49, Gellatly St., Dundee.

Labourers' Amal. U., General: T. Coffey, 45, Aybrook St., Manchester Sq., W.

Labourers of London, U.O.G.: J. Davenport, 64, Westminster Bridge Rd., S.W.

Masons & Bricklayers' Soc., Cork Op.: M. Hurley, 8, Patrick's Terr., Greenm't, Cork.

Masons' Assn. of Scotland, Utd. Op.: H. McPherson, 65, West Regent St., Glasgow.

Masons & Granite Cutters' U., Utd. Op.: A. C. Davidson, 47, Belmont St., Aberdeen.

Masons & Plasterers' Soc. (Tipperary), Utd.: W. O'Connor, 11, Meeting St.

Masons' Soc., Elgin Op.: P. Wood, 13, Blackfriars Rd., Elgin.

Mosaic & Tile Fixers, London & Dis.: A. W. Ure, 88, Grange Pk. Rd., Thornton Heath.
 Mosaic & Encaustic Tilelayers' Assn., Glasgow: C. Hislop, 155, Firpark St., Glasgow.
 Navvies, Builders' Lab., & G.L.U. (T.F.): J. Ward, M.P., East Hill, Wandsworth, S.W.
 Ornamental Decorators, Composition T. (F.): A. Young, 17, Rona Rd., Gospel Oak, N.W.
 Painters' Trade U., Dublin (I.), Met. House: E. McCabe, Roymount House, Kimmage Rd.
 Painters' Old Soc., Liverpool & Vicinity Op. House: J. E. Hepburn, 65, Shaw St., Liverpool.
 Painters, Limerick Guild of Op. House: J. Buckner, 32, Roxboro' Rd., Limerick.
 Painters & Decorators, Belfast Op. H. & S.: W. McKenzie, 5, Willowbank Terr., Falls Rd., Belfast.
 Painters' Assn., Southport & Birkdale: W. Black, 40, Lancaster Rd., Ainsdale, S'port.
 Painters & Decorators, N.A.S. Op. H. & S. (F.I.): J. Parsonage, 4, Camp St., Manchester.
 Painters' Soc., Barnsley Op. House: G. Hunt, 16, Freeman St., Barnsley.
 Painters' Soc., Birkenhead Op. H.: A. W. Tunstall, 185, Church Rd., Tranmere, B'head.
 Painters' Soc., Scot. (T.L.), (F., Aberdeen & Dundee): A. Gardner, 102, Holm St., Glasgow.
 Painters & Decorators, London, "Cave" H.: F. Hillier, 52, Hamilton Rd., Wimbledon.
 Plumbers, London Soc. of (L.): J. Groves, 75, Elgin Av., London, W.
 Plumbers & Domestic Engineers (T.): J. Edmiston, 82, Osborne Rd., Newcastle-on-T.
 Plumbers' Assn. of Scotland, Utd. Op.: W. Kennedy, 156, Buccleuch St., Glasgow.
 Plasterers' T. Soc., Dublin Op.: T. Irwin, 19e, Buildings, Old Bride St., Dublin.
 Plasterers' T. & F.S., Belfast Op.: M. Cardey, 1, Kingscourt St., Belfast.
 Plasterers, Nat. Assn. of Op. (L.F.): T. Otley, 37, Albert St., Mornington Cres., N.W.
 Plasterers' Fed. U., Scottish Nat. Op.: D. Baird, 3, Silverfir St., Glasgow.
 Plasterers & Slaters' Soc., Kilkenny: Coun. J. Magennis, 5, Wolfe Tone St., Kilkenny.
 Plasterers' Labourers, National Assn. of (F.): J. Madden, 57, John St., Bolton.
 Plasterers' Lab., Manchester & Salford: S. O'Brien, 51, U. Cleminson St., Chapel St.
 Regular Glass Cutters, Glaziers, & Lead Sash Makers (Dublin): J. Monahan, 3, Grenville Cot., Gardiner's Place.
 Slaters' Soc. of Scotland, Amal. (S.): W. Cross, 19, Thomson St., Partick, Glasgow.
 Slaters & Tilers' Prov. Soc., Amal. (T.F.): R. Wilson, 19, Oswald Terr., Gateshead.
 Stonemasons' Soc. of England & Wales (T.): W. Williams, 6, Dover St., Manchester.
 Stonecutters of Ireland T.U., Op.: T. Farren, 3, Brown St., Dublin.
 Stonecutters' T.U., City of Dublin: J. J. O'Looney, 1, Meades Cott., Wentworth Place.
 Tile, Mosaic, & Faience Fixers (Manchester): J. Kirkbright, 16, Hadyn Av., Moss Side.
 Tile, Mosaic, & Faience Fixers, Dublin: W. Verso, 2, Upper Elmwood Av., Ranelagh.
 Whiteners' T.U., Dublin: T. Burke, 2, Bachelor's Walk, Dublin.

CHEMICAL, GLASS, POTTERY, ETC., TRADES.

FEDERATIONS.

Glass Bottle Hands, Nat. Fed. of the: A. Greenwood, 2, Wesley St., Castleford.
 Glassworkers & Kindred Trades Unions, Nat. Fed. of: G. Lister, 11, Belvedere Mount, Dewsbury Rd., Hunslet, Leeds.
 Salt Workers, Alkali Workers, Mechanics, & Gen. Labourers, Fed. of (T.): T. Wilkinson, 3, Regent St., Moulton, Northwich.

UNIONS.

Barometer, Thermometer, & Tube Blowers' Trade & Benefit Soc.: H. A. Bullock, 130, Robinson Rd., Tooting Junction, S.W.
 Brickmakers' Soc., Cinder Hill: J. W. Wall, 42, Waterford St., Basford, Nottingham.
 Brickmakers' Soc. for Nottingham & Dis., Op.: F. Leaper, 36, Worth St., Carlton, Nottingham.
 Brick Workers' U., Fire: R. Noble, 62, Havelock Place, Backworth, Newcastle-on-T.
 Flint Glass Cutters' Mutual Assistance & Protective Soc., Utd.: J. Hewitt, 17, Cavendish Rd., Birmingham.
 Flint Glass Makers' Sick & Friendly Soc. of G.B. & I., Nat. (F.): J. H. Husselbee, 66, Talbot St., Brierley Hill, Staffs.
 Glass Bevelers' Soc., Birmingham Utd.: R. Wacey, 273 Moseley Rd., Highgate, Birmingham.
 Glass Blowers' Trade Soc., London (T.F.): J. Stokes, 5, Banner St., E.C.
 Glass Bottle Makers' Soc. of G.B. & I., Nat. (T.F.): F. Swann, Trades Hall, 4, Upper Fountain St., Leeds.
 Glass Bottle Makers of Yorkshire Utd. Trade Protection Soc. (L.): A. Greenwood, 2, Wesley St., Castleford.
 Glass Bottle Makers' Trade Protection Soc., Glasgow & Dis. (L.S.): P. McLuskey, 1, Queen's Av., Shettleston, Glasgow.
 Glass Bottle Makers' Trade Protection Assn., Lancashire Dis. (T.): T. Rigby, 30, Chapel St., St. Helens.

- Glass Bottle Makers' Trade Protection Soc., Irish (I.): J. Longmore, 25, Pembroke St., Irishtown, Dublin.
- Glass Bottle Makers' Trade & Benefit Soc. of Bristol: J. E. Foxon, 17, Ninetree Hill, Bristol.
- Glass Bottle Makers' Soc., North of England: J. A. Levy, 29, Picton St., Sunderland.
- Glass Bottle Makers' Trade Soc. (Seaham Harbour), Londonderry: T. Leighton, 24, Stewart St., Seaham Harbour, co. Durham.
- Glass Bottle Makers' Trade Protection Soc., Alloa: W. Hatt, 42, Castle St., Alloa.
- Glass Bottle Makers' Trade Protection Assn., Portobello: N. Halliday, 3, Pipe St., Portobello, Edinburgh.
- Glass Bottle Makers' Soc., Birmingham & Dis.: G. Parkinson, 53, St. Thomas Rd., Erdington, Birmingham.
- Glass Mould Makers & Smiths, Amal. Soc. of: J. Cooper, 82, Sheffield Rd., Barnsley.
- Medical Glass Bottle Makers, Amal. Soc. of (S.): J. Heenan, 36, Kirkpatrick St., Glasgow.
- Medical Glass Bottle Makers' Soc., Lancashire: J. H. Johnson, 9, Muslinet St., Salford, Manchester.
- Oilworkers & Lab. Assn., Scottish (S.): R. McDougall, Kirkhill Park, Broxbourn, West Lothian.
- Ovenmen's Society, Utd. (T.F.): W. Callear, 35, King St., Tunstall.
- Ovenmen, Kilnmen, & Saggarmakers' U., Utd.: W. Elkin, 117, Lord St., Etruria, Hanley.
- Pipe Makers' Assn. of Scotland & Ireland, Utd. Clay Tobacco: D. Taylor, 194, Gallowgate, Glasgow.
- Pipe Finishers' Assn. of Manchester, Clay: Miss A. Wright, 50, Lewis St., Varley St., Oldham Rd., Manchester.
- Pipe Makers & Finishers' Assn. of England & Ireland, Clay Tobacco (F.): W. Flanagan, 81, Attleboro' Rd., Moston, Manchester.
- Pottery Workers, Nat. Amal. Soc. of Male & Female (T.L.F.): J. Lovatt, Pottery Workers' Offices, Hill St., Hanley, Staffs.
- Potters' Packers' Lab. Protection Assn., Utd.: W. Martin, 191, Old Hall Terr, High St., Tunstall, Stoke-on-Trent.
- Pressed Glass Makers' Soc. of G.B. (F.): T. Melville, 98, Hyde Park St., Gateshead.
- Salt Makers' Assn., Winsford: T. Goulding, 394, High St., Winsford, Cheshire.
- Salt Makers, Mechanics, & Gen. Lab. Assn., Droitwich: J. Harris, 19, Hanbury Terr., Droitwich.
- Salt Makers' Assn., South Durham & North Yorkshire: W. Woodall, 2, Victoria St., Haverton Hill, Middlesbrough.
- Salt Makers, Mechanics, & Gen. Lab. Assn., Stoke Prior: J. Greaves, The Old Club House, Stoke Works, Bromsgrove.
- Salt Workers, Rock Salt Miners, Alkali Workers, Mechanics, & Gen. Lab., Northwich & Dis. Amal. Soc. of (T.): W. Yarwood, 8, Chapel St., Wincham, Northwich.
- Sheet Glass Flatteners' Trade Protection Soc., St. Helens: W. A. McGlue, 149, Greenfield Rd., St. Helens.

CLOTHING TRADES.

FEDERATIONS.

- Clothing & Allied Trades Fed., London: T. W. Shine, 16, Heddon St., Regent St., W.
- Hand Sewn Bootmakers' Societies, International Fed. of: J. W. Dickson, 130, Great Titchfield St., W.

UNIONS.

- Boot & Shoe Makers' Trade & Funeral Soc., City of Glasgow Op.: M. McCormack, 104, Renfrew St., Glasgow.
- Boot & Shoe Makers' Soc., Cork: D. Barry, Boot & Shoe Makers' Soc., Mechanics' Hall, Grattan St., Cork.
- Boot & Shoe Makers, Amal. Soc. of (L.): K. McCrae, 7, Cartwright Gardens, W.C.
- Boot & Shoe Makers' U., Aberdeen Hand-sewn: W. Watson, 63, Rose St., Aberdeen.
- Boot & Shoe Makers, London & Provincial U. of Hand-sewn (L.): J. W. Dickson, 130, Great Titchfield St., W.
- Boot & Shoe Operatives, Nat. U. of (T.L.F.S.): E. L. Poulton, Trade Hall, St. James' St., Leicester.
- Boot, Shoe, & Slipper Operatives, Rossendale U. of (F.): A. Taylor, 4, St. James' St., Waterfoot, Manchester.
- Boot & Shoe Women Workers, Independent Nat. U. of: Miss E. Wilson, 72, Rutland St., Leicester.
- Cloggers, Amal. Soc. of Journeymen (T.L.): D. Stott, 2, Worsley St., Glodwick, Oldham.
- Clog Makers' Soc., Manchester, Salford, & Dis. Op.: E. Bannan, 34, Royal St., Ardwick, Manchester.
- Cordwainers' Trade Protection & Friendly Soc., Edinburgh Op.: C. Brown, 20, Orwell Place, Dalry Road, Edinburgh.

- *Clothiers' Cutters' Trade U., London & Provincial (T.F.): A. Brine, 50, Shernall St., Walthamstow, E.
- *Clothiers' Operatives, Amal. U. of (T.L.F.): J. Young, Hepworth's Chambers, 148, Briggate, Leeds.
- Clothworkers' Trade U.: A. Allery, 28, Allen's Buildings, Leonard St., Finsbury, E.C.
- Cork Head Dress Trade U., Military: J. J. Wallace, 414, Albany Rd., Camberwell, S.E.
- Cutters, Belfast Amal. Soc. of: J. Mallon, 7, Kirk St., Belfast.
- Dressmakers & Tailoresses' Assn., Liverpool & Dis.: Miss L. Hodge, 20, Fairfield St., Fairfield, Liverpool.
- Felt Hatters, Amal. Soc. of Journeymen (T.L.F.): T. Mallalieu, 43, Peel St., Denton, Manchester.
- Felt Hat Trimmers & Wool Formers' Assn., Amal. (T.F.): T. Mallalieu, 43, Peel St., Denton, Manchester.
- Fur Skin Dressers' U., London, E.: T. Street, 19, Second Av., Manor Park, E.
- Furriers of G.B., Gen. U. of Journeymen: E. Fitzpatrick, 19, St. Dunstan's Rd., East Dulwich, S.E.
- Glovers' Mutual Aid Soc. (Yeovil), Utd. (F.): W. H. Taverner, 12, Wyndham St., Yeovil.
- Glovers (Stoke-under-Ham), Amal. Soc. of (F.): A. E. Morgan, High Way, Stoke-under-Ham, Somerset.
- Home Workers' Assn., Manchester: Mrs. O. M. Aldridge, 9, Albert Sq., Manchester.
- Shirt & Jacket Workers' Soc., Amal. (L.): A. Headon, 105, Manchester Rd., Droylsden, Manchester.
- Silk Hatters' Fair Trade U. of G.B. & I., Journeymen (L.F.): J. J. Hall, 99, Drayton Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
- Silk Hat Trimmers & Stitchers' U., Denton (F.): J. Cheetham, 8, Pitt St., Hooley Hill, Manchester.
- Sewing Machinists & Corset Makers (Manchester), Amal. Soc. of: Miss F. Guffick, 39, Brunswick St., Gorton, Manchester.
- Tailors, Machinists, & Pressers' Trade U. (Leeds), Amal. Jewish (T.F.): M. Selare Jewish Tailors' Trade U., Trade U. Institute, Cross Stamford St., Leeds.
- Tailors, Machinists, & Pressers' Trade U., Birmingham International: I. Lester, 15, Hinkley St., Birmingham.
- Tailors, Machinists, & Pressers' Trade U., London Ladies': I. Lush, 10, Great Garden St., Whitechapel, E.
- Tailors, Machinists, & Pressers' Trade U., Dublin International: P. Sheridan, 27, John Dillon St., Dublin.
- Tailoresses, Dressmakers, & Kindred Trades, Nat. Soc. of: W. P. Chapman, 30, Devonport Rd., Shepherd's Bush, W.
- *Tailors & Tailoresses, Amal. Soc. of (T.L.F.S.I.): T. A. Flynn, 415, Oxford Rd., Manchester.
- Tailors & Tailoresses' Assn., Scottish Op. (L.S.): Charles Ross, 180, West Regent St., Glasgow.
- *Tailors & Tailoresses, London Soc. of: J. Macdonald, 16, Heddon St., Regent, St., W.
- *Tailors & Tailoresses' Trade U. of G.B. & I., Jewish: A. Hillman, Tailors' U., Labour Hall, 19a, Pell St., Cable St., E.
- Trousers Makers' U., East London: — Ploschansky, 146, Stepney Green, E.
- Tie Cutters, London Soc. of: W. O. Devereux, 4, Thorpe Rd., Stamford Hill, N.
- *Waterproof Garment Makers & Machinists' Trade U., Manchester: The Secretary, Waterproof Garment Makers & Machinists' Trade U., 97, Cheetham Hill Rd., Manchester.

ENGINEERING AND SHIPBUILDING.

FEDERATIONS.

- Engineering & Shipbuilding Trades of the U.K., Fed. of: W. Mosses, 5, Vanbrugh Park Rd. East, Blackheath, S.E.
- Engineers & Allied Trades Societies' Fed., Birmingham: J. S. Hill, J.P., 14, Blackford Rd., Sparkhill, Birmingham.
- Enginemen & Firemen's Fed., Northern Counties: J. Bain, 3, Compton St., Stalybridge.
- Enginemen, Stokers, & Kindred Trade Societies, Nat. Fed. of (T.): H. Parker, 2, Hill St., Sneyd Green, Hanley, Staffs.
- Workers' Fed., Falkirk & Dis.: W. N. Allan, 196, Beechbrae Terr., Thornhill Rd., Falkirk.

UNIONS.

- Barge Builders' Trade U., River Thames (T.F.): T. H. Challis, 1, Ormiston Rd., Greenwich, S.E.
- Block, Roller, & Stamp Cutters, Amal. Soc. of (F.): S. Silverwood, Moss Bank, Woodhouse Lane, Ashton-on-Mersey.

*These unions have now amalgamated to form the United Garment Workers' Union.

- Bobbin, Carriage, Comb, and Dropper Makers, Amal. Soc. of : J. Fish, 92, Gregory Boulevard, Nottingham.
- Boiler Makers & Iron & Steel Ship Builders, Utd. Soc. of (T.F.) : J. Hill, Lifton House, Eslington Rd., Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- Carriage Straighteners' Soc., Nottingham : J. J. Cree, 68, Ortzen St., Nottingham.
- Electrical Station Engineers, Assn. of : W. J. Ebben, 41, Warren Rd., Leyton, N.E.
- Electrical Trades U. (T.L.F.S.) (I., Dublin & Belfast Branches) : J. Rowan, 137, Great Clowes St., Broughton, Manchester.
- Electrical Winders' Soc. of G.B. (London) : H. K. Barnes, 21, Chipley St., New Cross, S.E.
- Engineers, Amal. Soc. of (L.) : R. Young, 110, Peckham Rd., S.E.
- Fitting Makers' Soc., Scottish : W. Sheldon, 22, Old Dalmarnock Rd., Bridgeton, Glasgow.
- Hackle & Gill Makers' Benevolent & Trade U., Belfast & Dis. : J. F. Gordon, Glencairn, Westland Rd., Belfast.
- Heald Varnishers' Association, Bacup : J. S. Lomas, 7, Grove St., Bacup.
- Heating & Domestic Engineers, Whitesmiths, & Gen. Ironworkers, Nat. U. of Op. (F.) : R. Sewell, St. Stel Chambers, 246, Corporation St., Birmingham.
- Hydraulic & Boatyard Assn. : A. MacGregor, 26, Stanley Rd., Ellesmere Port, Chester.
- Iron Fitters' Assn., Gen. (S.) : J. Fraser, 30, New Market St., Falkirk.
- Iron Safe Engineers, Soc. of (F.) : A. H. Argent, 8, Rectory Rd., High St., Hornsey, N.
- Jacquard Gaiters, Card Cutters, & Machine Fitters' Assn., Bolton & Dis. : D. Horrocks, 21, Hampden St., Bolton.
- Machine & Gen. Lab., Amal. U. of (T.) : W. Hough, 77, St. George's Rd., Bolton.
- Machine & Gen. Lab., Heywood & Dis. Amal. (F.) : E. Howarth, 29, Manchester Rd., Heywood.
- Machine, Engine, & Iron Grinders & Glaziers' Soc. of G.B. & I., Amal. (L.F.) : J. Asquith, 14, Nelson St., Rochdale.
- Machine, Engine, & Iron Grinders' Soc. of Scotland (Glasgow) (F.) : G. Doyle, 7, Morgan St., Govanhill, Glasgow.
- Machine Makers (Lincoln), Amal. Soc. of (F.) : H. Whitworth, 54, Peel St. Terr., Lincoln.
- Machine Workers' Assn., Utd. (T.L.F.) : R. H. Coates, 48, Plymouth Grove, Manchester.
- Mast & Block Makers' Soc., London : E. T. Barlow, 608, Commercial Rd., Stepney, E.
- Mathematical, Optical, & Philosophical Instrument Makers' Soc. (L.) : H. T. Pasmore, 2, Ancona Rd., Highbury, N.
- Mechanical Engineers, Whitesmiths. Iron Workers & Pipe Fitters, Locksmiths, Bell Hangers, etc., Dublin Op. Soc. of : L. Kennedy, Trades Hall, Capel St., Dublin.
- Mule & Ring Spindle Makers' Soc., Op. (F.) : J. Bennett, 105, Crescent Rd., Dukinfield.
- Pattern Makers' Assn., Utd (T.), (S., Clyde Dis.) : W. Mosses, 5, Vanbrugh Park Rd. East, Blackheath, S.E.
- Platers, Helpers, & Drillers' Soc. : W. J. Lovell, 57, Topaz St., Roath, Cardiff.
- Reedmakers' Soc., Blackburn Assd. : J. Mitchell, 138, Moorgate St., Livesey, Blackburn.
- Rivet Warmers' Soc., Cardiff : W. Duncan, 54, Splott Rd., Cardiff.
- Riggers' Assn., Loyal London Utd. : R. Fowler, 168, Brunswick Rd., Poplar, E.
- Roller Coverers' Soc., Blackburn & East Lancashire : T. B. Hume, 23, Nab Lane, Blackburn.
- Safe Workers' U., Bolton : T. Kenyon, 20, Bank St., Bolton.
- Sailmakers of G.B. & I., Fed. of : W. W. Hicks, 24, Andrew Marvel Terr., Wyke St., Hull.
- Scale Beam & Weighing Machine Makers, Amal. Soc. of : J. Cope, 212, Lower Broughton Rd., Salford, Manchester.
- Scientific Instrument Makers' Trade Soc. (T.L.F.) : J. W. Clark, 41, Cowcross St., E.C.
- Sheet Iron Workers & Light Platers' Soc. (S.) : A. Richmond, 41, Robertson St., Glasgow.
- Ship Constructors & Shipwrights' Assn. (T.L.F.) : A. Wilkie, J.P., M.P., 8, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- Ship & House Painters' Benefit Assn., Liverpool & Birkenhead Op. : J. M. Ford, 27, Upper Stanhope St., Liverpool.
- Ship Caulkers' Soc., Utd. River Thames : J. W. Westbrook, 71, Central Park Rd., East Ham, Essex.
- Shipsmiths' Soc., Liverpool : G. Davies, 3, Bouverie St., Liverpool.
- Shipwrights' Trade & Friendly Assn., Liverpool : R. H. Davies, 44, Mann Island, Liverpool.
- Shuttle Makers, Amal. Soc. of (F.) : D. Isherwood, 33, Bromley St., Blackburn.
- Spring & Doffing Plate Makers & Grinders, Amal. Soc. of (F.) : J. Lynch, 3, Heath St., Rochdale.

Spindle & Flyer Makers' Trade & Friendly Soc., Utd. Op. (T.L.F.): C. H. Whitehead, 85, Elland Rd., Holbeck, Leeds.
 Spring Fitters & Vicemen, Utd. Soc. of: J. Austin; 109, Princess St., Attercliffe Rd., Sheffield.
 Sporting & Military Gun Workers, Nat. Soc. of: H. Dalby, 11, Fowler St., Nechells, Birmingham.
 Steam Engine Makers' Soc. (T.L.): W. F. Dawtry, Market Buildings, 17, Thomas St., Shudehill, Manchester.
 Stove Grate & Fender Grinders' Provident & Protection Soc., Rotherham: J. W. Goode, 41, Arthur St., Thornhill, Rotherham.
 Tank Makers, Utd. Soc. of (F.): A. Meager, 423, Hanover Bdgs., Tooley St., London, S.E.
 Toolmakers, Engineers, & Machinists, Amal. Soc. of (T.L.F.): W. F. Beston, 38, John Bright St., Birmingham.
 Whitesmiths & Heating Engineers' Soc., Newcastle & Dis. Op.: J. McMurdo, 48, Loadman St., Elswick, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 Wire Card Setting Machine Tenters' Soc. (L.F.): T. Forrest, 227, Two Trees Lane, Denton, Manchester.
 Woolcomb, Hackle, & Gill Makers, Amal. Soc. of: E. Hird, 90, Sunbridge Rd., Bradford.

Smiths, Hammermen, Etc.

UNIONS.

Blacksmiths & Ironworkers' Soc., Assd. (T.): J. Thomson, 74, Bath St., Glasgow.
 Hammermen's Soc., Liverpool & Dis.: J. Annesley, 76, Egerton St., Liverpool.
 Smiths & Strikers, Utd. Kingdom Soc. of (F.): G. Ashcroft, 71, Clarendon Rd., Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester.
 Smiths' Hammermen's Soc. (South Wales) (L.): W. Rawlings, 34, Zinc St., Roath, Cardiff.
 Smiths' Trade U. of Ireland, Utd. (Dublin): R. Moore, 78, Innsfallen Parade, Dublin.
 Spring Smiths & Strikers' Trade U. (Sheffield): J. Taylor, 48, Ditchingham Rd., Sheffield.

ENGINEMEN.

(SEE ALSO UNDER MINING.)

UNIONS.

Engine Drivers, Crane Drivers, Hydraulic, & Boiler Attendants, Amal. Protective U. of (T.): G. Grisley, 203, Barking Rd., Canning Town, E.
 Enginemen's Assn., Northern Utd. (T.): T. Samuel, 3, St. Nicholas Bdgs., Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 Enginemen, Firemen, Mechanics, & Electrical Workers, Nat. Amal. U. of (T.): G. Parker, 228, Wellgate, Rotherham.
 Blackburn & Dis. Enginemen & Firemen's Soc.: A. Haworth, 3, Bent Gap, Blackburn.
 Bolton Enginemen & Firemen's U. (L.): M. Coolaghan, 36, Keston St., Bolton.
 Burnley & Dis. Engineers' Soc.: G. Hindle, 44, Colbran St., Burnley.
 Bury & Dis. Engine Attendants & Boiler Firemen's Soc. (T.): J. J. Hopkinson, 20, Every St., Fernhill, Bury.
 Coatdyke Engine Keepers' Soc.: T. Shanks, 3, Hunter St., Airdrie.
 Enginemen, Motormen, & Firemen's Assn. (F.): J. T. Griffiths, 36, Mill Green, Staveley Town, Chesterfield.
 Farnworth Enginemen, Boilermen, & Firemen's Provident Soc. (T.): J. Treppas, 10, Gower St., Farnworth, Bolton.
 Hadfield Enginemen & Firemen's Assn.: J. Hutchinson, 35, Woolley Bridge, Hollingworth, Manchester.
 Irish Stationary Engine Drivers, Cranemen, Firemen, & Motormen's U., Dublin (I.): J. Coffey, 26, Gulistan Cottages, Rathmines, Dublin.
 Leeds & Yorkshire Engineers & Firemen's Assn.: J. Sykes, St. Ann's Cottage, Kirkstall, Leeds.
 Nottingham & Dis. Stationary Engine Drivers' Soc.: J. Bradshaw, 24, Crocus St., Meadows, Nottingham.
 Nottingham Practical Engine Drivers' Soc.: H. Smith, 143, Birkin Av., Hyson Green, Nottingham.
 Radcliffe & Dis. Enginemen, Boilermen, & Firemen's Provident Soc. (T.): A. Hall, 2, off Butterworth St., Radcliffe, Manchester.
 Rossendale Enginemen & Firemen's Assn.: J. Bullas, 20, Wesley Terr., Weir, Bacup.
 St. Helens Enginemen & Boilermen's Provident Soc. (T.): R. Roby, 13, Roby St., Toll Bar, St. Helens.
 Sheffield, Nat. Independent Enginemen's Trade U.: F. Pidcock, 140, Clarence St., Sheffield.
 Stalybridge, Gorton, & Dis. Enginemen & Firemen's Assn.: J. Bain, 3, Compton St., Stalybridge.

Stockport & Dis. Enginemen & Firemen's Trade U.: J. Street, 56, Stockport Rd., Otheadle Heath, Stockport.
 Yorkshire Assn. of Engineers & Firemen: J. Brooksbank, 2, Springfield Place, Dudley Hill, Bradford.

FIBRE, CANE, ETC., TRADES.

FEDERATIONS.

Brushmaking Industry, Fed. of Societies in the: E. Latchford, 17, Napier Rd., Kensal Rise, N.W.

Basket, Skip, & Hamper Makers' Fed. of the U.K. (F.): G. Lemon, 43, Church Rd., Tottenham, N.

UNIONS.

Basket Makers, London U. of Journeymen (F.): G. Lemon, 43, Church Rd., Tottenham, N.

Basket Makers, British Amal. U. of Journeymen (F.): W. Hudson, 2a, West Av., Derby.

Basket Makers, Scottish U. of (F.): J. Watt, 30, Couper St., Glasgow.

Blind of G.B. & I. (Brush Makers & Basket Makers), National League of (T.L.): J. E. Gregory, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Rd., E.C.

Brush Makers, Utd. Soc. of (T.): S. G. Porter, 61, Rectory Rd., Stoke Newington, N.

Brush Makers' Provident Soc. (London), Painting: C. Goodspeed, 42, Annis Rd., South Hackney, N.E.

Brushmakers, Amal. Soc. of: E. Latchford, 17, Napier Rd., Kensal Rise, N.W.

Brush Makers' Trade Protection Soc. (London), Bone: A. Masters, 8, Horton Rd., Hackney, E.

Cane, Wicker, & Perambulator Operatives, Amal. Soc. of: J. H. Burton, 40, Browns Croft, Basford, Nottingham.

Cocoanut Fibre Mat & Matting Weavers' Trade Soc. (Diss, Norfolk), Utd.: G. Copsey, Brewers Green, Royden, Diss, Norfolk.

Cocoanut Fibre Mat & Matting Weavers' Trade Soc., Suffolk Utd.: G. Goodman, 67, Angel St., Hadleigh, Suffolk.

Mill Mat & Matting Trade U., Chilton: C. Witt, 13, Upper East St., Sudbury, Suffolk.
 Skip & Basket Makers, Lancashire & Cheshire U. of (F.): F. Simpson, 83, Tudor St., Oldham.

Skip, Basket, & Hamper Makers' Soc., Yorkshire Utd. (F.): A. Staincliffe, 5, The Lanes, Lowtown, Pudsey, Leeds.

FOOD AND TOBACCO TRADES.

FEDERATION.

Tobacco Workers, Nat. Fed. of: B. Cooper, 54, Clinton Rd., Mile End, E.

UNIONS.

Bakers' Nat. Amal. U., Irish: R. Wilson, 26, Clooney Terr., Londonderry.

Bakers' U., London Jewish (T.L.F.): I. Sharp, 20, Oxford St., E.

Bakers' Trade U., Cork Op.: J. O'Connor, 47, Grattan St., Cork.

Bakers & Confectioners of G.B. & I., Amal. U. of Op. (T., four branches) (L.): W. Banfield, Union House, 57, Sydney St., Chelsea, London, S.W.

Bakers' Soc., Limerick: J. Lynch, Mechanics' Hall, Limerick.

Bakers of Scotland Nat. Federal U., Op. (L.S.): W. G. Hunter, 58, West Regent St., Glasgow.

Bakers' U., Kilkenny Op.: R. Ring, Vicar St., Kilkenny.

Bakers' Soc., Belfast Op. (I.): T. M'Connell, 5, Lower Garfield St., Belfast.

Baking Trade Workers, Nat. U. of: C. Mann, 12, Little Newport St., W.C.

Biscuit Bakers, Pastrycooks, & Confectioners' Soc. (London, W.), Utd.: J. Griffin, 28, Cambridge Gardens, North Kensington, W.

Biscuit Operatives' Lab. U. & Benefit Soc., Dublin: J. Hannon, 23g, Nicholas St., Dublin.

Bread Van Men's Soc., Limerick: W. Mulcahy, 17, Pennywell, Limerick.

Bread Servers' Trade U., Belfast: J. Cummings, 60, Dee St., Belfast.

Breweries Employes' Trade U., Kilkenny: H. Murphy, 2, Jenkins' Ring, Kilkenny.

Butchers' Trade U. (Dublin), Op.: P. J. Hickey, 9, Armstrong St., Harold's Cross, Dublin.

Butchers' Soc., Limerick Pork: M. Barry, 1, Garryowen Av., Limerick.

Butchers & Fleshers' U., Irish Op.: A. Doran, 12, Merklind St., Belfast.

Butchers' Fed. of G.B., Journeymen: J. Couldwell, 141, Broad Oaks, Staniforth Rd., Attercliffe, Sheffield.

Cigar Box Makers & Paperers' Trade U., London: C. J. Greenslade, 25, York St., Hackney Rd., N.E.

Cigarette Machine Operators' Soc.: W. Bragg, 2, Drapper's Rd., Bermondsey, S.E.

Cigar Makers' Mutual Assn. (T.L.F.): B. Cooper, 54, Clinton Rd., Mile End, E.
 Cigar Makers' Protective U., Female (T.): Miss K. Atkin, 8, Vicarage St., Nottingham.
 Cigar Sorters & Bundlers' Mutual Assn., London: G. Jacobs, 67, Colvestone Crescent, Dalston, N.E.
 Confectioners & Sugar Boilers' Soc., Dublin Op.: J. P. Byron, 8, Wilson's Cottages, North Frederick St., Dublin.
 Confectioners' Trade U. (Manchester), Women: Miss M. Radford, 96, Church Lane, Gorton, Manchester.
 Dairy Employés, Nat. U. of: F. Peck, 99, St. Ann's Rd., South Tottenham, N.
 Millers, Nat. U. of: J. Harris, 23, Abercrombie St., Battersea, S.W.
 Mineral Water Operatives' Soc., Dublin: J. Keogh, 82, Amiens St., Dublin.
 Purveyors' Assistants' Assn., Dublin: J. W. Kenny, 32, Dartmouth Rd., Ranelagh, Dublin.
 Tobacconists' Soc., United Kingdom Op.: A. G. Rose, 2b, Russian Drive, Stoneycroft, Liverpool.
 Tobacco Strippers' Mutual Assn., London (F.): L. Deckers, 3, Chatteris Rd., New Kent Rd., S.E.

GENERAL LABOUR.

FEDERATION.

Labourers' Nat. Council, Gen.: J. N. Bell, 4, Higham Place, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

UNIONS.

Bristol, West of England, & South Wales Operatives' Trade & Provident Soc.: J. C. Fox, Dorset House, North St., Bedminster, Bristol.
 Gasfitters' Trade Assn., The: H. J. Sabin, Walmley, near Birmingham.
 Gas Workers' Assn., Bolton & Dis.: A. Potts, 4, Corporation Chambers, Corporation St., Bolton.
 Gas Workers & Gen. Lab. of G.B. & I., Nat. U. of (T.L.) (S., Scottish Branches): W. Thorne, M.P., 266, Pentonville Rd., King's Cross, N.
 Gas Workers, Brick Makers, & Gen. Lab., Amal. Soc. of (T.L.): Councillor H. Simpson, 16 & 17, County Bdg., Corporation St., Birmingham.
 Gen. & Warehouse Workers' U., Amal.: J. Cleary, 8, Spekeland Bdg., Canning Place, Liverpool.
 Labour Amalgamation, British (T.L.): T. Fox, 242, Plymouth Grove, Manchester.
 Labour U. of G.B., Constitutional: J. J. Merry, 15, Violet St., Ashton-in-Makerfield, Newton-le-Willows.
 Lab. U. of G.B. & I., Nat. Amal. (T.): J. Twomey, 1, St. David's Place, Rutland St., Swansea.
 Labour, Nat. Amal. U. of (T.L.F.): (S., Clyde Dis.) (I.): J. N. Bell, J.P., 4, Higham Place, Newcastle-on-T.
 Machine, Electric, & other Women Workers. Manchester & Salford Assn of: Mrs. S. Dickenson, 5, John Dalton St., Manchester.
 Undeb Gweithwyr Mon.: E. Pritchard, Pwm Hog, Gwalchmai, Anglesey.
 Workers' U. (L.): C. Duncan, M.P., 16, Agincourt Rd., Hampstead, N.W.
 Workmen's U., Rathmines & Dis.: C. Smith, 42, Gulistan Cottages, Rathmines, Dublin.
 Women Workers, Nat. Fed. of (T.F.) (S., Scottish members): Miss M. R. Macarthur, 34, Mecklenburgh Sq., W.C.

LEATHER TRADES.

FEDERATION.

Leather Trades Fed., Midland (T.F.): G. Power, 4, Countess St., Walsall.

UNIONS.

Bridle Cutters, Fancy Leather Workers, Harness Makers, Saddle Tree Makers, & Rivetters, Amal. Soc. of: G. Power, 4, Countess St., Walsall.
 Brown Saddlers' Trade Protection Soc., Walsall New: G. Power, 4, Countess St., Walsall.
 Cricket Ball Makers, Amal. Soc. of (F.): F. Boorman, 135, St. Mary's Rd., Tonbridge.
 Curriers of G.B. & I., Utd. Soc. of Journeymen (T.): W. Lilley, 93, Wiesbaden Rd., Stoke Newington, N.
 Curriers, Nat. Soc. of Journeymen: J. Briggs, 39, St. Michael's Rd., Byker, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 Curriers & Strapmakers' U., Spen Valley & Dis. (F.): A. E. Dowel, Smithey Hill, Scholes, Cleckheaton.
 Fancy & Morocco Leather Finishers, London Utd. Soc. of: R. De Bell, 18, Eastlands Rd., Perry Hill, Catford, S.E.
 Fancy Leather Workers, Women's Trade Soc. of: Miss E. Stapleton, 162, Halliwell Lane, Cheetham Hill, Manchester.

Fancy Leather Workers' Trade Soc. (F.): C. H. Clark, 77, Mann St., Walworth, S.E.
 Gig Saddlers' U., Walsall & Dis.: A. Beech, 44, Pargeter St., Walsall.
 Grounders & Skinners' Soc., Amal.: T. Salmon, 3, Grosvenor View, Camp Rd., Leeds.
 Grounders' Soc., Utd.: A. G. Beere, 79, Abbeyfield Rd., Rotherhithe, S.E.
 Horse Collar Makers' Trade U., Birmingham: W. R. Crook, 85, Clifton Rd., Sparkbrook, Birmingham.
 Horse Collar Makers' Trade U., Walsall: W. Purchase, 30, North St., Walsall.
 Horse Collar Makers' Trade U., Manchester: F. H. Herbert, 38, Buxton St., Seedley, Pendleton, Manchester.
 Jewel Case Makers' Trade Protection Soc., London: H. A. Benbow, 42, Palatine Rd., Stoke Newington, N.
 Leather Dressers, Lenton Amal. Soc. of: A. Willis, 189, Castle Boulevard, Nottingham.
 Leather Workers, Amal. Soc. of (T.): R. Siddle, 93, Blackburn Lane, Leeds.
 Portmanteau & Trunk Makers' Soc., Manchester: E. Knapman, 126, Greenheys Lane, Greenheys, Manchester.
 Portmanteau & Trunk Makers' Trade Soc., London: C. Hyde, 33, Gascony Av., West Hampstead, N.W.
 Saddlers & Gen. Leather Workers, U. of (T.): J. Hadden, 26, Alpha St. West, Seedley Park Rd., Seedley, Manchester.
 Saddle & Harness Makers' Trade Protection Soc., London (T.): J. T. Morrison, 47, Allfarthing Lane, Wandsworth Common, S.W.
 Saddlers & Harness Makers' Trade Soc., Dublin (I.): J. Christian, 37, Percy Place, Dublin.
 Skinners' Friendly Soc., Birmingham Division: W. J. Benson, 19, Lucy Rd., Bermondsey, S.E.
 Skinners' Soc., Leeds: H. Fullalove, 28, Matlock Terr., Chapeltown Rd., Leeds.
 Skinners' Trade Soc., London Div.: W. H. Whiteley, 86, Alscot Rd., Bermondsey, S.E.
 Spanish & Morocco Leather Finishers, Provincial Friendly Soc. of: W. H. Stancer, Ivy Villa, Greenfield St., Nottingham.
 Tanners' U., Liverpool & Dis.: E. Ormsby, 20, Juvenal St., Scotland Rd., Liverpool.

METAL TRADES.

Iron, Steel, Tin, Brass, and Copper.

FEDERATIONS.

Brass Founders, Turners, Fitters, Finishers, & Coppersmiths' Assn. of G.B. & I. Utd. Journeymen: T. Jeffers, J.P., Bank Chambers, 2, Moss St., Liverpool.
 Brass Workers, London Federal Council of: T. Caldwell, 78, Manor Rd., Brockley, S.E.
 Blastfurnacemen, Ore Miners, & Kindred Trades, Nat. Fed. of (T.L.): Alderman P. Walls, J.P., 45, Oxford St., Workington.
 Cutlery Council, Sheffield Utd.: R. Holmshaw, J.P., 16, Leamington St., Sheffield.
 Iron & Steel Trades Fed. (T.): J. Cox, J.P., 5, Mount Pleasant, Darlington.
 Iron Trades Fed., Leicester: A. Morris, 21, Lansdowne Rd., Leicester.
 Midland Counties Trades Fed. (T.F.): J. Taylor, J.P., Federation Offices, Hellier St., Dudley.
 Metal Trades Fed., British (T.): C. Hobson, 3, Alpine Rd., Sheffield.
 Razor Trade Fed. (T.): A. Waddington, 15, Camping Lane, Woodseats, Sheffield.
 Sheet Metal Workers & Braziers, Nat. Amal. (T.L.): J. C. Gordon, 41, Clapham Rd., S.W.

UNIONS.

Blastfurnacemen, South Wales & Monmouthshire Dis. of the Nat. Fed. of (T.L.): L. Carter, 44, Alexandra St., Ebbw Vale, Mon.
 Blastfurnacemen & Cokemen's Assn., Cleveland & Durham (T.L.): T. McKenna, 87, Borough Rd. West, Middlesbrough.
 Blastfurnacemen, Eastern Midland Dis. of the Nat. Fed. of (T.L.): H. Nixon, 9, Frodingham Rd., Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire.
 Blastfurnacemen, Cokemen, & Bye-Product Workers, Midland Assn. of (T.L.): J. Hall, 31, Newport Rd., Stafford.
 Blastfurnacemen, Cumberland & Lancs. Dis. of the Nat. Fed. of (T.L.): Alderman P. Walls, J.P., York Place, Workington.
 Brass & General Metal Founders' Soc., London Utd. (F.): J. S. Lucy, 20, St. Margaret's Rd., Paul's Rd., Barking.
 Brass Founders, Turners, Fitters, & Finishers' Soc., London Utd.: T. Caldwell, 78, Manor Rd., Brockley, S.E.
 Brass Cock Finishers' Trade, Sick, & Dividend Soc., Birmingham Op.: J. Russell, 24, Alfred Rd., Sparkhill, Birmingham.
 Brass Workers & Metal Mechanics, Nat. Soc. of Amal. (T.L.): W. J. Davis, J.P., 70, Lionel St., Parade, Birmingham.

- Brass Founders & Finishers' Trade Soc., Bristol : F. Bird, 74, Victoria Rd., Whitehall, Bristol.
- Brass Founders & Finishers' Trade, Sick, & Funeral Assn., Doncaster Op. : T. Emery, 38, Gladstone Rd., Hexthorpe, Doncaster.
- Brass Founders, Finishers, & Gasfitters' Soc., Dublin Utd. : T. Boniface, 9, David Rd., Glasnevin, Dublin.
- Brass Founders' Soc., East of Scotland : A. Wilson, 30, St. Leonard's St., Edinburgh.
- Brass Moulders' U., Scottish (L.S.) : J. Kerr, 17, Oswald St. (City), Glasgow.
- Brass Turners, Fitters, Finishers & Instrument Makers' Soc., West of Scotland (T.S.) : J. Whitehead, 36, Main St., Gorbals, Glasgow.
- Brass Founders, Turners, Fitters, Finishers, & Coppersmiths' Soc., Hull Journeymen : C. Lamb, 87, Lee St., Holderness Rd., Hull.
- Brassfounders, Turners, Fitters, Finishers, & Coppersmiths' Soc., Assd. (T.) : T. Jeffers, J.P., Bank Chambers, 2, Moss Street, Liverpool.
- Brassworkers, London Soc. of Amal. : H. H. Hinkins, 63, Larcom St., Walworth, S.E.
- Brass, Aluminium, Bronze, & Kindred Alloys Moulders' Trade & Friendly Soc., North of England : G. Johnson, 3, Dunholme St., Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- Brass Turners, Fitters, & Finishers' Soc., North of England : J. Wile, 47, Union St., Shieldfield, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- Braziers & Sheet Metal Workers, Gen. U. of (T.L.) : A. T. Kidd, 41, Bellamy Rd., Walton, Liverpool.
- Braziers & Sheet Metal Workers' Soc., London : T. A. Whiting, 69, Erlanger Rd., New Cross Gate, S.E.
- Braziers & Sheet Metal Workers, Ashton-under-Lyne & Dis. (T.L.) : J. Torkington, 40, Field Street, Droylsden, Manchester.
- Coppersmiths, Braziers, & Metal Workers, Nat. Soc. of (T.) : H. Stansfield, 90, Chesterton Rd., Balaam St., Plaistow, London, E.
- Hollow-ware Sheet Metal Workers & Braziers' Assn., Galvanised (T.L.F.) : S. Webb, Podmore Rd., Lye, near Stourbridge, Staffs.
- Iron & Steel Workers of G.B., Associated (T.) : J. Cox, 5, Mount Pleasant, Darlington.
- Iron & Steel Workers & Mechanics of South Wales & Monmouthshire, Amal. Assn. of : W. Williams, 26, Williams Place, Penyardren, Merthyr Tydvil.
- Puddlers & Forgemens of G.B., Assn. of : B. Norton, 75, Chapel St., Netherton, Dudley.
- Roll Turners' Trade Soc. (F.) : W. H. Park, 2, West Mount, Barrow-in-Furness.
- Roll Turners' Soc., Sheffield & Dis. Organised : S. Simpson, 58, Wadsley Lane, Hillsbro', Sheffield.
- Sheet Metal Workers' Soc., Aberdeen & Dis. (T.L.) : W. Craig, 475, George St., Aberdeen.
- Sheet Metal Workers & Gasfitters' Trade U., Belfast (T.L.) : T. Heaney, 98, McClure St., Belfast.
- Sheet Metal Workers & Braziers' Soc., Bristol (T.L.) : C. J. Lea, 52, Friezewood Rd., Ashton Gate, Bristol.
- Sheet Metal Workers' Soc. (Coventry), Progressive (F.) : A. E. Ross, 37, Sir Thomas White's Rd., Coventry.
- Sheet Metal Workers, Gasfitters, & Braziers' Protecting & Friendly Soc., Dundee & Dis. (T.L.) : W. Pullar, 33, Hilltown, Dundee.
- Sheet Metal Workers & Gas Meter Makers of Edinburgh & Leith Protecting & Friendly Soc. (T.L.) : C. M. Robertson, 12, Montague St., Edinburgh.
- Sheet Metal Workers' Soc., Bradford & Dis. (T.L.) : J. W. Whettlock, 10, Varley St., Stanningley, Leeds.
- Sheet Metal Workers, Leeds & Dis. Trade & Friendly Soc. of (T.L.) : H. Akroyd, 8, Colenso Place, Holbeck, Leeds.
- Sheet Metal Workers, Braziers, & Gas Meter Makers, London Soc. of (T.L.) : J. Payn, Union Buildings, 53, Fetter Lane, E.C.
- Sheet Metal Workers & Braziers, Nat. Amal. (T.L.) : J. C. Gordon, 41, Clapham Rd., S.W.
- Steel Workers' Assn., Engineering & Labour League, Nat. (T.F.) : G. Beadle, Horwell House, Harrowgate, Darlington.
- Steel & Iron Workers of G.B., Amal. Soc. of (T.S.) : J. Cavin, J.P., Gordon Chambers 90, Mitchell St., Glasgow.
- Steel Smelters, Mill, Iron, Tinplate, & Kindred Trades Assn., British (T.L.S.) : J. Hodge, M.P., 76-78, Winton St., Gray's Inn Rd., Holborn, W.C.
- Tin Plate, Sheet Metal Workers & Braziers' Soc., Birmingham Op. (T.) : J. V. Stevens, J.P., 110, John Bright St., Birmingham.
- Tinsmiths & Sheet Metal Workers' Soc., City of Dublin (T.L.I.) : J. Farren, 45, Sitric Rd., Arbour Hill, Dublin.
- Tin & Iron Plate Workers & Gas Meter Makers' Soc., Exeter & Dis. (T.L.) : H. Darch, 3, Wellington Rd., St. Thomas, Exeter.
- Tin Plate Braziers & Sheet Metal Workers' Friendly Protective Soc., Scottish (T.L.S.) : T. Sanders, 77, Canning St., Glasgow.
- Tin Plate Workers' Trade U., Oldham (T.L.) : J. S. Turner, 35, Harley St., Oldham.
- Tin & Sheet Millmen's Assn. (T.L.F.) : I. H. Gwynne, 16, Bryn Rd., Swansea.

Tin Plate Workers' Soc., Wolverhampton Op. (T.L.): C. Smith, Black & White Buildings, 28, Darlington St., Wolverhampton.
 Welsh Artisans' Utd. Assn. (T.): J. H. John, Fronmor, Queen's Rd., Sketty, Glam.
 Zinc & Copper Roofers & General Sheet Metal Workers' Soc.: H. Warren, 95, Sixth Avenue, Queen's Park, W.

Ironfounding.

UNIONS.

Coremakers of G.B. & I., Amal. Soc. of (L.F.): E. Clegg, 550, Liverpool St., Weaste, Manchester.
 Irish Foundry Workers' U. (I.): R. Corish, Charlotte St., Wexford.
 Ironfounders of E.I. & W., Friendly Soc. of (L.F.): A. Todd, 164, Chorlton Rd., Brooks Bar, Manchester.
 Iron Moulders of Scotland, Assd. (T.F.): J. Brown, 221, W. George St., Glasgow.
 Iron Moulders' Assn., Central (T.L.F.S.): H. Murdoch, 11, Graham's Rd., Falkirk.
 Iron, Steel, & Brass Dressers of Scotland, Assd. (F.): R. R. McFadyen, 25, Candle-riggs, Glasgow.
 Iron, Steel, & Metal Dressers' Trade Soc. (F.): C. W. Davidson, 137, Tamworth St., Stretford Rd., Manchester.
 Moulders, Associated Soc. of (F.): T. Charles, 89, Marble Hall Rd., Llanelly.
 Moulders' U., Amal. (T.F.): J. Ryan, 732, Middleton Rd., Chadderton, Oldham.
 Stove Grate, Fender, & General Light Metal Workers, Nat. U. of (T.L.F.): A. Hutchison, Stove Grate Workers' Union, Effingham St., Rotherham.

Metal: Miscellaneous.

UNIONS.

Anchorsmiths & Shackle Makers, Amal. Soc. of (F.): C. H. Sitch, Workers' Institute, Cradley Heath, Staffs.
 Anvil & Vice Makers, Amal. Soc. of (T.): J. Taylor, J.P., Federation Offices, Hellier St., Dudley.
 Bedstead Workmen's Assn. (T.): W. Palmer, 17, Stafford St., Birmingham.
 Block Chain Makers' Assn., Cradley Heath: T. Sitch, Unity Villa, Sydney Rd., Cradley Heath, Staffs.
 Casters' Soc., Oakengates: F. W. Blocksidge, near the Church, Dawley, Salop.
 Chain Makers & Strikers' Assn. (T.F.): T. Sitch, Unity Villa, Sydney Rd., Cradley Heath.
 Goffed Blade Forgers, U., Sheffield: W. F. Wardley, 327, Crookesmoor Rd., Sheffield.
 Diamond Workers' Trade U., London: B. Pou, 41, Newcastle St., Aldgate, E.
 Edge Tool Grinders' Soc., Sheffield: H. Colley, 25, Warwick St., Commonsides, Sheffield.
 Edge Tool Trade Protection & Death Soc. of Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Wednesbury & Dis., Amal.: L. E. Thomas, 9, Chattaway St., Nechells, Birmingham.
 Farriers, Amal. Soc. of (T.): W. H. Briggs, 70, St. James Rd., Higher Broughton, Manchester.
 Farriers' Soc., City of Dublin Op. (I.): J. Gorman, 15, Moore St., Dublin.
 Farriers' Soc., Cork Regular Op.: M. Scully, 3, Windmill Rd., Cork.
 Farriers' Trade Soc., Old West End: R. A. Watkins, Old West End Farriers' Trade Soc., "Berkeley Arms," John St., Mayfair, W.
 File Cutters' Soc., Sheffield & Dis. (by hand): J. S. Longden, 2, Harold St., Walkley, Sheffield.
 File Cutters' Soc., Manchester & Dis. Hand: T. H. Wyke, 20, Robson St., Oldham.
 File Cutters' U., Sheffield Machine: A. S. Mappin, 56, Fir St., Walkley, Sheffield.
 File Forgers' Soc., Sheffield Machine: J. Beaumont, 32, Roundell St., Sheffield.
 File Forgers' Mutual Aid Soc., Sheffield: W. H. Andrews, 42, Netherthorpe St., Sheffield.
 File Grinders' U., Sheffield: W. Gale, 45, Spring House Rd., Sheffield.
 File Hardeners' Assn., Sheffield: F. Leggett, 235, Spring Vale Rd., Sheffield.
 Fire Iron Makers' Assn., Birmingham, Amal.: J. Taylor, J.P., Federation Offices, Hellier St., Dudley.
 Gold Beaters' Trade Soc.: C. Gates, 160, High St., Camden Town, N.W.
 Gold, Silver, & Kindred Trades, Amal. Soc. of (T.): W. Kean, 36a, Trippet Lane, Sheffield.
 Goldsmiths & Jewellers, London Soc. of: S. Lowen, Club Union Bdgs, Clerkenwell Rd., E.C.
 Harness & Saddlery Furniture Trades Assn. (T.): C. J. Wright, 1, High St., Walsall.
 Horn, Halft, & Scale Pressers & Sway Knife Cutters' U., Sheffield: J. Barratt, 1, Evelyn Rd., Crookes, Sheffield.
 Horse Shoers' Soc., Edinburgh & Leith Journeymen: A. Donald, 16, Lower View, Craig Row, Edinburgh.

- Lock, Latch, & Keysmiths' Trade Soc., Nat. Amal. (T.): G. Bellamy, 46, Temple Rd., Willenhall, Staffs.
- Locksmiths, Walsall (T.): W. Smith, 203, Bentley Lane, Walsall.
- Locksmiths, Wolverhampton (T.): J. Roberts, 17, Gt. Brickkiln St., Wolverhampton.
- Metal, Wire, & Tube Workers, Nat. Soc. of Amal. (T.): W. J. Davis, J.P., 70, Lionel St., Parade, Birmingham.
- Military Musical Instrument Makers' Trade Soc. (T.): W. Bourne, "Exmouth Arms," Exmouth St., N.W.
- Nut & Bolt Makers, Nat. Amal. Soc. of (T.): J. Taylor, J.P., Federation Offices, Hellier St., Dudley.
- Pen & Pocket Blade Forgers & Smithers' Protection Soc., Sheffield (L.): G. H. Shaw, 46, Sydney Rd., Crookesmoor, Sheffield.
- Planemakers' Trade Soc., Utd. Op.: C. G. Coulson, 130, Ladypool Rd., Sparkbrook, Birmingham.
- Razor Blade Forgers' Protection Soc., Sheffield: G. H. Reaney, 105, Eldon St., Sheffield.
- Razor Grinders' Protection Soc., Sheffield: L. Waddington, 15, Camping Lane, Woodseats, Sheffield.
- Razor Hafters' Trade Protection Soc., Sheffield: W. P. Smith, 258, Derbyshire Lane, Norton, Woodseats, Sheffield.
- Saw Grinders' Trade Protection Soc., Sheffield: J. Varley, 238, Staniforth Rd., Attercliffe, Sheffield.
- Saw Handle Trade Protection Soc., Sheffield: S. A. Bennett, 42, Hill St., Sheffield.
- Saw Makers' Trade Protection Soc.: G. F. Hallatt, 26, Ladysmith Av., Sharrow, Sheffield.
- Scissor Forgers' Trade U., Sheffield: G. F. Allott, 17 Ct., 1, Dorset St., Sheffield.
- Scissors Grinders' Trade Soc., Sheffield (T.): R. Holmshaw, J.P., 82, Crimicar Lane, Fulwood, Sheffield.
- Scissor Workboard Hands' Soc.: A. Cadman, 13, Coombe Rd., Crookes, Sheffield.
- Scythe Grinders' U., Sheffield: B. Needham, Greenhill, Sheffield.
- Sheep Shear Makers, Grinders, Finishers, & Benders' U. (F.): W. Nunnington, 67, Loxley New Rd., Hillsbro', Sheffield.
- Silversmiths & Electro-plate Operatives' Mutual Aid & Protection Soc., Birmingham & London: T. Hands, 97, Newtall St., Birmingham.
- Silver Spoon & Fork Finishers' Trade Soc., London: E. Jones, 24a, Orchard Rd., Shepherd's Bush, W.
- Silver Spoon & Fork Makers' Soc., London: H. Cooper, 115, Culford Rd., Balls Pond Rd., N.
- Shoe Rivet & Wire Nail Makers, Birmingham Soc. of: T. Sanders, 16, Crocketts Rd., Handsworth, Birmingham.
- Spring Knife Cutlers' U., Sheffield Op.: W. Cooke, 122, Rock St., Pitsmoor, Sheffield.
- Spring Knife Grinders & Finishers' U., Sheffield: W. Cooke, 122, Rock St., Pitsmoor, Sheffield.
- Spring Trap Makers' Soc., Wednesfield: J. Tomlinson, 1, Cross St., Wednesfield, Wolverhampton.
- Table & Butcher Blade Grinders' Assn., Sheffield: W. H. Swallow, 19, Cromwell St., Walkley, Sheffield.
- Table & Butcher Knife Hafters' Trade & Provident Soc., Sheffield: T. Fisher, 27, Richards Rd., Heeley, Sheffield.
- Table Blade Forgers & Strikers' Trade Soc., Sheffield: W. F. Wardley, 327, Crookesmoor Rd., Sheffield.
- Tube Trade Soc., Amal. (T.): The Secretary, Amal. Tube Trade Soc., 52, Pound Terr., Bridge Rd., Toll End, Tipton.
- Wire Drawers' Soc. of G.B., Amal. (T.): A. Birtles, 13, Stirling Chambers, Campo Lane, Sheffield.
- Wire Weavers of the U.K., Fed. U. of: S. Ogden, 45, Merton St., Conran St., Harpurhey, Manchester.
- Wire Workers' Friendly Soc. (F.): E. W. Hayes, 8, Winifred Rd., Newton Heath, Manchester.
- Wireworkers of G.B. & I., Fed. U. of (F., London): D. Thorpe, 1, Gironde Rd., Walham Green, S.W.
- Wool Shear Makers, Grinders, Finishers, & Benders' Soc., Sheffield (T.F.): H. Brammer, 28, Hunter Rd., Hillsbro', Sheffield.

MINING AND QUARRYING.

FEDERATIONS.

- Colliery Enginemen & Bollermen, Nat. Fed. of (T.): C. Hearse, Radstock, Bath.
- Colliery Mechanics' Assns., Nat. Fed. of: W. J. Hartshorne, East View, Boldon Colliery, co. Durham.
- Colliery Surface Workers, Nat. Fed. of: A. J. Bailey, J.P., 55, Burngreave Rd., Sheffield.

Cumberland & North Lancashire Fed.: A. Sharp, J.P., 77, Senhouse St., Maryport.
 Deputies, Examiners, & Firemen's Assns. of G.B., Gen. Fed. of: W. Frowen, 8, Ashfield Rd., Brynteg, Abertillery (Mon.).
 Durham County Mining Fed. Assn.: T. H. Cann, Miners' Hall, Red Hill, Durham.
 Enginemen & Boilermen's Fed., Lancashire, Cheshire, & North Wales (T.L.): T. Watson, 67, Heath St., Golborne, Newton-le-Willows.
 Lancashire & Cheshire Miners' Fed. (T.L.): T. Ashton, J.P., 1461, Ashton Old Rd., Manchester.
 Midland Miners' Fed. (T.L.): A. Stanley, M.P., "West Hill," Hednesford, Staffs.
 Miners' Fed. of G.B. (T.L.): T. Ashton, J.P., 1461, Ashton Old Rd., Manchester.
 Nat. U. of Scottish Mine Workers (T.L.S.): R. Brown, Miners' Office, Dalkeith.
 Northumberland Fed. Board of Miners, Deputies, Mechanics, Enginemen & Firemen: J. Cairns, Burt Hall, Northumberland Rd., Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 South Wales Miners' Fed. (T.L.): T. Richards, M.P., 22, St. Andrew's Cres., Cardiff.

UNIONS.

CUMBERLAND :—

Cumberland County Colliery Enginemen & Boiler Firemen's Assn.: M. Mossop, Dearham House, Dearham.
 Cumberland Colliery Officials' Assn.: W. Graham, 22, Henry St., Bransf, Whitehaven.
 Cumberland Miners' Assn. (T.L.): T. Cape, 12, Oxford St., Workington.

DURHAM :—

Durham Cokemen & Bye-Product Workers' Assn. (T.): J. Ogg, Crossgate Chambers, Durham.
 Durham Colliery Mechanics' Assn. (T.): J. W. Taylor, M.P., Cen. Office, 3, Tenter Terr., Durham.
 Durham County Colliery Enginemen, Boiler Minders, & Firemen's Mutual Aid Assn. (T.): W. Charlton, 70, Crossgate Chambers, Durham.
 Durham Deputy Overmen's Mutual Aid Assn. (T.): J. Clark, 3, Laburnum Av., Durham.
 Durham Miners' Assn. (T.L.): T. H. Cann, Miners' Hall, Red Hill, Durham.

KENT :—

Kent Miners' Assn. (T.L.): A. Hartley, 9, The Terrace, Shepherd's Well, Dover.

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE :—

Accrington & Dis. Colliery Enginemen & Boilermen's Assn.: W. Rothwell, 5, Heywood St., Blackburn.
 Ashton Engine-Winders' Assn.: W. Roscoe, 286, Stockport Rd., Denton, Manchester.
 Burnley Enginemen & Boilermen's Assn.: G. Hirst, 10, Tunstill St., Burnley.
 Chowbent Colliery Enginemen's Assn.: J. Eddleston, 211, Wigan Rd., Manchester.
 Farnworth Enginemen & Boilermen's Assn.: W. Howercroft, 72, Hall Lane, Moses Gate, Bolton.
 Lancashire & Cheshire Colliery Firemen's Assn. (T.): P. Derbyshire, 284, Billinge Rd., Pemberton.
 Leigh & Dis. Enginemen, Boilermen, & Stokers' Trade U.: R. Morris, 13, West St., Hindsford, Atherton, Manchester.
 Pendlebury Enginemen & Boilermen's Assn.: C. R. Davies, 434, Bolton Rd., Clifton, Manchester.
 Radcliffe, Ringley, & Little Lever Enginemen & Boilermen's Assn.: N. Mills, 66, Spring Lane, Radcliffe.
 Skelmersdale & Dis. Enginemen & Boilermen's Soc.: H. Hesketh, 30, Crawford Village, Upholland, Wigan.
 St. Helens Assn. of Colliery Enginemen: J. W. Croston, 15, Leslie Rd., Thatto Heath.
 Walkden Enginemen & Boilermen's Assn.: J. Hardman, 260, Newearth Rd., Boothstown, Manchester.
 Wigan, Bolton, & Dis. Colliery Enginemen's Mutual Protection Assn.: R. Ashurst, 16, St. James' Terr., Poolstock.
 Wigan & Dis. Enginemen & Boilermen's Provident Soc.: W. Green, 154, Walthew Lane, Platt Bridge, Wigan.

MIDLAND COUNTIES :—

Ashton Boilermen's U.: S. Greenough, 86, Oxford St., Ashton-under-Lyne.
 Bristol Miners' Assn. (T.L.): W. Whitefield, Miners' Agent, St. George's, Bristol.
 Cannock Chase Miners, Enginemen, & Surfacedmen's Assn. (T.L.): J. Baker, Miners' Office, W. Hill, Hednesford, Staffs.
 Derbyshire Amal. Miners' Assn., South (T.L.): W. Buckley, Woodville, Burton-on-T

Derbyshire & Nottinghamshire Enginemen, Motormen, & Firemen's Trade U.: S. W. Rowarth, Clipstone Av., Mansfield.
 Derbyshire Deputies' Mutual Improvement Soc., East: J. Ogden, 3, Main St., Mansfield.
 Derbyshire Miners' Assn. (T.L.): F. Hall, Miners' Offices, Saltergate, Chesterfield.
 Derbyshire Under-Managers & Deputies: J. Austin, Rose Cott., Grassmoor, Chesterfield.
 Forest of Dean Miners' Assn. (T.L.): G. H. Rowlinson, Town Hall Chambers, Cinderford, Gloucester.

Highley & Dis. Miners' Assn.: J. Findlay, Club House, Highley, Bridgnorth.
 Ilkeston Conservative Miners' Assn.: E. Trueman, 147, Bath St., Ilkeston.
 Ilkeston & Erewash Valley United Engineers, Smiths, & Carpenters' Assn.: W. Wimant, Sir John Warren Hotel, Ilkeston.
 Leicestershire Miners' Assn. (T.L.): T. Gowdridge, Hall's Lane, Hugglescote.
 Midland Mining Officials' Assn.: T. Petcher, Wilmot Rd., Swadlincote.
 Nat. Assn. of Colliery Deputies (Chesterfield) (T.): H. Gill, Bridge View, Ashgate Rd.
 North Stafford Miners' Fed. (T.L.): S. Finney, Miners' Offices, Burslem, Staffs.
 North Staffordshire Underground Colliery Firemen, Shoplighters, & Overmen's Assn.: C. J. Ellerton, 71, Samuel St., Tunstall.
 North Warwickshire Miners' Assn.: G. H. Jones, 8a, Lady Bank, Tamworth, Staffs.
 Nottinghamshire Miners' Assn. (T.L.): J. G. Hancock, M.P., Miners' Offices, New Basford.
 Notts Under-Managers & Deputies' Assn.: T. Hewitt, 58, Derbyshire Lane, Huck. Tor.
 Old Hill & Dis. Miners' Protection Soc. (T.L.): S. Edwards, 65b, High St., Old Hill, Staffs.
 Shropshire Miners, Enginemen, & Surface-men's Fed. (T.L.): W. Latham, 10, Ivy Houses, Trench Rd., Wellington, Salop.
 Somerset Enginemen & Firemen's U. (T.): H. J. Moore, Foxcote, Radstock, Bath.
 Somersetshire Miners' Assn. (T.L.): S. H. Whitehouse, Glen View, Radstock, Bath.
 S. Staffordshire & E. Worcestershire Miners (T.L.): F. Richards, Miners' Hall, Great Bridge.
 Walsall Dis. Miners' Assn. (T.L.): F. J. Dean, Lloyd's Chambers, Park St., Walsall.
 Warwickshire Miners' Assn. (T.L.): W. Johnson, M.P., Miners' Offices, Nuneaton.

NORTHUMBERLAND :—

Northumberland Colliery Enginemen and Firemen's Mutual Protection Assn. (T.): T. Weighell, Bridge Cot., Bedlington.
 Northumberland Colliery Mechanics' Mutual Protection Assn. (T.): J. Batey, 34, Falconer St., Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 Northumberland Deputies' Mutual Aid Assn. (T.): S. Coulthard, 164, Portland Rd., Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 Northumberland Miners' Mutual Confident Assn. (T.L.): W. Straker, Burt Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

YORKSHIRE :—

Nat. Cokemen & Surface Workers' Assn.: J. Allpress, Compton Chambers, Rotherham.
 Yorkshire Deputies' Assn.: F. Keen-Smith, 31, Bond St., Wombwell, Barnsley.
 Yorkshire Enginemen & Firemen's Mutual Protection Assn., West (T.): J. Carter, 6, Long Acre, Castleford.
 Yorkshire Miners' Assn. (T.L.): J. Wadsworth, M.P., 2, Huddersfield Rd., Barnsley.
 Yorkshire Winding & Gen. Enginemen's & Assd. Trade U. (T.): T. W. Casey, 13, Burngreave Rd., Sheffield.

SCOTLAND :—

Ayrshire Miners' Federal U. (T.L.S.): J. Brown, 56, Annabank, Ayr.
 Clackmannanshire Miners' Assn. (T.L.S.): J. Cook, Parkhead Rd., Sauchie, Alloa.
 Dumbartonshire Miners' Assn. (T.L.S.): J. Donaldson, 11, Cowgate, Kirkintilloch.
 Engine & Boilermen's Assn., Scot. Coll. (T.): R. Shirkie, 131, W. Regent St., Glasgow.
 Fife & Kinross Lab. Protection, Sick, & Funeral Soc., Assd. Free Engine Keepers of: J. Cormie, Firbank, Berehaven.
 Fife & Kinross Miners' Assn. (T.L.S.): W. Adamson, M.P., Victoria St., Dunfermline.
 Firemen & Shot Firers' Assn., Scottish Colliery: D. Wright, U. Oakfield, Kelty, Fife.
 Lanarkshire Miners' County U. (T.L.S.): D. Gilmour, Miners' Offices, Hamilton.
 Mid & East Lothian Miners' Assn. (T.L.S.): R. Brown, Miners' Offices, Dalkeith.
 Stirlingshire Miners' County U. (T.L.S.): W. Webb, J.P., Crichton Park, Falkirk.
 West Lothian Miners & Manual Workers (T.L.S.): J. Doonan, Helenshe Cottage, Bathgate.

WALES AND MONMOUTHSHIRE :—

Monmouthshire & S. Wales Colliery Enginemen, Stokers, & Craftsmen's Assn.: W. Hopkins, 17, Gwendoline St., Merthyr Tydvil.
 North Wales Boilermen's Assn.: J. Witter, Diamond Cott., Gresford, Wrexham.
 North Wales Enginemen's Pro. Assn.: W. H. Gittins, 7, Chapel St., Ponkey, Ruabon.
 North Wales Miners' Assn. (T.L.): E. Hughes, Miners' Offices, Wrexham.
 North Wales Mining Officials' Assn. (T.): J. Davies, Bryn Awll, Oakland Rd., Chick, Ruabon.

North Wales Surfacemen's U. : T. H. Bayley, 3, Cefn Rd., Lodge Brymbo, Wrexham.
 South Wales & Mon. Colliery Examiners' Assn. : D. G. Price, Tylorstown, Glam.
 South Wales & Mon. Colliery Winding Enginemens' Assn. & Provident Trade U. :
 T. Jones, 16, Lewis St., Treforest.
 South Wales Wage Rate Men's Assn. : E. Evans, 34, North View Terr., Aberaman.

OTHER MINING AND QUARRYING :—

Gateshead & Newcastle Dis. Quarrymen's T.A. (F.) : R. Moffitt, 3, Blue Row, Ovingham.
 Iron Miners & Quarrymen's U., Furness (T.F.) : W. Lewney, 105, Chapel St., Dalton.
 Iron Ore Miners' Assn. (Cleator Moor), Nat. : J. Flynn, 21, Crossfield Rd., Cleator Moor.
 Iron Ore Miners & Kindred T.A. (L.) : T. Gavan Duffy, Miners' Hall, Cleator Moor.
 Limestone Quarrymen's Assn., Cumberland (T.F.) : W. Cowen, 45, Irish St., Whitehaven.
 Miners' & Quarrymen's Assn., Cleveland (T.L.) : G. Hobbs, 17, Ruby St., Saltburn.
 Quarrymen's U., North Wales (T.F.) : R. T. Jones, 17, Bridge St., Carnarvon.
 Quarry Workers & Settmakers, Amal. (F.) : J. Slevin, 1, Union St., Leicester.
 Shale Miners' Assn., Scottish (T.) : J. Kilday, Fergus Place, Broxburn, West Lothian.

PRINTING, PAPER, AND KINDRED TRADES.

FEDERATION.

Printing & Kindred Trades Fed. of the U.K. : A. E. Holmes, 17, Ravenswood Rd., Walthamstow, E.

UNIONS.

Bookbinders & Machine Rulers, Nat. U. of (T.L.), (I., Dublin Branch) : J. Kelly, Campfield Chambers, 312, Deansgate, Manchester.
 Bookbinding & Printing Trades, Manchester and Salford Soc. of, Women employed in the : Miss I. Forsyth, 5, John Dalton St., Manchester.
 Book Edge Gilders' Trade Soc., London : E. J. Hubbard, 106, Ruskin Av., Manor Park, Essex.
 Correctors of the Press, Assn. of : S. F. Crampin, 83-85, Farringdon St., E.C.
 Compositors, London Soc. of (T.F.) : T. E. Naylor, 7 & 9, St. Bride St., E.C.
 Electrotypers & Stereotypers' Assistants & Autoplate & Electro, & Stereo. Machine Operators, Nat. Soc. of : T. Stephens, 77, Highbury Quadrant, Highbury, N.
 Electrotypers & Stereotypers of G.B. & I., Federated Soc. of (T.) : W. C. Warren, 46, Wood Vale, Lordship Lane, Forest Hill, S.E.
 Lithographic Artists, Designers, Engravers, & Process Workers, Amal. Soc. of (T.I.) (Dublin) : R. Barnes, J.P., 20, Cooper St., City, Manchester.
 Litho. Music Printers, London Soc. of : Councillor J. Hopkins, 21, Ascham St., Kentish Town, N.W.
 Lithographic Printers of G.B. & I., Amal. Soc. of (T.L.S.) : T. Sproat, Campfield Chambers, 312, Deansgate, Manchester.
 Lithographic Printers, London Soc. of (L.) : G. Douglas, 22, Bride Lane, Fleet St., London, E.C.
 Lithographic Stone & Plate Preparers' Amal. Soc. : A. Wheeler, 28, Granville Square, King's Cross Rd., W.C.
 Machine Rulers, London Soc. of : H. Morter, 29, Camden Rd., Markhouse Rd., Walthamstow, E.
 Male Relief Stampers' Trade Soc. (L.) : W. G. Cannon, 76, Central Park Rd., East Ham, E.
 Music Engravers, London Soc. of : A. E. Styles, 10, Clifton Gardens, Stamford Hill, London, N.
 Papermakers, Amal. Soc. of (T.L.) : W. Dyson, 7, Station Rd., Woodley, Stockport.
 Papermakers, Original Soc. of : J. Bourne, 21, Knightrider St., Maidstone.
 Paper Stainers' Trade U. & Benevolent Soc., London : G. H. Landeg, 7, Warrender Rd., Tufnell Park, N.
 Paper Stainers' U. of Gen. Workers (L.F.) : W. Honour, 6, Sunnyside, Darwen.
 Paper Stainers & Colour Mixers of G.B., Amal. Soc. of Machine : J. J. Whiteside, 4, Clement St., Darwen.
 Paper Workers, Nat. U. of (T.) : A. Evans, 220, Blackfriars Rd., S.E.
 Plate Printers, London Utd. Soc. of : T. Sutliff, 104, Corbyn St., Finsbury Park, N.
 Platen Printing Machine Minders' Soc., London : W. C. Niblett, 179, Blackfriars Rd., S.E.
 Pressmen (London), Amal. Assn. of (T.) : H. J. Morriss, Union Bldgs., 53, Fetter Lane, E.C.
 Press Telegraphists, Nat. U. of (L.) : F. Werner, 67, Crystal Palace Rd., East Dulwich, S.E.
 Printing Machine Managers' Trade Soc. (T.) : H. W. Howes, Printers' Hall, 45, Blackfriars Rd., S.E.
 Printers & Assistants, Nat. Soc. of Op. (T.F.S.) : G. A. Isaacs, Caxton House, 26, Blackfriars Rd., S.E.

Printers' Revisers & Readers' Assistants' Soc. : E. Buckton, 22, Bride Lane, E.C.
 Typographical Assn. (T.L.) (I., E.C. & Belfast) : H. Skinner, Caxton Hall, Chapel St., Salford, Manchester.
 Typographical Assn., Scottish (T.S.) : J. Brown, 50, Wellington St., Glasgow.
 Typographical Provident Soc., Dublin (I.) : M. P. Flanagan, 35, Lower Gardiner St., Dublin.
 Typefounders' Trade Protection & Benefit Soc., Edinburgh : H. Sandilands, 36, Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh.
 Typefounders' Trade Soc. (London), Amal. : G. Tomkins, 56, Storks Rd., Bermondsey, S.E.
 Typefounders' Trade Soc., Sheffield : J. H. Hall, 122, Fox Rd., Sheffield.
 Vellum & Parchment Makers' Soc. of G.B., Utd. : H. H. Wainford, 2, St. Andrew's Rd., Carshalton, Surrey.

EMPLOYEES OF PUBLIC AUTHORITIES.

FEDERATIONS.

Government Employees, Federated Council of : A. F. Gilliard, 6, Batchelor St., Chatham.
 Government Workers' Council, Irish : P. Murphy, 8, Nottingham St., North Strand Rd., Dublin.
 Government Workers' Fed., Utd. : Councillor J. G. King, 300, Evelyn St., Deptford, S.E.
 Postal & Telegraph Assns., Nat. Joint Committee of : C. E. Mulholland, 8, Coldcotes Av., Leeds.
 Prison Officers' Fed., U.K. : F. Ludlow & E. R. Ramsay, 4, Colston St., Bristol.

Admiralty Employees.

UNIONS.

Admiralty & Outports Clerical Federation : G. E. Wilson, 57, Liss Rd., Southsea, Portsmouth.
 Chatham Dockyard Amal. Soc. of Hammermen : W. Smith, 140, Thorold Rd., Chatham.
 Chatham Dockyard Engine Drivers & Stokers' Soc. : H. Stokes, 55, Bush St., Chatham.
 Chatham Dockyard Hand Drillers' Assn. : H. R. Shave, 75, Barnsole Rd., Gillingham, Kent.
 Chatham Dockyard Ship Painters' Assn. : W. Brown, 97, Windsor Rd., Gillingham, Kent.
 Chatham Government Labourers' U. (L.) : A. F. Gilliard, 6, Batchelor St., Chatham.
 Chatham Royal Dockyard Ship Joiners' Assn. : A. E. Simpson, 97, Balmoral Rd., Gillingham, Kent.
 Chatham Royal Dockyard Smiths' Assn. (L.) : A. E. Drury, 41, Glencoe Rd., Chatham.
 Chatham Sailmakers' Soc. : W. Wyver, 13a, High St., Chatham.
 Deptford Victualling Yard & West India Docks Naval Store Workers' Protection League : Councillor J. G. King, 300, Evelyn St., Deptford, S.E.
 Devonport Dockyard Engine Drivers, Crane Drivers, & Stokers' Assn. : J. H. Gregory, 27, Wake St., Plymouth.
 Devonport & Dis. Government Lab. U. : G. B. Rogers, 33, Chapel St., Devonport.
 Devonport Dockyard Hammermen's Assn. : J. T. Bowden, 66, Goschen St., Keyham, Devonport.
 Devonport Dockyard Sailmakers' Assn. : S. E. Coomber, 16, Glenmore Av., Stoke, Devonport.
 Devonport Dockyard Ship Riggers' Assn. : B. J. F. Yalland, 72, Hamilton St., Devonport.
 Devonport Royal Dockyard Ship Joiners' Assn. : J. S. M. Wood, 51, Gloucester St., Morice Town, Devonport.
 Nat. Government Lab. U. : A. G. Gourd, 257, Fratton Rd., Portsmouth.
 Pembroke Dockyard Ship Joiners' Assn. : W. J. Phelps, 7, Sycamore St., Booterland, Pembroke Dock.
 Portland Government Lab. U. : A. E. Rendle, 16, West Bay Terr., Chiswell, Portland.
 Portsmouth Dockyard Ship Riggers' Assn. : W. E. Jolliffe, 149, Manners Rd., Southsea, Portsmouth.
 Portsmouth Royal Dockyard Ship Joiners' Assn. : C. Young, 17, Emsworth Rd., Buckland, Portsmouth.
 Priddy's Hard Naval (Explosive) Ordnance Employees' Fed. : F. J. Smith, 20, Pitcroft Rd., North End, Portsmouth.
 Queenstown & Dis. Government Lab. U. : J. Roche, 12, Bishops St., Queenstown.
 Royal Dockyard Iron & Steel Shipbuilders' Soc. : C. H. Griffin, 44, Glendower Rd., Plymouth.
 Royal Victoria Storehouse Assistants' Assn. : W. G. McGregor, 58, Staunton St., Deptford, S.E.
 Royal Victoria Yard Storehousemen's Assn. : W. S. L. Whitaker, 26, Banyard Rd., Bermondsey, S.E.

Sheerness Government Lab. U. : H. T. Race, 91, Granville Rd., Sheerness.
 Sheerness Royal Dockyard Ship Joiners' Assn. F. C. Loft, 118, Alexandra Rd., Sheerness.
 Sheerness Ship Riggers' Assn. : A. E. Gladwin, 11, Queen's Terr., Mile Town, Sheerness.

Post Office Employees.

UNIONS.

Assistant Inspectors of Boy Messengers (London Postal Service), Assn. of Second Class : F. J. Passingham, 57, Pirbright Rd., Southfields, S.W.
 Auxiliary Postmen, Nat. U. of : A. H. Wakefield, 3, Long Lane, East Finchley.
 Bagmen's Assn., London Postal : J. Nixon, 200, East St., Walworth, S.E.
 Engineering Clerks' Assn., Post Office : G. Taylor, 66, Wilton St., Glasgow.
 Engineering & Stores Assn., Postal Telegraphs & Telephones (L.) : C. H. Smith, 225, Maryvale Rd., Bournville, Birmingham.
 Fawcett Assn. (T.) : W. B. Cheesman, 55, Doughty St., W.C.
 Head Porters' Assn. (Post Office) : W. C. Wornell, 12, Bracewell Rd., N. Kensington, W.
 Head Postmen's Assn., London Assistant : H. Rowbotham, 16, Saunders Rd., Notting Hill, W.
 Messengers' Assn., G.P.O., London : C. J. Broomfield, Central Telegraph Office, E.C.
 Post Office Clerks, Assn. of Irish : W. Nally, 16, Henry St., Dublin.
 Postal & Telegraph Clerks' Assn. (T.L.) : J. G. Newlove, Cathedral House, Paternoster Row, E.C.
 Postmen's Assn., Central London : J. Frampton, 18, Conewood St., Broadway, Highbury, N.
 Postmen's Fed. (T.L.S.I.) : T. Robinson, 17, St. Lawrence Rd., Ladbrooke Grove, Notting Hill, W. (Parliamentary Secretary : G. H. Stuart, Parliament Mansions, Victoria St., London, S.W.)
 Postal Porters' Assn., London : W. H. Manning, 5, Forest Rd., Walthamstow, N.E.
 Postal Superintending Officers' Assn., London : G. W. Gains, 99, Highbury Q'drant, N.
 Returned Letter Section Assistants & Returners' Assn. : The Secretary, Returned Letter Section Assistants' Assn., G.P.O., Mount Pleasant, London, E.C.
 Sorters' Assn., Women : Miss R. Smith-Rose, 64, Woodstock Rd., Bedford Park, W.
 Sorter-Tracers' Assn. : A. E. Oxley, 258, Old Ford Rd., Bow, London, E.
 Telephone Employees, Amal Soc. of (T.) : J. C. Stark, 15, Great James St., Bedford Row, W.C.
 Tracers' Assn. (G.P.O.) : F. Webb, 48, Bayston Rd., Stoke Newington, N.
 Tube Staff Assn. : J. W. Goodman, Central Hall, Central Telegraph Office, London, E.C.

Other National Employees.

UNIONS.

Army Clothing Department Employees' U., Royal : J. G. Butler, 19, Claverton St., Pimlico, S.W.
 Army Ordnance Department Employees' U., Weedon (L.) : H. Ganderton, Bridge St., Weedon, Northants.
 Army Ordnance Department Employees' U. of Ireland : P. Murphy, 8, Nottingham St., North Strand Rd., Dublin.
 Civil Service Typists' Assn. : Miss E. A. Charlesworth, 12, Buckingham St., Strand, W.C.
 Customs Watchers' Assn. : T. O'Connor, 22, Belmont Av., Bury St., Lr. Edmonton, N.
 Government Buildings Employees' Assn. : H. Franklin, 14, Christchurch Rd., Chelsea, S.W.
 Government Parks Workers' U., Ireland : P. Murphy, 8, Nottingham St., North Strand Rd., Dublin.
 Government Stores Clerical Assn., Woolwich (L.) : C. J. Garneys, 32, Liffier Rd., Plumstead, S.E.
 Government Workers' U. of Ireland : The Secretary, Government Workers' U., 85, Queen St., Dublin.
 Houses of Parliament Employees' U. : Councillor J. G. King, 300, Evelyn St., Deptford, S.E.
 Irish Survey Fieldmen's Trade U. : P. Murphy, 8, Nottingham St., North Strand Rd., Dublin.
 Non-Pensioner Watchers' Assn., H.M. Customs, London : M. J. Horan, 104, Minard Rd., Catford, S.E.
 Output Watchers, H.M. Customs, Amal. Soc. of : P. Campbell, 98, Stanley St., Kinning Park, Glasgow.
 Preventive Men's Assn. (Customs, Excise) (L.) : A. E. Howell, 13, Richardson St., Smithdown Rd., Liverpool.
 Royal Gardens, Kew, Employees' U. (L.) : J. Pither, 34, Cambridge Cottages, Kew Green, Richmond, Surrey.

Royal Gunpowder Factory Employees' U., Waltham Abbey: W. Barker, 5, Woollard St., Waltham Abbey, Essex.
 Royal Parks Employees' Assn.: F. J. Jones, 137, Gloucester Rd., Regent's Park, N.W.
 Small Arms Employees' U., Enfield: J. McGrath, 56, Uckfield Rd., Enfield Lock, Middlesex.

Employees of Local Authorities.

UNIONS.

Corporation Employees' Soc., Limerick: J. Roche, 2, Francis St., Limerick.
 Corporation Servants, Amal. Soc. of Bolton: J. H. Hampson, 26, Colwyn Grove, Bolton.
 Corporation Waterworks' Employees' Assn., Dublin: W. J. Doyle, 214, K Block, Iveagh Trust Bdgs., New Bride St., Dublin.
 Corporation Workmen of Dublin Trade U., Utd.: D. Mager, 24, Winetavern St., Dublin.
 Corporation Workers, Nat. U. of: A. Taylor, 138, First Av., Manor Park, E.
 Fire Brigade Men's U., Dublin (I.): J. Power, Central Fire Stn., Tara St., Dublin.
 London County Council Schoolkeepers' Assn.: C. Meades, L.C.C. School House, Suffolk St., Rotherhithe New Rd., S.E.
 Municipal Employees' Assn. (S.): P. J. Tevenan, 70, Red Lion St., Holborn, W.C.
 Municipal Employees' U., Borough of St. Marylebone: J. Hare, 25, Queen St. Bdgs., Edgware Rd., W.
 Municipal Employees' Benefit & Protection Soc., Birmingham & Dis.: J. W. Clifton, 71, Upper Cox St., Balsall Heath, Birmingham.
 School Board Janitors' Fed., Scottish: A. MacDonald, Ancrum Rd. School, Lochee, Dundee.

TEXTILE TRADES.

FEDERATIONS.

Beamers, Twisters, & Drawers, Amal. Assn. of (T.L.): W. C. Robinson, Briar House, Bury Old Rd., Heywood.
 Bleachers, Dyers, Scourers, Trimmers, & Auxiliaries, Midland Counties Fed. of (T.F.): G. A. Kenney, 72, Westbourne St., Leicester.
 Bleachers, Dyers, & Kindred Trades, Nat. Fed. of (T.): J. W. Shepherd, 16a, Crescent, Salford, Manchester.
 Card & Blowing Room Operatives, Amal. Assn. of (T.L.F.): W. Mullin, J.P., 2a, Hodson's Chambers, Hodson's Court, Corporation St., Manchester.
 Elastic Web Weavers, Braid Hands, & Small-Ware Fabric Makers, Amal. Assn. of: J. Hordern, 29, Queen St., Leicester.
 Export Shipping Industry of Manchester, Kindred Trades Fed. in the: D. Price, 331, Stockport Rd., Longsight, Manchester.
 Leeds & Huddersfield Federated Cloth Pressers' Soc.: J. Wagstaff, 14, Cowslip St., Paddock, Huddersfield.
 Leek & Dis. Textile Fed. (F.): W. Bromfield, Co-operative Bdgs., Field St., Leek.
 Loom Overlookers, Gen. U. of Assns. of (T.L.F.): Joint Secretaries: J. E. Tattersall, J.P., Oak Bank Avenue, Moston, Manchester; and E. Duxbury, Spring's Terr., 41, South Heywood St., Bury.
 Protection Societies, Lancashire Fed. of: W. A. Duckworth, 1 & 3, Princes St., Blackburn.
 Scottish Fed. of Power Loom Tenters: J. Burt, 2, Grantsbank St., Dunfermline.
 Scottish Nat. Textile Workers' Fed. (S.): J. Young, 156, George St., City, Glasgow.
 Tape Sizers' Protective Soc., Lancashire Amal.: J. W. Ainsworth, Harts Chambers, 2, Victoria St., Blackburn.
 Textile Factory Workers' Assn., Utd. (L.): J. Cross, Ewbank Chambers, 17, St. James St., Accrington.
 Textile Trades Fed., Northern Counties: T. Shaw, J.P., 243, Keighley Rd., Colne.
 Wardressers' Assns., Gen. U. of Lancashire & Yorkshire: J. White, 2a, New Brown St., Nelson.
 Weavers, N. Counties Amal. Assn. (T.L.F.): J. Cross, Ewbank Chambers, 17, St. James St., Accrington.
 Yorkshire Textile Workers' Fed.: Councillor B. Turner, 73, Talbot St., Batley.

Cotton Trades.

LOCAL COTTON TRADES FEDERATIONS.

Ashton-under-Lyne, Stalybridge, Droylsden, Gorton, & Swinton Textile Trades Fed.: W. Emmett, 100, Trafalgar St., Ashton-under-Lyne.
 Bacup Textile Trades Fed.: J. H. Bentley, 31, Industrial St., Bacup.

- Blackburn & Dis. Textile Trades Fed.: W. H. Pantou, 333, Audley Range, Blackburn.
- Bolton & Dis. Textile Manufacturing Trades Fed.: C. Speak, 77, St. George's Rd., Bolton.
- Burnley & Dis. Textile Trades Fed.: R. B. Watson, 57, March St., Burnley.
- Bury Textile Trades Fed.: Councillor W. Nabb, Textile Hall, Manchester Rd., Bury.
- Chorley & Dis. Textile Trades Fed.: T. West, 1, Clifford St., Chorley.
- Church & Oswaldtwistle Textile Trades Fed.: J. T. Wolstenholme, Weavers' Institute, Lock St., Oswaldtwistle, Accrington.
- Clayton-le-Moors Textile Trades Fed.: J. C. Parker, 1, Albert St., Clayton-le-Moors, Accrington.
- Darwen Textile Manufacturing Trades Fed.: J. Parkington, 23, Victoria St., Darwen.
- Great Harwood & Dis. Textile Trades Fed.: W. Sefton, 37, Croft St., Great Harwood, Blackburn.
- Haslingden & Dis. Textile Trades Fed.: G. Whittam, Weavers' Office, Union St., Haslingden.
- Hyde, Hadfield, & Dis. Textile Fed.: W. Pope, 27, George St., Hyde.
- Nelson, Colne, Brierfield, & Dis. Textile Trades Fed.: C. Tate, Weavers' Institute, Pendleton St., Nelson.
- Oldham & Dis. Textile Manufacturing Trades Fed.: R. Mellor, Trades Hall, Bow St., Oldham.
- Padiham & Dis. Textile Trades Fed.: J. Wilson, 9, Canning St., Padiham, Burnley.
- Preston & Dis. Textile Trades Fed.: T. Sumner, Weavers' Institute, Walker St., Preston.
- Radcliffe & Dis. Textile Manufacturing Trades Fed.: E. Crook, 300, Bolton Rd., Radcliffe, Manchester.
- Ramsbottom & Dis. Textile Trades Fed.: T. Y. Sutcliffe, 5, Buchanan St., Ramsbottom, Manchester.
- Rochdale & Dis. Textile Trades Fed.: E. Lees, 91, Yorkshire St., Rochdale.
- Skipton & Dis. Textile Trades Fed.: G. Fowler, 18, Union Terr., Skipton.
- Todmorden & Dis. Textile Trades Fed.: W. J. Tout, 17, York Place, Todmorden.
- Whitworth Vale Textile Trades Fed.: A. Hill, 45, Summit Cottages, Shawforth, Rochdale.

UNIONS.

CARD, BLOWING, AND RING ROOM OPERATIVES:—

- Accrington Dis. Card & Blowing Room Operatives & Ring Spinners' Assn. (T.L.F.): R. Kay, 24, Avenue Parade, Accrington.
- Bacup & Dis. Card & Blowing Room & Ring Spinners' Assn.: S. Gammon, 23, Burnley Rd., Bacup.
- Blackburn Dis. Card & Blowing Room Operatives & Ring Spinners' Assn. (T.L.F.): M. Brothers, 56a, Victoria St., Blackburn.
- Bolton & Dis. Card & Ring Room Operatives' Provincial Assn. (T.L.F.): J. Edge, J.P., 77, St. George's Rd., Bolton.
- Bury & Dis. Card, Blowing, & Ring Frame Operatives' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. Duckworth, J.P., Textile Hall, Manchester Rd., Bury.
- Heywood Card & Blowing Room & Ring Frame Operatives' Assn. (T.L.F.): W. Schofield, Trades Hall, West St., Heywood.
- Hyde & Dis. Card, Blowing, & Ring Frame Operatives' Assn. (T.L.F.): W. Gee, 144, George St., Hyde.
- Macclesfield Dis. Card & Blowing Room & Ring Spinners' Assn. (T.L.F.): A. Bamford, 42, Bank St., Macclesfield.
- Manchester & Salford Ring Spinners' Assn.: Miss N. Fysh, 5, John Dalton St., Manchester.
- Mossley Card & Blowing Room Operatives' Assn. (T.L.F.): M. B. Farr, J.P., 110, Breeze Hill, Mossley, Manchester.
- Oldham Provincial Card & Blowing Room & Ring Frame Operatives' Assn. (T.L.F.): M. Connolly, 108, Union St., Oldham.
- Preston Card & Blowing Room & Ring Spinners' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. Billington, Card & Blowing Room Operatives' Assn., United Trades Hall, Corporation St., Preston.
- Rochdale Card & Blowing Room Operatives & Ring Spinners' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. J. Kingsley, 5, Baillie St., Rochdale.
- South-East Lancashire Provincial Card & Blowing Room Operatives' Assn. (T.L.F.): W. H. Carr, Old St., Ashton-under-Lyne.

Stockport Assn. of Card & Blowing Room, Ring, & Throstle Spinners (T.L.F.): F. Parker, Card Room Operatives' Assn., Textile Hall, Chestergate, Stockport.
 Wigan & Dis. Card Room Operatives, Ring Spinners, & Twist Makers-up Assn. (T.L.F.): M. Carmody, 26, Caroline St., Wigan.

SPINNERS AND PIECERS :—

Piecers' Assn., Utd. : P. Eagan, 66, Lower Market St., Farnworth, Lancs.
 Spinners, Self-Actor Minders & Twiners of Lancashire & adjoining Counties, Amal. Assn. of Op. Cotton (T.L.F.): W. Marsland, 3, Blossom St., Gt. Ancoats St., Manchester.

OVERLOOKERS :—

Accrington & Dis. Power Loom Overlookers' Soc. (T.L.F.): F. H. Shepherd, 72, Grange St., Accrington.
 Ashton-under-Lyne & Dis. Power Loom Overlookers' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. Waddicor, 7, Russell St., Ashton-under-Lyne.
 Bacup & Dis. Power Loom Overlookers' Assn. (T.L.F.): W. Johnson, 52, Barlow St., Blackwood, Stacksteads, Bacup.
 Bamber Bridge Power Loom Overlookers' Assn. (T.L.F.): L. Pearson, 49, Brownedge, Lane, Bamber Bridge, Preston.
 Blackburn & Dis. Amal. Power Loom Overlookers' Provident Assn. (T.L.F.): A. Fish, Overlookers' Club, High St., Blackburn.
 Bolton & Dis. Power Loom Overlookers' Trade, Sick, & Burial Assn. (T.L.F.): J. Bromiley, 258, Willows Lane, Bolton.
 Burnley & Dis. Loom Overlookers' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. Hargreaves, 17a, Market St., Burnley.
 Chorley & Dis. Power Loom Overlookers' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. Blackburn, 26, Stump, Lane, Chorley.
 Church & Oswaldtwistle Power Loom Overlookers' Friendly Soc. (T.L.F.): J. Haworth, 46, Roegreave Rd., Oswaldtwistle, Accrington.
 Colne & Dis. Power Loom Overlookers' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. Hartley, 39, Alkincoates Rd., Colne.
 Darwen & Dis. Power Loom Overlookers' Provident Assn.: W. Thomson, 108, Avondale Rd., Darwen.
 Glasgow & West of Scotland Power Loom Tenters' Soc.: R. Day, 27, Kirkland St., Glasgow.
 Hadfield, Glossop, & Dis. Power Loom Overlookers' Assn. (T.L.F.): W. P. Sidebottom, 43, Market St., Hollingworth, Manchester.
 Haslingden & Dis. Power Loom Overlookers' Soc. (T.L.F.): E. Horlock, 112, Manchester Rd., Haslingden, Manchester.
 Heywood & Dis. Power Loom Overlookers' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. T. Ashworth, 10, Springfield St., Heywood.
 Hyde & Dis. Power Loom Overlookers' Assn. (T.L.F.): T. Hadfield, 160, Lower Bennett St., Hyde, Cheshire.
 Leigh Power Loom Overlookers' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. Butterworth, 12, Chester St., Leigh, Lancs.
 Longridge & Dis. Power Loom Overlookers' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. Carter, 6, Chatburn Rd., Longridge, Preston.
 Nat. Assn. of Power Loom Overlookers (T.L.F.): J. Williamson, 183, Albert Rd., Farnworth, Bolton.
 Nelson & Dis. Power Loom Overlookers' Assn. (T.L.F.): A. Smith, M.P., Overlookers' Assn., Jude St., Nelson.
 Oldham Assn. of Power Loom Overlookers (T.L.F.): R. Mellor, Trades Hall, Bow St., Oldham.
 Preston & Dis. Power Loom Overlookers' Assn. (T.L.F.): W. Eastham, Overlookers' Institute, Trades Hall, Preston.
 Radcliffe & Dis. Power Loom Overlookers' Soc. (T.L.F.): J. W. Kenyon, 266, Bolton Rd., Radcliffe, Manchester.
 Utd. Assn. of Power Loom Overlookers: T. Walmsley, 8, Pullman St., Rochdale.
 Skipton & Dis. Power Loom Overlookers' Trade Soc. (T.L.F.): G. E. Aldridge, 14, Ward St., Skipton.
 Stalybridge & Dis. Power Loom Overlookers' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. Taylor, 13, Peel St., Stalybridge.

WARP DRESSERS AND WARPERS :—

Amal. Soc. of Mill Warpers: J. Holt, 69, Coomassie St., Heywood.
 Chorley & Dis. Warp Dressers' Assn.: J. Hesketh, 27, Cunliffe St., Chorley.
 Manchester & Dis. Warp Dressers' Assn.: T. Platt, 3, Wallis St., Newton Heath, Manchester.
 Nelson & Dis. Assn. of Warp Dressers (T.L.): J. White, 2a, New Brown St., Nelson.
 Rochdale & Dis. Warp Dressers' Assn.: B. Hoyle, 10, Height's Lane, Rochdale.

TAPE SIZERS :—

- Accrington & Church Tape Siziers' Friendly Protective Soc. : J. Smith, 58, Owen St., Accrington.
- Amal. Tape Siziers' Friendly Protection Soc. : G. Rhodes, 16, Albermarle St., Ashton-under-Lyne.
- Blackburn Tape Siziers' Protective Soc. : J. W. Ainsworth, Tape Siziers' Soc., Harts Chambers, 2, Victoria St., Blackburn.
- Bolton & Dis. Tape Siziers' Protective Soc. : T. E. Marsden, 16, Halstead St., Haulgh, Bolton.
- Burnley Tape Siziers' Protective Soc. : J. Spencer, 5, Palace St., Burnley.
- Bury & Dis. Tape Siziers' Friendly Protective Soc. : A. Dickson, 19, Connaught St., Bolton Rd., Bury.
- Darwen & Dis. Tape Siziers' Amal. Protective Soc. : J. Roberts, 65, Sandon St., Darwen.
- Glasgow & West of Scotland Tape Dressers' Soc. : J. Baxter, 266, Main St., Bridgeton, Glasgow.
- Great Harwood Tape Siziers' Protective Soc. : T. Smalley, 70, Windsor Rd., Gt. Harwood, Blackburn.
- Haslingden & Rossendale Dis. Tape Siziers' Protective Soc. : W. Wallwork, 20, Rudd St., Haslingden, Manchester.
- Nelson, Colne, & Dis. Tape Siziers' Protective Soc. : W. H. Smith, 39, Bentley St., Nelson.
- Preston Tape Siziers' Protective Soc. : W. A. Lingard, 209, Emmanuel St., Preston.

BEAMERS, TWISTERS, AND DRAWERS :—

- Accrington Twistiers & Drawers' Soc. (T.L.) : H. Haworth, 70, Garbett St., Accrington.
- Ashton-under-Lyne & Dis. Twistiers & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : J. Crowther, 1, Smallshaw Lane, Hurst, Ashton-under-Lyne.
- Bacup & Dis. Beamers, Twistiers, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : A. Greenoff, 15, Harper St., Bacup.
- Bamber Bridge Beamers, Twistiers, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : T. Dowbakin, 11, Maunsly Rd., Bamber Bridge, Preston.
- Blackburn Dis. Beamers, Twistiers, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : J. Holt, J.P., 52, Park Rd., Blackburn.
- Bolton Dis. Beamers, Twistiers, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : T. Whitehead, 238, Settle St., Bolton.
- Burnley & Dis. Twistiers & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : R. B. Watson, 57, March St., Burnley.
- Bury Beamers, Twistiers, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : J. Yates, 42, Central Av., Warth Fold, Bury.
- Church & Oswaldtwistle Beamers, Twistiers, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : T. W. Haworth, 29, Exchange St., Accrington.
- Chorley & Dis. Beamers, Twistiers, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : A. Kirk, 1, Victoria Terr., Chorley.
- Clayton-le-Moors Amal. Soc. of Twistiers & Drawers (T.L.) : E. E. Grimshaw, 19, Barnes St., Clayton-le-Moors, Accrington.
- Clitheroe & Dis. Twistiers & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : D. Brooks, 58, West View, Clitheroe.
- Colne & Dis. Twistiers & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : T. Moore, 26, Varley St., Colne.
- Darwen Twistiers & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : P. Duckworth, J.P., 22, Alexandra Terr., Darwen.
- Earby Twistiers & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : B. Hopkinson, 16, Green End Rd., Earby, Colne.
- Glasgow & Vicinity, Twistiers & Drawers' Soc. of : T. Hart, 70, Ruby St., Glasgow.
- Glasgow Power Loom Beamers' Trade Soc. : A. Cameron, 6, Newhall Terr., Bridgeton, Glasgow.
- Great Harwood Dis. Soc. of Twistiers & Drawers (T.L.) : R. H. Clough, 5, St. Lawrence St., Great Harwood, Blackburn.
- Hadfield & Glossop Twistiers & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : J. Murphy, 77, Brocroft, Hadfield, Manchester.
- Haslingden Twistiers & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : J. Tomlinson, 64, Hud Hey Rd., Haslingden, Manchester.
- Heywood Beamers, Twistiers, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : A. Summersall, 123, Bury New Rd., Heywood.
- Hyde & Dis. Twistiers & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : J. Proctor, 35, Newton St., Hyde.
- Leigh & Bedford Beamers, Twistiers, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : F. Woolley, 2, Irvine St., Leigh, Lancs.
- Littleborough Beamers, Twistiers, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : J. T. Stott, 98, New Rd., Dearnley, Rochdale.
- Longridge & Dis. Beamers, Twistiers, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : J. Gray, 64, Mersey St., Longridge, Preston.
- Macclesfield Beamers, Twistiers, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.) : G. Buckley, 3, Bamford St., Hurdsville, Macclesfield.

Manchester Beamers, Twisters, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.): J. Farrell, 34, White St., Every St., Ancoats, Manchester.

Nelson & Dis. Twisters & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.): F. Wilkinson, 13, Gisburn Rd., Barrowford, Nelson.

Nelson, Colne, & Dis. Chain Beamers' Assn.: E. Barker, 239, Brunswick St., Nelson.

Oldham & Dis. Beamers, Twisters, Drawers, Dressers, & Machine Workers' Assn.: (T.L.): J. Critchley, 11, Roundthorn Rd., Oldham.

Padiham Beamers, Twisters, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.): R. E. Holmes, 31, Herbert St., Padiham, Burnley.

Preston Beamers, Twisters, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.): R. Swarbrick, 172, St. Paul's Rd., Preston.

Radcliffe Beamers, Twisters, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.): Joseph Eastwood, 7, Pendlebury St., Radcliffe, Manchester.

Ramsbottom Beamers, Twisters, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.): J. Broadley, 146, Bolton Rd. West, Ramsbottom, Manchester.

Rawtenstall & Dis. Twisters & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.): J. H. Heys, 9, Hill End Lane, Cloughfold, Manchester.

Rishton Twisters & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.): R. Bradshaw, 5, Talbot St., Rishton, Blackburn.

Rochdale Beamers, Twisters, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.): J. J. Taylor, 34, Oswald St., Rochdale.

Skipton Twisters & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.): O. J. Higson, 9, Ruskin Av., Skipton.

Stockport Beamers, Twisters, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.): J. Mace, 2, Heaton Mersey View, Lark Hill Rd., Stockport.

Todmorden Beamers, Twisters, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.): A. Dawson, 3, Shoeboard, Todmorden.

Whitworth & Facit Beamers, Twisters, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.): W. Beard, 31, Delph Cottages, Shawforth, Rochdale.

Wigan & Dis. Beamers, Twisters, & Drawers' Assn. (T.L.): W. Fairhurst, 94, Worsley Mesnes, Wigan.

WEAVERS:—

Accrington & Dis. Weavers, Winders, & Warpers' Friendly Assn. (T.L.F.): Councillor J. R. Emmett, Weavers' Institute, Wellington St., Accrington.

Ashton-under-Lyne & Dis. Weavers & Winders' Assn. (T.L.F.): S. T. Goggins, Weavers' Institute, Old St., Ashton-under-Lyne.

Bacup & Dis. Weavers, Winders, & Beamers' Assn. (T.L.F.): R. Green, 91, Market St., Bacup.

Bamber Bridge & Dis. Weavers, Winders, & Warpers' Assn. (T.L.F.): R. Evans, 187, Station Rd., Bamber Bridge, Preston.

Barnoldswick & Dis. Weavers, Winders, & Beamers' Assn. (T.L.F.): S. Lovell, 5, Butts Top, Barnoldswick, Colne.

Blackburn Power Loom Weavers' Protection Soc.: W. A. Duckworth, 1 & 3, Princes St., Blackburn.

Blackburn & Dis. Weavers, Winders, & Warpers' Assn. (T.L.F.): L. Bates, Weavers' Office, 1, Clayton St., Blackburn.

Bolton & Dis. Weavers & Winders' Assn. (T.L.F.): C. Speak, 77, St. George's Rd., Bolton.

Burnley & Dis. Weavers, Winders, & Beamers' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. Hindle, Weavers' Institute, Charlotte St., Burnley.

Bury, Radcliffe, & Dis. Weavers & Winders' Assn. (T.L.F.): Councillor W. Nabb, Textile Hall, Manchester Rd., Bury.

Chorley & Dis. Weavers' Assn. (T.L.F.): T. West, Weavers' Institute, 1, Clifford St., Chorley.

Church & Oswaldtwistle Weavers, Winders, & Warpers' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. T. Wolstenholme, Weavers' Institute, Lock St., Oswaldtwistle, Accrington.

Clayton-le-Moors Weavers' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. C. Parker, 1, Albert St., Clayton-le-Moors, Accrington.

Clitheroe Weavers, Warpers, & Winders' Protection Soc.: T. Hitchen, Oddfellows' Hall, King St., Clitheroe.

Clitheroe Weavers, Winders, & Warpers' Assn. (T.L.F.): A. H. Cottam, Weavers' Institute, Clitheroe.

Colne & Dis. Weavers' Winders, & Beamers' Assn. (T.L.F.): T. Shaw, J.P., Weavers' Office, Tower Buildings, Colne.

Darwen Weavers, Winders, & Warpers' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. Parkinson, 21, Victoria St., Darwen.

Glasgow Female Textile Workers' U.: Miss N. Wilson, 207, Firhill Rd., Maryhill, Glasgow.

Glossop Dis. Power Loom Weavers, Winders, & Warpers' Assn. (T.L.F.): E. Waterhouse, J.P., 45, Norfolk St., Glossop.

Great Harwood Power Loom Weavers' Assn. (T.L.F.): W. Hesmondhalgh, Weavers' Institute, 8, Police St., Great Harwood, Blackburn.

- Haslingden Weavers' Assn. (T.L.F.): G. Whittam, Weavers' Office, 55a, Blackburn Rd., Haslingden.
- Heywood, Castleton, Norden, & Dis. Weavers, Winders, & Reelers' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. W. Ogden, Longford St., Heywood.
- Hyde, Hadfield, Compstall, Broadbottom, & Marple Weavers, Winders, & Warpers' Assn. (T.L.F.): W. Pope, 27, George St., Hyde.
- Longridge Weavers, Winders, & Warpers' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. R. Waring, 61, Preston Rd., Longridge, Preston.
- Macclesfield Cotton Weavers, Winders, and Warpers' Assn. (T.L.F.): W. Wallworth, 59, Garden St., Hurdsfield, Macclesfield.
- Manchester & Salford Assn. of Patent Cop Winders, Bobbin, & Hank Winders, Gassers, Doublers, Reelers, Sorters, & Braid Tenters: Mrs. V. Grundy, 483, Edge Lane, Droylsden, Manchester.
- Manchester, Salford, & Dis. Assn. of Power Loom Weavers: Miss N. Keenan, 23, Lord Byron St., Weaste, Manchester.
- Manchester, Salford, & Pendleton Weavers' Assn. (T.L.F.): S. J. Bardsley, 26, Lancaster Av., Fennell St., Manchester.
- Nelson & Dis. Power Loom Weavers' Assn. (T.L.F.): W. Ward, J.P., Weavers' Institute, Pendle St., Nelson.
- Nelson & Dis. Weavers' Protection Soc.: W. Rigby, 16, Farrar St., Nelson.
- Oldham & Dis. Weavers, Winders, Reelers, Beam, & Sectional Warpers' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. Bell, Weavers' Institute, Bartlam Place, Oldham.
- Padiham & Dis. Weavers, Winders, & Warpers' Assn. (T.L.F.): D. Russell, Weavers' Assn., Sowerby St., Padiham, Burnley.
- Preston & Dis. Power Loom Weavers' Winders, & Warpers' Assn. (T.L.F.): L. Park, Weavers' Institute, Walker St., Lancaster Rd., Preston.
- Preston Power Loom Weavers, Winders, & Warpers' Protection Soc.: A. H. Maudsley, 200, Lancaster Rd., Preston.
- Ramsbottom & Dis. Weavers, Winders, & Warpers' Assn. (T.L.F.): T. Y. Sutcliffe, 5, Buchanan St., Ramsbottom, Manchester.
- Rishton Weavers, Winders, & Warpers' Assn. (T.L.F.): F. Clough, 6, Cliff St., Rishton, Blackburn.
- Rochdale & Dis. Weavers, Winders, Reelers, Beamers, & Hosiery Workers' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. H. Holden, 5, Cloth Hall St., Rochdale.
- Rossendale Weavers, Winders, & Beamers' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. Farron, J.P., 245, Bacup Rd., Cloughfold, Manchester.
- Sabden Weavers' Assn. (T.L.F.): R. Townend, 13, Straits Lane, Read, Blackburn.
- Skipton & Dis. Weavers & Winders' Assn. (T.L.F.): S. Snell, Newmarket St., Skipton.
- Stockport & Dis. Weavers, Winders, Warpers, & Reelers' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. P. Riding, Weavers' Assn., Textile Hall, Chestergate, Stockport.
- Todmorden & Dis. Weavers & Winders' Assn. (T.L.F.): W. J. Tout, 17, York Place, Dale St., Todmorden.
- Whitworth Vale Power Loom Weavers' Assn. (T.L.F.): A. Hill, 45, Summit Cottages, Leavengreaves, Shawforth, Rochdale.
- Wigan & Dis. Weavers, Winders, Warpers, & Reelers' Assn. (T.L.F.): J. Brindle, 37, Darlington St., Wigan.

OTHER WORKPEOPLE IN COTTON FACTORIES:—

- Bolton & Dis. Engine Tenters & Firemen's Trade U. (L.): M. Coolaghan, 36, Kestor St., Bolton.
- Nat. Engineers' Assn.: W. Breakell, 4, Braddon St., New Hall Lane, Preston.

Carpet Manufacture.

UNIONS.

- Carpet Power Loom Tuners' Assn., Halifax & Dis.: G. Culpán, 87, Bank Top, Lee Mount, Halifax.
- Carpet Trades Assn., Northern Counties: G. H. Levitt, 37, Lee Mount Rd., Halifax.
- Carpet Trades Protective & Provident Assn., Scotch Power Loom (F.): J. Rowan, 35, Glenpark St., Glasgow (pro tem.).
- Carpet Weavers' Mutual Defence & Provident Assn., Kidderminster, Power Loom (T.L.): G. H. Rawkins, 105, Mill St., Kidderminster.

Elastic Web, etc., Manufacture.

UNIONS.

- Elastic Braids, Cords, & Small Fabric Makers' Trade & Sick Benefit Soc., Leicester: J. Clarke, 50, Muriel Rd., Leicester.
- Elastic Web & Smallware Fabric Makers' Soc., Leicester & Dis. (L.F.): J. Hordern, 29, Queen St., Leicester.
- Surgical Elastic Bandage Makers' Soc., Derby & Nottingham Utd.: W. Green, 6, Chandos St., Nottingham.

Hosiery Manufacture.

UNIONS.

- Basford & Dis. Hosiery Trimmers & Finishers' Assn. : G. H. Perrons, 18, Mandalay St., Basford, Nottingham.
- Beeston Framework Knitters' U. : W. Radford, 4, Park Rd., Chilwell, Nottingham.
- Hand Framework Knitters of G.B. & I., Amal U. of : F. W. Murden, Nottingham Rd., Keyworth, Nottingham.
- Hinckley & Dis. Hosiery Trimmers' U. : W. Norton, The Narrows, The Lawns, Hinckley.
- Hinckley Federated Hosiery U. (F.) : J. Bailey, 17, Orchard St., Hinckley.
- Hucknall Torkard & Dis., Utd. Wool Shawl, Fall, & Antimacassar Trade U. of : W. M. Burton, 10, Albert St., Hucknall Torkard, Nottingham.
- Ilkeston & Dis. Hosiery U. (T.L.F.) : H. Bassford, 15, Midland Rd., Heanor, Derbyshire.
- Leicester & Leicestershire Amal. Hosiery U. (T.F.S.) : Alderman J. Chaplin, J.P., 92, Rutland St., Leicester.
- Leicester & Leicestershire Trimmers' Assn. : W. Gabbitas, 106, Bassett St., Leicester.
- Loughborough Federated Hosiery U. (F.) : W. H. Smith, 73, Paget St., Loughborough.
- Nottingham Female Hosiery Workers' U. : W. Hartshorn, People's Hall, Heathcote St., Nottingham.
- Nottingham Hand Ribbed Hosiery Soc. : R. Kelham, Rock Side, 15, Sneinton, Hermitage, Nottingham.
- Nottingham Utd. Rotary Power Framework Knitters' Soc. (T.F.) : W. Hartshorn, People's Hall, Heathcote St., Nottingham.

Lace Manufacture.

UNIONS.

- Lacemakers, Amal. Soc. of (T.L.) : C. Wardle, 16, Pembridge Place, Mount St., Nottingham.
- Lacemakers, Long Eaton & Dis. Assn. of Op. : F. Truman, 25, Walton St., Long Eaton, Nottingham.
- Lace Pattern Readers, Correctors, Press, & Piano Punchers, Nottingham, Amal. Soc. of (T.F.) : E. A. Barnett, 489, Bernard St., Carrington.
- Lace Workers, Nottingham, Auxiliary Soc. of (F.) : G. Simpson, 75, Bramcote St., Radford, Nottingham.
- Lace Workers' Soc., Nottingham, Female : Miss M. Brookes, 15, Oliver Terr, Oliver St., Nottingham.
- Lavers Jacquard Card Punchers' Soc., Nottingham : D. Tate, 9, Harold Rd., Radford, Nottingham.
- Warp Lace Trade Soc., Nottingham : W. Holwell, 17, Beaconsfield Terr., Harlaxton St., Nottingham.
- Warpers' Assn., Nottingham : A. Walker, 61, Palin St., Hyson Green, Nottingham.
- Textile Workers' U. & Friendly Benefit Soc., Newmilns & Dis. (F.) : M. Torrance, Burnford House, Newmilns, Ayrshire.

Linen and Jute Manufacture.

UNIONS.

- Beetling Enginemen's Trade U., Belfast : J. Shields, 215, Ainsworth Av., Belfast.
- Flax Dressers & Linen Workers' Trade U., Ireland (L.) : W. Rooney, Flax Dressers' Trade U., Engineers' Hall, 17, College St., Belfast.
- Flax Roughers & Yarn Spinners' Trade U., Ireland : D. Gordon, 17, College St., Belfast.
- Linen Lappers' Trade U., Belfast (I.) : J. Bloomer, 39, Dunvegan St., Belfast.
- Lurgan Hemmers, Veiners, & Gen. Women Workers' Trade U. : Miss M. Rodgers, 79, North St., Lurgan.
- Power Loom Tenters' Trade U. of Ireland, Belfast : W. J. McDowell, 11, Dover St., Belfast.
- Power Loom Yarn Dressers' Trade Soc. : F. Dawson, 11, Rockmore Rd., Belfast.
- Textile Operatives' Soc. of Ireland (I.) : Miss M. Galway, Avenue Hall, 4, Lower Garfield St., Belfast.
- Arbroath Mill & Factory Workers' U. (F.) : C. M. Phimister, 12, Cross Mill Wynd, Arbroath.
- Brechin Mill & Factory Operatives' U. (F.S.) : G. Napier, 15a, Union St., Brechin.
- Dundee & Dis. Mill & Factory Operatives' U. : Miss M. Smeaton, 2, Ireland's Lane, Dundee.
- Dundee & Dis. Power Loom Tenters' Soc. : J. Reid, 1, Balgay St., Lochee, Dundee.
- Dundee & Dis. U. of Jute & Flax Workers (F.) : J. F. Sime, 37, High St., Dundee.
- Dunfermline & Dis. Power Loom Tenters' Assn. : D. Young, 30, Maitland St., Dunfermline.

Dunfermline & Dis. Textile Workers' U.: Miss J. M'Callum, 72, Brucefield Av., Dunfermline.
 Dunfermline Yarn Dressers' Assn.: J. Cook, 67, St. Leonard's Place, Dunfermline.
 Dysart Textile Workers' U.: R. McCaig, Louie Bank, Dysart, Fife.
 Forfar Factory Workers' U.: A. Farquharson, 90, Castle St., Forfar.
 Kirkcaldy Mill & Factory Workers' U. (S.): J. Nairn, 9, Rosabelle St., Kirkcaldy.
 Leven Textile Workers' U.: W. Robertson, 44, North St., Leven.
 Perth & Dis. Power Loom Tenters' Assn.: J. Mason, 32, Glover St., Perth.
 Portadown Textile Operatives' Soc. (F.): L. Dell, 24, Carleton St., Portadown.
 Ulster Weavers & Winders' Trade U. (F.): W. O'Neill, 123, Victoria St., Lurgan.

Packers, Warehousemen, etc.

UNIONS.

Cloth Pressers' Soc., Leeds: G. Gomersall, Calverley Lane, Horsforth, Leeds.
 Cloth Pressers' Trade, Benevolent, & Burial Soc., Huddersfield & Dis.: J. Wagstaffe, 14, Cowslip St., Paddock, Huddersfield.
 Cop Packers' Assn., Oldham & Dis.: T. Ashworth, 85, Union St., Oldham.
 Female Workers in the Shipping Industry, Home & Export, Soc. of: E. Fildes, 48, Boardman St., Eccles, Manchester.
 Hosiery Warehouse Assn., Hinckley & Dis.: J. W. Pickering, 10, Alma Rd., Hinckley.
 Hydraulic Packers' Soc., Manchester: F. Wardle, Sorton St., Charles St., Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester.
 Makers-up Soc., No. 2: J. A. Waddicor, 59, Richmond St., Manchester.
 Makers-up Trade, Sick, & Burial Soc. (Manchester), No. 1: J. A. Reynolds, 47, Major St., Manchester.
 Stuff Makers-up Provident Soc., Bradford: C. Sewell, 38, Abingdon St., Toller's Lane, Bradford.
 Stuff Pressers' Trades U. Soc., Leeds, Halifax, & Bradford: J. Spetch, 6, St. Peter's Mount, Bramley, Leeds.
 Stuff & Woollen Warehousemen, Amal. Soc. of: S. Morton, Amal. Soc. of Stuff & Woollen Warehousemen, St. George's Chambers, 3, Westgate, Bradford.
 Textile Warehousemen, Amal. (L.): E. Strong, 428, Audley Range, Blackburn.
 Warehousemen, Print, & Greycloth Lookers' Soc. (Manchester), No. 1 Gen.: A. Stanley, 21, Sackville St., Manchester.
 Warehousemen's Provident Soc., Huddersfield: J. E. Lord, 15, Diamond St., Moldgreen, Huddersfield.
 Warehousemen's Soc., No. 2 Gen.: A. Stanley, 21, Sackville St., Manchester.
 Wool, Top, & Nail Warehousemen's U., Bradford & Dis. (L.F.): W. Mackinder, 20 & 22, Barry St., Bradford.

Printing, Bleaching, Dyeing, and Finishing.

UNIONS.

Bleachers' Assn., Basford & Dis.: A. Pidgeon, 66, Gauntley St., Hyson Green, Nottingham.
 Bleachers, Dyers, & Finishers' Assn., Bolton Amal., Op. (T.L.): G. W. Jones, 19, Wood St., Bolton.
 Bleaching, Dyeing, & Finishing Auxiliary Workers' Assn., Basford & Dis.: F. Pendleton, 153, Vernon Rd., Old Basford, Nottingham.
 Bleaching, Dyeing, Scouring, & Trimming Auxiliary Branch (Women), Leicester: Mrs. Curtis, 43, Heanor St., Leicester.
 Block Printers' Trade U., Belfast, North of Ireland: J. McBurney, 58, Agnes St., Belfast.
 Block Printers' Mutual Protection Assn., Scottish (F.): R. Orr, 33, Church St., Lochwinnoch, Renfrewshire.
 Block Printers' Trade & Benefit Soc., South of England (F.): F. Randall, 8, Lenham Terr., Crayford, Kent.
 Calender, Linoleum, & Dye Workers' U., Dundee & Dis. (F.S.): J. Cunningham, 44, High St., Dundee.
 Calendermen, Embossers, & Schreiners' Soc., Manchester, Op.: G. Naylor, 36, Royal St., Ashton Old Rd., Ardwick, Manchester.
 Calico Block Printers, Amal. U. of (F.): R. Fulton, 10, Cummersdale Mills, Carlisle.
 Cloth Lappers & Finishers' Assn., Fifehire (F.): T. Chapman, St. Leonard's Place, Dunfermline.
 Cotton Skein Dyers, Bleachers, & Sizers' Assn., Radcliffe & Dis. (T.F.): E. Kelly, 30, James St., Radcliffe, Manchester.
 Dyers' Assn., Nottingham: A. Duke, 28, The Chase, Nottingham.
 Dyers, Bleachers, & Kindred Trades, Amal. Soc. of (T.): Alderman J. Hayhurst, J.P., Bradford Trades Hall, 90, Sunbridge Road, Bradford.

Dyers & Finishers, Nat. Soc. of (T.F.): A. Shaw, 10, Worthington St., City Rd., Bradford.
 Dyers & Kindred Occupations Benefit Soc., Leicester (T.): E. Harriman, 39, Great Holmes St., Leicester.
 Machine Calico Printers, Trade Soc. of: J. Holt, 14, Hope St., Clayton Bridge, Manchester.
 Machine Printers, Scottish Section, Amicable & Brotherly Soc. of: R. J. Smellie, Hazelbank, Barrhead, Glasgow.
 Silk & Cotton Dyers, Leek, Amal. Soc. of (T.): W. Bromfield, Co-operative Buildings, Field St., Leek.
 Scourers & Kindred Trades (F.): A. Lock, 42, Buckingham St., Leicester.
 Woollen Block Printers' Trade Soc., Rossendale & Yorkshire Amal.: J. C. Carr, Coppen Hall, Mirfield, Yorks.

Silk Manufacture.

UNIONS.

Braid Workers & Kindred Trades, Leek, Amal. Soc. of: W. Bromfield, Co-operative Buildings, Field St., Leek.
 Furniture Silk Weavers' U., Braintree, Amal.: C. Smith, 93, Rayne Rd., Braintree, Essex.
 Hand Loom Silk Weavers' Assn., Macclesfield (F.): A. Rowley, 106, Great King St., Macclesfield.
 Plush, Silk, & Textile Workers' U., Bradford: J. Wootten, 32, St. Michaels Rd., Manningham, Bradford.
 Silk & Poplin Weavers' Trade Soc., Dublin: J. O'Rourke, 15, Poole St., Dublin.
 Silk Pickers, Leek, Amal. Soc. of: W. Stubbs, 84, Southbank St., Leek.
 Silk Power Loom Tacklers' Assn. (F.): J. Hitchiner, 111, Park Lane, Macclesfield.
 Silk Twisters, Leek, Amal. Soc. of: W. Stubbs, 84, Southbank St., Leek.
 Silk Workers' Assn., Nat. (F.): J. Hadfield, 134, Chester Rd., Macclesfield.
 Spinners, Throwsters, & Reelers, Amal. Soc. of: W. Bromfield, Co-operative Buildings, Field St., Leek.
 Trimming Weavers' Soc., Leek, Assd. (L.): W. Bromfield, Co-operative Buildings, Field St., Leek.
 Women Workers, Leek, Amal. Soc. of: W. Bromfield, Co-operative Buildings, Field St., Leek.

Woollen and Worsted Trades.

UNIONS.

Blanket Raisers' Assn., Yorkshire: J. T. Blackburn, Flash Lane, Mirfield, Yorks.
 Card Dressers' Soc., Cleckheaton (F.): J. Wrightson, 35, Carr St., Cleckheaton.
 Card Grinders & Jobbers' Assn., Bradford & Dis.: J. Harrison, 45, Marshall St., Bradford.
 Factory Workers' U., Yeadon, Guiseley, & Dis.: H. Lockwood, 32, Ivegate, Yeadon, Leeds.
 Hand Mill & Horizontal Warpers' Soc., Glasgow & Dis.: G. Houstoun, 127, Sword St., Glasgow.
 Healders & Twisters' Trade & Friendly Soc., Huddersfield & Dis. (L.): J. Bolton, 57, Barcroft Rd., Newsome, Huddersfield.
 Managers & Overlookers' Soc., Yorkshire: W. J. Riley, 5, Barry St., Bradford.
 Power Loom Overlookers' Soc., Bradford & Dis.: J. H. Graham, 19, Hampden Place, Holme Top Lane, Bradford.
 Power Loom Overlookers' Soc., Halifax: A. Moorhouse, 46, Clifby, Pellon, Halifax.
 Power Loom Tuners' Mutual Improvement Soc., Huddersfield & Dewsbury (L.): R. Gledhill, 6, Barton Rd., Crosland Moor, Huddersfield.
 Power Loom Overlookers' Mutual Improvement Soc., Leeds: A. Walker, 28, Far Fold, Armley, Leeds.
 Power Loom Overlookers' Soc., Keighley & Dis.: J. W. Shackleton, 67, Devonshire St. West, Keighley.
 Spinners & Auxiliary Workers' U., Leicester: F. Warren, 7, Loughborough Cottages, Loughborough Rd., Leicester.
 Textile Workers, Gen. U. of (T.L.F.): A. Gee, J.P., Oakes Rd., Lindley, Huddersfield.
 Textile Workers' U., Alva: Miss J. Syme, 34, Beauchere St., Alva, Clackmannanshire.
 Twisters & Drawers-in Trade & Friendly Soc., Yorkshire (L.): T. Murgatroyd, 15a, Westgate, Bradford.
 Warp Dressers' Assn., Bradford & Dis.: F. Barker, 15a, Westgate, Bradford.
 Warp Dressers' Assn., Skipton & Dis.: W. Breakell, Holnleigh, Embsay, Skipton.
 Warp Dressers, Halifax & Dis. Assn. of: L. Hartley, 6, Wade St., Northgate, Halifax.
 Warp Dressers & Twisters' Assn., Leeds & Dis.: J. Harrison, 3, Silver Royd Place, Wortley, Leeds.
 Warpers' Association, Huddersfield & Dis.: A. Brook, 47, Brockholes Lane, Brockholes, Huddersfield.

Wettmen, Piece Takers-in, & Textile Day Men, U. of : H. Robinson, 86, Rugby Place, Legrams Lane, Bradford.
 Willeyers & Fettle's U., Leeds & Dis. (L.) : A. G. Sixsmith, 15, Beechwood Terr., Burley, Leeds.
 Woolcombers, Nat. Soc. of Machine (T.L.) : H. Moran, 1, Wilton St., Horton Lane, Bradford.
 Woolsorters, Nat. U. of (T.L.) : T. Grundy, 40, Little Horton Lane, Bradford.
 Woolsorters' Soc., Bradford : J. E. Murgatroyd, St. George's Chambers, 3, Westgate, Bradford.
 Woollen Textile Workers' Assn., Saddleworth Weavers & : J. E. Gartside, Spring View, Delph, Oldham.

TRANSPORT TRADES.

FEDERATIONS.

Transport Workers' Fed., Nat. : R. Williams, 220, Blackfriars Rd., S.E.
 Transport & Shipping Trade, North-East Coast Federated Societies connected with the : I. Danskin, 15, Baltic Bdgs., Broad Chare, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Railway Servants.

UNIONS.

Locomotive Engine Drivers & Firemen's Trade U., Belfast & Dublin (I.) : W. Reid, 79, Ravenhill Rd., Belfast.
 Locomotive Engineers & Firemen, Assd. Soc. of (T.L.S.I.) : J. Bromley, 8, Park Sq., Leeds.
 Railway Clerks' Assn. of G.B. & I. (T.L.S.I.) : A. G. Walkden, 25, Euston Rd., N.W.
 Railwaymen, Nat. U. of (T.L.S.I.) : J. E. Williams, Unity House, Euston Rd., N.W.
 Railway Workers' Trade U., Irish : J. S. Kelly, 43, Lombard St. West, Dublin.

Tramway Servants, Busmen, Cabmen, Carters, etc.

UNIONS.

Carmen & Storemen's Soc., Limerick Utd. : C. Moore, Exchange St., Limerick.
 Carters, Draymen & Horsemen's Assn., Halifax & Dis. : J. Shaw, The Glen, Birks Wood, Halifax.
 Carters & Motormen's Assn. of England, Utd. (T.) : A. Hilton, 109, Upper Brook St., Manchester.
 Carters & Motormen's U., Provincial : D. Davies, 5, St. John Sq., Cardiff.
 Carters, Lurrymen, & Motormen's U., Amal. (T.L.) : J. Parr, J.P., 77, St. George's Rd., Bolton.
 Carters & Lurrymen's U., Wigan & Dis. : J. Ellison, 108, Poolstock, Wigan.
 Carter, Paterson & Co., Ltd., Employees, Amal. Soc. of : H. J. Roseaman, 112, Goswell Rd., E.C.
 Coal Porters' U. of Inland & Seaborne Coal Workers, Nat. Amal. : J. Hopkin, Coal Porters' U., Club & Institute Buildings, Clerkenwell Rd., E.C.
 Horse & Motormen's Assn., Scottish (S.) : H. Lyon, 17, Oswald St. (City), Glasgow.
 Horse & Motormen's Assn., North of Scotland (F.) : P. Gillespie, 26, Commercial St., Dundee.
 Horsemen's U. (Greenock), Assd. : R. Lemmon, 19, Brymner St., Greenock.
 Licensed Vehicle Workers, London & Provincial U. of (T.L.F.) : H. A. Bywater, 39, Gerrard St., Soho, W.
 Quay & Railway Carters' U., Mersey : T. Ditchfield, 398, Scotland Rd., Liverpool.
 Tramway & Vehicle Workers, Amal. Assn. of (T.I.) : G. T. Jackson, 5, Leaf Sq., Pendleton, Manchester.
 Tramway Workers' U., Blackburn & Dis : J. Sefton, 247, Accrington Rd., Blackburn.
 Vehicle Workers, Nat. U. of (T.) : S. March, 31, Great Prescott St., E.

Seamen.

UNIONS.

Cooks & Stewards' Soc. of British Cargo Steamers : T. Elias, 1, Stuart St., Docks, Cardiff.
 Hull Seamen & Marine Firemen's Amal. Assn. : G. W. McKee, 1, Railway St., Hull.
 Marine Engineers' Assn. Ltd. : W. L. Marshall, 15, East India Dock Rd., E.
 Masters & Mates, Nat. U. of : J. Deavin.
 Monkwearmouth Steam Tug Provident Soc. : J. G. Bevan, 6, Greta Terr., Sunderland.
 Sailors & Firemen's U. of G.B. & I., Nat. (T.S.I.) : E. Cathery, Maritime Hall, West India Dock Rd., Poplar, E.
 Seafarers' U., British : A. Cannon, 8, Terminus Terr., Southampton.

Ships' Clerks, Grain Weighers, & Coal Meters, Nat. U. of: A. C. Hoch, 253, Manchester Rd., Poplar, E.
 Ships' Stewards, Cooks, Butchers, & Bakers, Nat. U. of (T.L.S.): J. E. Clark, 14-16, Central Bdgs., North John St., Liverpool.
 South Shields Steam-Tug Boatmen's Provident Soc.: J. Lincoln, 57, Trajan Av., South Shields.
 Tyne Foy-boatmen's Provident Soc.: W. Steele, 13, York Terr., North Shields.
 Tyne Steam Packet Provident Soc., Newcastle: H. A. Lowdon, 56, Stephen St., Byker, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 Tyne Steam Packet Provident Soc. (N. Shields): W. W. Dunn, 56, Stanley St. West, North Shields.
 Wear Steam Packet Trade Protecting & Friendly Soc.: R. S. Hurdman, 44, Noble St., Hendon, Sunderland.

Canal, Dock, and Waterside.

UNIONS.

Coal Trimmers & Tipplers' U., Cardiff, Penarth, & Barry (T.L.): S. Fisher, 39, Mount Stuart Sq., Cardiff.
 Coal Workers' Protective Soc., Gt. Grimsby: G. Melton, 54, Harold St., Gt. Grimsby.
 Dock Lab. in G.B. & I., Nat. U. of (T.L.S.) (I., Derry & Drogheda Branches): J. Sexton, J.P., 17, Norton St., Liverpool.
 Dock Lab. Soc., Limerick: The Secretary, Limerick Dock Lab. Soc., 2, Bank Place, Limerick.
 Dock Lab., Scottish U. of (T.S.): J. Houghton, 74, York St., Glasgow.
 Dockers' U., Greenock & Dis.: N. Haughey, 2, Watt Place, Greenock.
 Dockers & Workers' U., Irish: The Secretary, Irish Dockers & Workers' U., 18, Wellington Quay, Dublin.
 Dock, Wharf, Riverside, & Gen. Workers' U. of G.B. & I. (T.L.F.): B. Tillett, 425, Mile End Rd., E.
 Dock Workers' Assn., Port Talbot: D. Treharne, 12, Bevan St., Aberavon, P. Talbot.
 Gen. Workers' Friendly & Protective Soc., Grimsby: J. Smith, 4, King St., Grimsby.
 Harbour Employés' Soc., Limerick: T. Hanrahan, Harbour Works Department, The Docks, Limerick.
 Lab. Protection League (T.) (L., No. 14 Branch): A. Harris, 96 & 98, Neptune St., Rotherhithe, S.E.
 Lightermen of the River Thames, Amal. Soc. of Foremen: R. W. Troubridge, 70, Monson Rd., New Cross, S.E.
 Pilots' Assn., Manchester Ship Canal: C. F. Young, 30, Canterbury Rd., Rockferry, Birkenhead.
 Porters' Lab. Benefit Soc., Greenock Gen.: W. Quinn, 13, Crawford St., Greenock.
 Rafter's Trade U., Greenock & Port Glasgow: W. Mearns, 23, Balfour St., P. Glasgow.
 Shore Lab. U., Montrose: J. Slicer, 3, Dock Buildings, Montrose.
 Stevedores' Lab. Protection League, Amal. (T.L.F.): J. Anderson, Maritime Hall, West India Dock Rd., Poplar, E.
 Stevedores' U., London: C. W. Wood, 40, Baxter Rd., Custom House, E.
 Transport & Gen. Workers' Trade U., Irish (I., six branches): J. Larkin, 10, Beresford Place, Dublin.
 Trimmers & Teemers' Assn., North of England (T.): J. W. Meggison, Guildhall Chambers, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 Watermen's Assn., Mersey River & Canals: J. Smith, 20, Dingle Rd., Birkenhead.
 Watermen's Assn., Tyne: I. Danskin, 15, Baltic Bdgs., Broad Chare, Newcastle-on-T.
 Watermen's Assn., Weaver (T.): A. Barrows, 70, Wharton Rd., Winsford, Cheshire.
 Watermen, Lightermen, & Bargemen, Amal. Soc. of (T.L.F.): H. Gosling, 31, Great Prescott St., E.
 Watermen & Porters' Assn., Upper Mersey (T.F.): E. Gatley, Union Buildings, 87, High St., Runcorn.

WOODWORKING AND FURNISHING TRADES.

FEDERATIONS.

Coachmakers & Wheelwrights' Alliance, London: J. Hanwell, 4, Medley Rd., West Hampstead, N.W.
 Coachmakers & Wheelwrights' Fed., Op.: W. Awcock, 296, Essex Rd., Canonbury, N.
 French Polishers' Trade Unions, Fed. of London: W. W. Wood, 104, Stanhope St., N.W.
 Journeymen Coopers of G.B. & I., Mutual Assn. of (T.L.F.): R. W. Mann, 37, Outwoods St., Burton-on-Trent.
 Wood Packing Case Makers, U.K. Fed. of: E. Hammond, 49, Victoria Rd., Peckham, S.E.

UNIONS.

- Cabinet Makers' Soc., Old London West End: A. Underwood, 24, Fontarabia Rd., Lavender Hill, Battersea, S.W.
- Cabinet Makers, Amal. U. of (T.L.I.): F. Smith, Bank Chambers, 2, Moss St., Liverpool.
- Cabinet Makers (London), Progressive U. of: D. Gurton, 278, Old St., E.C.
- Cabinet Makers' Assn. (London), Perseverance (F.): M. Hendrick, 50, Protheroe Rd., Fulham, S.W.
- Cabinet Makers' Assn., Scottish: J. McIntosh, 28, Overnewton St., Glasgow.
- Carpet Planners of the City of Dublin: M. Mulvey, 24, Lower Kevin St., Dublin.
- Cart, Van, & Wagon Builders' Soc. of the City of Dublin, Regular: T. Doyle, 1, Northumberland Square, Lower Abbey St., Dublin.
- Carvers, Gilders. Frame Workers & Fitters' Soc., Liverpool (F.): J. C. Mulligan, 39, St. Paul's Rd., Seacombe, Birkenhead.
- Chairmakers' Soc. (London), Utd.: H. Charters, 14, Drake St., Lancaster Rd., Enfield.
- Coach Makers' Trade U., London & Provincial (T.): W. J. Clouter, 24, Farrant St., Queen's Park, Paddington, W.
- Coach Makers, United Kingdom Soc. of (T.L.F.) (S., Glasgow Branch) (I.): C. Kinggate, 41, Withington Rd., Brook's Bar, Manchester.
- Coachmakers & Wheelwrights' Federal Lab. U. (London), Op.: B. C. Lawrence, 80, Ashburnham Rd., Kensal Rise, N.W.
- Coachsmiths & Vicemen's Trade Soc., London: J. A. Stephens, 16, Stannary St., Kennington Rd., S.E.
- French Polishers (London), Progressive Soc. of (F.): S. E. Smith, 162, Brecknock Rd., Tufnell Park, N.W.
- French Polishers' London Soc., Utd. (T.L.): E. J. Rudd, 37, Gray's Inn Rd., W.C.
- Furnishing Trades U., Utd.: J. N. Cohen, 136, Brick Lane, E.
- Furnishing Trades Assn., Nat. Amal. (T.L.F.S.I.): A. Gossip, Bedford Row House, 58, Theobalds Rd., W.C.
- Furniture Japanners' Trade U., London: L. C. Lyons, 45, Morpeth Rd., Broadway, South Hackney, N.E.
- Gilders' Soc. (London), Amal. (L.): W. A. Stratton, Gilders' Soc., The Crown, 64, Cleveland St., W.
- Gilders' Soc., "New Century": F. G. Legg, "New Century" Gilders' Soc., Sutton Arms, Great Sutton St., Clerkenwell, E.C.
- Gilders' Soc., Glasgow (F.): A. Campbell, 482, Paisley Rd. West, Ibrox, Govan, Glasgow.
- Lath Renderers' Soc., Manchester & Dis. Op: H. Pimblett, 20, Bath St., Hulme, Manchester.
- Mill Sawyers & Wood Cutting Machinists' Soc., Liverpool Utd.: C. Hudson, 45, Lightwood St., Earl Rd., Liverpool.
- Mill Sawyers & Wood Working Machinists' Trade Soc., London: N. B. Cave, 12, Woodstock Rd., Finsbury Park, N.
- Organ Builders' Trade Soc.: C. R. Collier, 5, High Lever Rd., North Kensington, London, W.
- Picture Frame Makers' Trade U., Nottingham: H. Webb, 6, Wittier Rd., Trent Lane, Nottingham.
- Railway Vehicle Builders, Wheelwrights, Carpenters, & Mechanics, Amal. Soc. of (T.): J. Lancaster, Clarence Chambers, Wallgate, Wigan.
- Railway Wagon & Carriage Builders & Lifters, Nat. Amal. Soc. of: A. C. James, 172, Arabella St., Roath, Cardiff.
- Turners, Machinists, & Athletic Wood Workers' Trade U., Utd. (L.): J. T. Norris, 153, Grove Rd., Victoria Park, E.
- Upholsterers, Amal. U. of (L.F.): L. Leckie, 26, Lewisham Rd., Highgate Rd., N.
- Upholsterers' U., Edinburgh: A. A. Brown, 1, Orwell Terr., Edinburgh.
- Upholsteresses' U., Liverpool & Dis.: Miss M. Gorton, Liverpool Upholsteresses Union, Cocoa Rooms, St. Luke's Place, Bold St., Liverpool.
- Upholsteresses' Assn., Manchester: Miss M. A. Francis, 52, West Clowes St., Eccles New Rd., Salford, Manchester.
- Upholsterers' Trimming Makers' U., London (L.): J. H. Morgan, 11, Hillery Rd., Walworth, S.E.
- Upholsterers' Trade Soc., London West End: S. W. Passmore, 8, Luna Rd., Thornton Heath.
- Wheelwrights & Coachmakers' Operatives' U., London: G. E. Ball, 18, Torrens Square, The Green, Stratford, E.
- Wheelwrights, Smiths, & Motor-Body Makers, Amal. Soc. of (L.): J. Lamb, 72, Tiverton St., Ardwick, Manchester, S.E.
- Wood Cutting Machinists of G.B. & I., Amal. Soc. of (T.) (S., Glasgow Dis.) (I., Cork Branch): W. J. Wentworth, 383, Stockport Rd., Manchester.
- Wood Turners, Sawyers, Makers-Ready etc., Amal. (L.F.): R. Greenwood, 16, Daisy Bank St., Cornholme, Todmorden.
- Wood, Wire, & Metal Lathers' U., Glasgow & Dis.: J. Scott, 47, Pine St., Glasgow S.S.

Coopers.**UNIONS.**

- Aberdeen General Coopers' Protective Soc. (T.L.F.):** J. Wilson, 12, Raeburn Place, Aberdeen.
- Alloa Journeymen Coopers' Soc. (T.L.F.):** R. Preston, 28, Whins Rd., Alloa.
- Belfast Coopers' Trade U. (T.L.F.):** T. J. Kelly, 86, Templemore Av., Belfast.
- Birmingham, Wolverhampton, & Dis. (Good Intent Branch) Coopers' Soc. (T.L.F.):** T. Allsopp, 104, Rayleigh Rd., Birmingham.
- Blackburn & Dis. Soc. of Coopers (T.L.F.):** W. Wright, 20, Audley Range, Blackburn.
- Bradford & Dis. Friendly Soc. of Coopers (T.L.F.):** J. White, 152, Sandford Rd., Bradford.
- Bristol, Friends of Humanity Soc. of Coopers (T.L.F.):** F. Mullings, 106, Devon Rd., Easton, Bristol.
- Burton-on-Trent & Vicinity Philanthropic Soc. of Journeymen Coopers of (T.L.F.):** G. Dyche, Coopers' Soc., White Hart Hotel, High St., Burton-on-Trent.
- Coopers, Nat. Amal. Soc. of:** F. Waister, 3, Tweed St., Hedgeley Rd., Hebburn-on-T.
- Cork Coopers' Soc.:** W. Egar, 4, Seminary Villas, Farrenferis, Cork.
- Dublin, Regular Op. Coopers' Soc. of:** J. P. Higgins, 47, Mount Shannon Rd., Dublin.
- Dundee & Dis. Journeymen Coopers' Soc. (T.L.F.):** P. McCallum, 21, Cotton Rd., Dundee.
- Glasgow Journeymen Coopers' Trade Soc. (T.L.F.):** J. N. Davie, 21, Jamieson St., Govanhill, Glasgow.
- Greenock Coopers' Soc. (T.L.F.):** W. Steel, 41, Ann St., Greenock.
- Hull Coopers' Soc. (T.L.F.):** H. Dean, 11, Cavendish Square, Margaret St., Hull.
- Jarrow Hand-in-Hand Friendly Protecting Soc. of Journeymen Coopers (T.L.F.):** F. W. Holt, 31, Croft Terr., Jarrow-on-Tyne.
- Leeds & Dis. Soc. of Coopers (T.L.F.):** J. A. Wildridge, 13, Servia St., Cambridge Rd., Leeds.
- Leith, Edinburgh, & Dis. Journeymen Coopers' Protective & Friendly Soc. (T.L.F.):** J. S. Neill, 17, Beechwood Terr., Leith, Edinburgh.
- Limerick Guild of Coopers:** D. Griffin, 33, Denmark St., Limerick.
- Liverpool Coopers' Friendly Trade & Burial Soc. (T.L.F.):** J. Carroll, 12, Shaw St., Liverpool.
- Liverpool Dry & Tight Coopers' Assn. (T.L.F.):** J. L. Boyd, 109, Goodison Rd., Walton, Liverpool.
- Livingston Soc. of Op. Coopers (T.L.F.):** W. Chambers, Barjovah, Union Rd., Broxburn, Linlithgowshire.
- London Coopers' Assn. (T.L.F.):** G. Harrison, 91, Great Prescott St., Whitechapel, E.
- London, Hand-in-Hand Soc. of Coopers (T.L.F.):** E. C. Hall, Stepney Central Hall, 3, Bromley St., Commercial Rd., E.
- Manchester, Salford, & Dis., Loyal Utd. Soc. of Brewers & Gen. Coopers of (T.L.F.):** H. Jones, 39, Stamford Rd., Longsight, Manchester.
- Newcastle-on-Tyne & Dis., Good Intent Soc. of Coopers of (T.L.F.):** W. T. Nealings, 34, Rosewood Crescent, Walkerville, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- Northwich & Dis. Coopers' Trade Soc. (T.L.F.):** J. Beech, 19, Broadway, Barnton, Northwich.
- Nottingham & Dis. Soc. of Journeymen Coopers (T.L.F.):** A. Pointon, 160, Mansfield St., Sherwood, Nottingham.
- Runcorn Coopers' Trade Soc. (T.L.F.):** W. Riley, 15, Lightburn St., Runcorn.
- Sheffield Philanthropic Soc. of Journeymen Coopers (T.L.F.):** G. W. Wright, 40, Cross Bedford St., Sheffield.
- St. Helens Coopers' Trade Soc. (T.L.F.):** D. Howard, 22, Sherdley Rd., Pleasley Cross, St. Helens.
- Swansea, Friends of Humanity Soc. of Coopers (T.L.F.):** P. Jenkins, 35, Hewson St., Mount Pleasant, Swansea.
- Tyneside Coopers, Dis., Amal. (T.L.F.):** J. Shields, 14, Coquet St., Hebburn-on-T.
- Warrington Coopers' Soc. (T.L.F.):** J. Chrimes, 18, Greenall St., Warrington.
- Waterford Op. Coopers' Trade U.:** E. Cleary, Glen Terrace, Waterford.
- Widnes Coopers' Trade Soc. (T.L.F.):** J. Donoghue, 73, Lacey St., Widnes.

Packing Case Makers.**UNIONS.**

- Belfast Packing Case Makers' Trade U.:** J. St. John, 37, Little May St., Belfast.
- Bradford Rolling Board & Packing Case Makers' Soc.:** E. Shackleton, 17, Lappage Terr., Bradford.
- City of Bristol Box & Packing Case Makers' Trade U.:** W. F. Adams, 16, Battersea Rd., Easton, Bristol.
- Dublin Box & Tin Packing Case Makers' Trade U.:** T. J. Doheny, 2, Bachelor's Walk, Dublin.

Dundee & Dis. Packing Case Makers' Trade Soc. : S. Prain, 65, Milnbank Rd., Dundee.
 Liverpool & Dis. Packing Case & Box Makers' Soc. : H. Wilbraham, 22, Wentworth St., Everton, Liverpool.
 London Wood & Tin Packing Case Makers' Trade Soc. : C. Hargrave, 19, Vale Rd., Forest Gate, E.
 Manchester, Salford, & Bolton Wood Packing Case Makers' Soc. : J. Oliver, 97, Higher Cambridge St., Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester.
 Northampton Packing Case Makers' Soc. (Wood & Tin) : W. A. Andrews, 2, St. Peter's Terr., Northampton.
 Nottingham Packing Case Makers' Trade Soc. : A. Walker, 2, Palisades Yard, Harrington St., Nottingham.
 Oldham & Dis. Packing Case Makers' Soc. : J. Brooks, 50, Radnor St., Werneth, Oldham.
 Trunk & Packing Case Makers of Scotland Trade Soc., Glasgow (F.) : J. Findlay, 24, Garscadden St., Glasgow.

MISCELLANEOUS TRADES.

FEDERATION.

Floor Cloth & Linoleum Printers' Fed. of England & Scotland : A. Smith, 2, Hazel St., Audenshaw, Manchester.

UNIONS.

Asylum Workers' Union, Nat. : G. Gibson, 27, Corporation St., Manchester.
 Bill Posters of G.B. & I., Amal. Soc. of : W. R. Hussey, 25, New Rd., Battersea, S.W.
 Café Workers' U., Nat. : Miss J. M. Findlay, 44, Carmoyle Rd., Smithdown Rd., Liverpool.
 Caretakers, Nat. Fed. of : E. J. Curtis, 50, Waterloo Rd., Burnley.
 Chimney Sweepers, Bradford & Dis. Amal. Soc. of : F. Naylor, 29, Sticker Lane, Laisterdyke, Bradford.
 Clerks, Nat. U. of (T.L.S.) : H. H. Elvin, 13, Brunswick Sq., London, W.C.
 Clerks of the United Kingdom, Assn. of Tax : M. Torpey, Assn. of Tax Clerks, St. Bride's Institute, Bride Lane, E.C.
 Clerks' U., Royal Liver : T. Mackereth, Royal Liver Bdg., Pierhead, Liverpool.
 Clerks & Secretaries, Assn. of Women : Miss Irene Cox, 12, Buckingham St., Strand, W.C.
 Concrete & Asphalt Workers (Manchester), Nat. Soc. of : J. Doyle, 74, Henry St., Cotton Lane, Withington, Manchester.
 Co-operative Branch Managers' U. : E. Turton, Co-operative Stores, Mapplewell, Barnsley.
 Co-operative Employés, Amal. U. of (S.I.) : A. Hewitt, A.U.C.E., "Co-operative News" Building, Long Millgate, Manchester.
 Cork Cutters, International U. of : T. Gandy, 60, Rede St., Battlefield, Newcastle-on-T.
 Domestic Workers' U. of G.B. (T.) : Miss Grace Neal, 66, Queen's Rd., Bayswater, W.
 Drapers' Assistants' Benefit & Protective Assn., Irish (I.) : M. J. O'Lehane, 76, Grafton St., Dublin.
 Engravers to Calico Printers & Paper Stainers, Amal. U. of (T.L.) : C. Kean, 72, Market St., Manchester.
 Flaggers & Slaters' Soc., Blackburn Op. : J. T. Worrall, 29, Suffolk St., Blackburn.
 Flaggers & Slaters' Trade & Benefit Soc., Preston Op. : T. Osbaldeston, 4, Dove St., Preston.
 Floor-Cloth & Linoleum Printers' U., Scottish (F.) : M. Goodall, 15, Meldrum Rd., Kirkcaldy.
 Floor-Cloth, Linoleum, & Table Cover Printers' U. of G.B. (F.) : R. W. Oldham, 7, Spencer St., Dukinfield.
 Football Players' U., Assn. : H. J. Newbould, 14, Richmond Grove East, Manchester.
 Gardeners' Assn., British : C. Harding, "Ulysses," Fortune Green, N.W.
 Grocers' Assistants, Nat. Assn. of : J. M. Allen, 24, Bedford St., Strand, W.C.
 Hotel, Club, & Restaurant Workers, Amal. U. of (L.F.) : The Secretary, Amal. U. of Hotel, etc., Workers, Cecil Chambers, 12, Little Newport St., Charing Cross Rd., W.C.
 Hotel Workers' International Trade U., Regular : M. J. Byrne, 16, Crampton Court, Dame St., Dublin.
 India Rubber Workers, Amal. Soc. of : W. Broomhead, 61, Warde St., Hulme, Manchester.
 Journalists, Nat. U. of : W. N. Watts, Bowker's Bdgs., 1, Strutt St., Manchester.
 Kitchen Workers' U. : F. Garnier, 5, Greek St., Soho, W.
 Managers & Bar Assistants' U., Nat., P. J. Mulvaney, 13, Upper Newington, Liverpool.
 Marble Polishers' Soc., City of Dublin Utd. : A. Keogh, 103, Townsend St., Dublin.
 Midwives, Nat. Assn. of : Mrs. E. Gilroy, 9, Albert Square, Manchester.

Musicians' U., Amal. (T.F.) (S., Glasgow Branch): J. B. Williams, 135, Moss Lane East, Manchester.

Orchestral Assn. Nat.: F. Ocherton, 14, Archer St., Soho, W.

Painters to Calico Printers' Engravers, U. of: Miss M. Berry, 9, Albert Sq., Manchester.

Pattern Card Makers' Soc.: W. Sutton, 1, Winterton Rd., Reddish, Stockport.

Paviors' Federal U. (Glasgow), Scottish Assd. (S.): A. W. Martin, 22, Elizabeth St., Ibrox, Govan, Glasgow.

Paviors' Protective Soc., Dublin: P. Bryne, 22, Bow Lane West, Dublin.

Rubber Workers, Soc. of Women: Miss S. Shelton, 9, Albert Sq., Manchester.

Shop Assistants, Warehousemen & Clerks, Nat. Amal. U. of (T.L.S.I.): J. Turner, Dilke House, Malet St., London, W.C.

Street Masons, Paviors, Stone & Sett Dressers' Soc. of G.B. & I., Amal. Op. (T.F.): A. Gill, 15, Upper Fountaine St., Leeds.

Street Masons, etc., Liverpool (L.): W. Crew, 46, Ancaster Rd., Liverpool.

Theatrical Employés, Nat. Assn. of (T.F.): W. Johnson, King's Chambers (2nd floor), Portugal St., London, W.C.

Umbrella Makers' Trade Soc., Manchester & Salford Utd.: J. McCabe, 48, Ashford St., Beswick, Manchester.

Variety Artistes' Fed.: F. Herbert, 18, Charing Cross Rd., W.C.

Waiters' Protective Assn., Glasgow: F. Reuter, 5, Drury St., Glasgow.

Waiters, Hotel, Club, & Restaurant Employés, Northern U. of: F. Peacock, 9, Pollitt St., Hyde Rd., Manchester.

Waitresses, Nat. Assn. of: Miss W. Pratt, 21, High St., Bloomsbury, W.C.

Life Assurance Agents, Etc.

FEDERATIONS.

Assurance Agents' Unions (Bolton), Fed. of: E. T. Waller, 139, Crescent Rd., Great Lever, Bolton.

Assurance Agents' Unions (Rochdale), Fed. of: S. Crossley, 59, Crown St., Rochdale.

UNIONS.

Albion Friendly Soc. Agents' Mutual Aid Assn.: J. W. Stevens, 36, Curzon Rd., Bolton.

Britannic Assurance Company Agents' U.: J. Simcox, 19, Howcroft St., Derby St., Bolton.

City of Glasgow Friendly Soc. Agents' U.: D. J. Petterdreigh, 18, Wellington St., Edinburgh.

Gen. Commission Agents' U.: W. C. Norton, 58, Marjorie St., Leicester.

Liverpool Victoria Employés' Mutual Aid U. (T.): W. J. Williams, 76, Inchmery Rd., Catford, S.E.

Liverpool Victoria Provincial Workers' U.: T. B. Edwards, 70, Spring St., Bury.

Nat. Assn. of Prudential Assurance Agents (T.L.): D. Jones, 44, Sefton Terr., Beeston Hill, Leeds.

Nat. Assn. of Wesleyan & General Assurance Agents: J. Benson, 246, Trafford Rd., Patricroft, Manchester.

Nat. U. of Life Assurance Agents (T.L.) (I., Belfast): D. Sheard, 132, Great Ancoats St., Manchester.

Prudential Assurance Agents' Assn. of Ireland: D. Kinane, 26, Nelson St., Dublin.

Refuge Assurance Company's (Dublin Dis.) Employés' Assn.: T. Geraty, 75, Aungier St., Dublin.

Royal Liver Agents & Employees' U. (T.I.): S. Davies, 24, Field St., Bradley, Bilston.

Scottish Legal Agents' U. (S.): A. Speirs, 11, Meadowpark St., Dennistoun, Glasgow.

Hairdressers.

FEDERATIONS.

Hairdressers' Fed., S. Wales & Monmouthshire (L.): L. M. Francis, Barbers' Shop, Pennydarren, Merthyr Tydvil.

Hairdressers' Fed., N. Counties: J. Podmore, 8, Rylands St., Warrington.

UNIONS.

Hairdressers' Assistants' Trade U. of G.B., Barbers &: M. Wright, 88, Fieldgate Mansions, Myrdle St., Commercial Rd., E.

Hairdressers & Barbers' U. (Glasgow), Scottish Journeymen: J. Dunbar, 102, Maxwell St., City, Glasgow.

Hairdressers of London, International U. of Journeymen: W. Rogge, 39, Hallam St., Great Portland St., W.

Hairdressers' Trade Soc., Manchester, Salford, & Dis. Journeymen: F. J. Kemp, 19, White St., Seedley, Salford, Manchester.

Hairdressers' Trade U., Dublin Journeymen: T. Brown, 6, Royal Canal Terr., (Phibsborough, Dublin).

TRADES COUNCILS.

Trades Councils are local federations of Trade Union branches. Originally their function was largely industrial, as they served to focus local Trade Union activities, adjudicated upon local demarcation disputes, and safeguarded the general observance of Trade Union standards in their respective localities. Here and there, in the days when Labour representation and political action on the part of the Unions was rarer than at present, Trades Councils in the larger centres concerned themselves with various phases of political activity, chiefly in the direction of bringing direct pressure to bear upon their local Members of Parliament to support specific industrial measures brought forward in the House of Commons. With the general political development of the Unions, however, the local Councils widened their interests, and in many instances, indeed, served as stimulating agencies for the awakening of the political conscience of the workers in their various districts.

For many years Trades Councils were allowed direct representation at the Trades Union Congress, but in 1895 Standing Orders were amended to exclude their delegates. The formation of the Labour Representation Committee in 1900, however, necessitated that both Trade Unions and Socialist societies, as national bodies, and Trades Councils, as local points of political contact, should be brought into affiliation and rules were adopted accordingly. As the political movement grew Trades Councils more keenly interested in that phase of their work found it essential to adopt joint action with the local branches of the Socialist societies affiliated nationally. In this way Local Labour Representation Committees came into existence for the express purpose of dealing with political issues from the Labour standpoint as distinct from purely industrial questions.

This dual organisation has continued during the last 15 years, and in many centres both Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties (or L.R.C.'s) work in complete harmony side by side, each dealing exclusively with their own special function. In other districts arrangements have been made for joint working, and in some areas amalgamations have taken place, safeguards being placed in the constitution of the new bodies to prevent purely Trade Union industrial questions being discussed or adjudicated upon by other than Trade Union delegates. Local Labour Parties allow branches of all national organisations affiliated to the National Labour Party to affiliate locally, and, in some instances, branches of unaffiliated national bodies are also affiliated and co-operate in the local political work, both Parliamentary and municipal. Generally speaking, individuals cannot affiliate to Trades Councils, but the constitutions of many Local Labour Parties allow individual Labour Party supporters to associate with Ward Committees upon payment of a nominal annual contribution. Both classes of organisation are eligible for affiliation to the National Labour Party, special conditions being imposed when they cover precisely the same political area.

The following tables give the numbers and membership of Trades Councils over the years 1904-1913.

NUMBER OF TRADES COUNCILS, 1904-1913.

Year.	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Isle of Man.	United Kingdom.
1904	205	18	8	1	232
1905	212	18	7	1	238
1906	218	19	7	1	245
1907	224	20	6	1	251
1908	229	21	6	1	257
1909	229	21	7	1	258
1910	223	23	7	1	254
1911	219	25	8	1	253
1912	224	28	7	1	260
1913	235	30	7	1	273

MEMBERSHIP OF TRADES COUNCILS, 1904-1913.

Year.	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Isle of Man.	United Kingdom.
1904	718,741	120,229	32,753	230	871,853
1905	745,551	121,552	33,822	200	901,125
1906	782,238	124,101	35,081	200	941,620
1907	813,138	133,269	37,979	370	984,756
1908	845,813	134,054	39,446	300	1,019,613
1909	832,180	135,446	29,243	250	997,119
1910	842,689	139,018	31,604	210	1,013,521
1911	970,424	165,731	39,266	220	1,175,641
1912	1,042,672	202,283	40,914	350	1,286,219
1913	1,223,437	261,426	38,181	230	1,523,274

FEDERATIONS OF TRADES COUNCILS.

KENT.—Councillor W. J. Bourne, 183, Fulwich Road, Dartford, Kent.

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.—C. Dukes, 26, Dundonald Avenue, Stockton Heath, Warrington.

NORTH WALES.—D. Thomas, 4, Bryn Derwen, Tal y carn, Penygroes, Carnarvonshire.

SOUTH-WESTERN COUNTIES.—A. Jenkins, Toronto House, Freeland Buildings, Eastville, Bristol.

YORKSHIRE.—Councillor B. Turner, J.P., 73, Talbot Street, Batley.

ENGLAND.

ABERTILLERY.—W. Bowen, 32, Windsor Road, Six Bells, Abertillery.

ACCRINGTON.—A. Lambert, 7, Craven Street, Accrington.

ALDERSHOT, FARNHAM, AND FARNBOROUGH.—J. C. Archer, Richmond Villa, Church Lane, Aldershot.

ALTRINCHAM.—A. Higenbottam, 18, Victoria Avenue, Timperley, Cheshire.

ASHFORD.—W. R. Bolton, 10, Lower Denmark Road, S. Ashford, Kent.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE AND DUKINFIELD.—J. Edgar, Katherine Street, Ashton-under-Lyne.

- BACUP.—J. Cook, 10, Wesley Place, Bacup.
- BARNLEY.—A. D. Masterton, 71, Bridge Street, Barnley.
- BARNSTAPLE.—A. R. Bishop, 26, Gaydon Road, Barnstaple.
- BARROW-IN-FURNESS.—Councillor J. H. Brown, 80a, Cavendish Street, Barrow-in-Furness.
- BASINGSTOKE.—R. Howard, 13, Solby Road, Basingstoke.
- BATH.—H. J. Swain, 16, South Avenue, Oldfield Park, Bath.
- BEDFORD.—G. Room, 16, Preston Road, Bedford.
- BEESTON.—H. H. Hart, 110, Denison Street, Beeston, Notts.
- BERWICK-ON-TWEED.—W. R. Mills, Willson's Terrace, Spittal, Berwick-on-Tweed.
- BILSTON.—H. A. Thomas, 22, Dudley Street, Bilston.
- BIRKENHEAD.—Councillor W. H. Egan, 41, Hamilton Square, Birkenhead.
- BIRMINGHAM.—J. Kesterton, 10, Bright's Buildings, 110, John Bright Street, Birmingham.
- BISHOP AUCKLAND.—L. G. Bell, 12, May Street, Bishop Auckland.
- BLACKBURN.—J. Frankland, 22, Leopold Road, Blackburn.
- BLACKPOOL.—P. Pye, 9, Northfield Avenue, Blackpool.
- BLACKWOOD.—F. W. Lewis, Bloomfield Street, Blackwood, Mon.
- BOLTON.—R. Tootill, M.P., 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
- BOSTON.—G. E. Farmery, 41, Market Place, Boston.
- BOURNEMOUTH, POOLE, AND BRANKSOME.—A. Wiltshire, Glen Doon, Alum Chine Road, Bournemouth.
- BRADFORD.—Councillor W. Barber, J.P., 1, Carlton Rooms, 85, Westgate, Bradford.
- BRIDGWATER.—J. M. Dowley, 21, King Square, Bridgwater.
- BRIDLINGTON.—J. W. Flockton, 32, St. George's Avenue, Bridlington.
- BRIGHOUSE.—C. P. Haxley, Socialist Institute, Bradford Road, Brighouse, Yorks.
- BRIGHTON.—G. T. Rayner, 48, Beaconsfield Road, Brighton.
- BRISTOL.—T. C. Lewis, 354, Whitehall Road, Bristol.
- BURNLEY.—J. Gradwell, 9, Willow Street, Burnley.
- BURTON-ON-TRENT.—V. W. Taylor, 295, Wyggeston Street, Burton-on-Trent.
- BURY (LANCS.).—H. Harrison, 273, Holcombe Road, Greenmount, near Bury, Lancs.
- CANTERBURY.—A. J. Whitlock, 1, Railway Terrace, Hanover Place, Canterbury.
- CARLISLE.—T. Winder, 14, Grey Street, Carlisle.
- CASTLEFORD.—E. Lockyer, 24, Cambridge Street, Castleford.
- CHATHAM.—P. W. Terry, 34, Junction Road, Gillingham, Kent.
- CHELTENHAM.—J. W. Betteridge, Melville, Swindon Road, Cheltenham.
- CHESHAM.—J. Baker, 4, Morley Villas, Gladstone Road, Chesham, Bucks.
- CHESTER.—Councillor W. Carr, J.P., 42, Filkins Lane, Chester.
- CHESTERFIELD.—G. Todd, 92, Hasland Road, Chesterfield.
- CHORLEY.—J. W. Merrishaw, 14, Portland Street, Chorley.
- CIRENCESTER.—W. Mace, 4, Quarry Villas, Cheltenham Road, Stratton, Cirencester.
- CLAYTON-LE-MOORS.—J. C. Parker, 1, Albert Street, Clayton-le-Moors.
- CLITHEROE.—J. Taylor, 4, Brownlow Street, Clitheroe.
- COALVILLE.—W. Hancock, 45, Beresford Street, Coalville, Leicester.
- COLCHESTER.—A. Grimwood, 24, Bell Vue Road, Colchester.

- CONGLETON.—E. Conway, 19, Nelson Street, Congleton.
- CONSETT.—P. Hammill Baldwinson, 41, Durham Road, Leadgate, co. Durham.
- COVENTRY.—J. Chater, 107, Narrow Lane, Coventry.
- COWES.—E. J. Hollands, 200, Artic Road, West Cowes, I.O.W.
- CREWE.—W. T. Jones, 171, Wistaston Road, Crewe.
- CROOK.—R. Hannant, Crook, R.S.O., co. Durham.
- CROYDON.—A. Jenner, Ruskin House, Croydon.
- DARLINGTON.—W. H. Deadman, 2, Lansdowne Street, Darlington.
- DARTFORD.—E. T. Linderyon, 3, St. Mary's Villas, Watling Street, Dartford, Kent.
- DARWEN.—S. Hamer, 1, Essex Street, Darwen, Lancs.
- DERBY.—Councillor J. Bennett, 48, Vincent Road, Derby.
- DONCASTER.—E. Bayley, 86, Ramsden Road, Hexthorpe, Doncaster
- DOVER.—F. W. Chandler, 4, Greenland's Terrace, Dover.
- EARLESTOWN.—A. Turner, 1, Newton Terrace, Earlestown, Newton-le-Willows.
- EASTBOURNE.—F. O. Cassingham, 18, Willowfield Road, Eastbourne.
- ELLESMERE PORT.—A. MacGregor, 26, Stanley Road, Ellesmere Port, Chester.
- ENFIELD.—F. Dunhill, The Bower, East Crescent, Bush Hill Park, N.
- EPSOM.—W. Trueman, 65, Church Road, Epsom, Surrey.
- ERITH.—R. T. Haywood, 208, Bexley Road, Belvedere, Kent.
- EXETER.—M. Connett, 4, Abbots Road, Heavitree, Exeter.
- FARNWORTH.—J. Walsh, 75, Leach Street, Farnworth, S.O., Lancs.
- FELIXSTOWE AND WALTON.—A. G. Lewis, 10, Felix Road, Felixstowe, Suffolk.
- FLEETWOOD.—J. Hall, Adelaide Street, Fleetwood.
- FOLKESTONE.—F. W. Randall, 89, Linden Crescent, Folkestone.
- GLOSSOP AND HADFIELD.—W. H. Burdekin, 27, Dinting Vale, Dinting, Glossop.
- GLOUCESTER.—H. R. Prosser, 54, Stratton Road, Gloucester.
- GOOLE.—T. Smith, 38, Ouse Street, Goole.
- GORTON.—A. Legg, 20, Elm Street, Gorton, Manchester.
- GRANTHAM.—J. E. Swain, 234, Harrowby Road, Grantham.
- GRAVESEND.—F. Newton, 239, Old Road West, Gravesend.
- GRAYS.—F. Day, 58, Salisbury Road, Grays.
- GREAT HARWOOD.—I. Dickenson, 2, Mount Street, Great Harwood.
- GREAT YARMOUTH.—F. H. Blaxter, 44, Arundel Street, Great Yarmouth.
- GRIMSBY.—E. Robinson, 20, Florence Street, Grimsby.
- GUILDFORD.—R. Bailey, 11, Falcon Road, Guildford.
- HALIFAX.—W. H. Dean, 9, Sunnybank Terrace, Halifax.
- HARROGATE.—W. Coates, 60, Regent Avenue, Harrogate.
- HARROW AND WEALDSTONE.—A. Mitchell, 29, Aberdeen Road, Wealdstone, Middlesex.
- HASLINGDEN.—W. Hamer, 18, Warburton's Buildings, Grange Road, Haslingden, Manchester.
- HASTINGS.—A. T. White, 23, Old London Road, Hastings.
- HEANOR.—E. Beardsley, 17, High Street, Heanor, Derbyshire.
- HEBDEN BRIDGE.—J. H. Farrar, 14, Albert Street, Mytholmroyd, Yorks.
- HEREFORD.—D. G. Phillips, 2, Jeffrey Villas, Green Street, Hereford.
- HEYWOOD.—S. J. Bardsley, 8, Walker Street, Heywood, Lancs.
- HIGH WYCOMBE.—A. S. Forward, 24, Jubilee Road, High Wycombe, Bucks.

- HINCKLEY.—A. Wheatley, 12, Thorneycroft Road, Hinckley.
 HITCHIN.—T. Lawrence, 15, London Road, Stevenage, Herts.
 HOLYHEAD.—S. J. Latham, L. & N. W. Laundry, London Road, Holyhead.
 HORWICH.—B. Wilkinson, 19, Pioneer Street, Horwich, Lancs.
 HUDDERSFIELD.—J. S. Armitage, 7, Lidgett Street, Lindley, Huddersfield.
 HULL.—R. Lancaster, 27, Perry Street, Anlaby Road, Hull.
 HYDE AND DENTON.—F. Bradley, 20, Lumn Street, Hyde, Cheshire.
 ILFORD.—H. L. Crofts, 35, Albert Road, Ilford, E.
 ILKESTON.—J. Kane, 100, Lord Haddon Road, Ilkeston.
 IPSWICH.—F. J. Ellis, 111, Bramford Road, Ipswich.
 KEIGHLEY.—J. Dawson, 9, Cromer Avenue, Keighley.
 KENDAL.—E. Garnett, 9, Old Lound, Kendal.
 KETTERING.—S. F. Wright, 157, Bath Road, Kettering.
 KIDDERMINSTER.—W. Walters, 17, Albert Road, Kidderminster.
 LANCASTER.—W. Oakes, Trades Hall, Queen Square, Lancaster.
 LEAMINGTON.—C. W. Garaner, Trades Hall, Leamington Spa.
 LEYTON AND LEYTONSTONE.—R. W. Bush, 3, King's Avenue, Buckhurst Hill, Essex.
 LEEDS.—Owen Connellan, 6, Carlton Mount, Leeds.
 LEEK.—W. Craig, 4, Deansgate, Leek.
 LEICESTER.—J. H. Baum, 11, Briton Street, Leicester.
 LEIGH.—T. Lowe, 2, Selwyn Street, Leigh, Lancs.
 LETCHWORTH.—T. G. Carne, 19, Broughton Hill, Letchworth, Herts.
 LINCOLN.—J. Corten, 5, Beevor Street, New Boultham, Lincoln.
 LIVERPOOL.—J. Shannon, 34, Caird Street, Anfield, Liverpool.
 LONDON.—J. Stokes, 41, Cowcross Street, E.C.
 BARKING.—G. E. Harrison, 74, Cranbourne Road, Barking, Essex.
 BATTERSEA.—Councillor C. E. Mason, 455, Battersea Park Road, S.W.
 BERMONDSEY AND ROTHERHITHE.—J. Fox, 12, Hythe Buildings, Rotherhithe, S.E.
 BETHNAL GREEN.—R. Lewis, Home Workers' Hall, Cambridge Road, E.
 BROMLEY.—G. J. Lee, 38, Plaistow Lane, Bromley, Kent.
 CAMBERWELL.—A. Creeth Jones, 46, Keston Road, Goose Green, S.E.
 CAMBERWELL, PECKHAM, AND DULWICH.—W. Holt, 16, Machell Road, Nunhead, S.E.
 DEPTFORD, GREENWICH, AND LEWISHAM.—A. E. Reeves, 99, Florence Road, New Cross, S.E.
 EAST HAM.—J. J. Pope, 133, Shakespeare Crescent, East Ham, E.
 FINCHLEY.—J. R. Leslie, "Colwyn," Silvester Road, E. Finchley, N.
 FULHAM.—G. Lilley, 72, Laundry Road, Fulham, S.W.
 HACKNEY.—W. Parker, 8, Adley Street, Clapton, N.E.
 HAMPSTEAD.—Miss Mabel Lawrence, 13, Well Road, Hampstead, N.W.
 HORNSEY.—C. Cook, 143, North View Road, Hornsey, N.
 MARYLEBONE.—A. Wareham, 84, Netherwood Road, W. Kensington.
 PADDINGTON AND KENSINGTON.—E. J. Holder, 104, Bathurst Gardens, Willesden, N.W.
 PENGES AND BECKENHAM.—A. M. Redding, 74, Byne Road, Lower Sydenham, S.E.
 POPLAR.—J. H. Banks, 6, Campbell Road, Bromley-by-Bow, E.
 SHOREDITCH.—Councillor W. Girling, 15, Newton Street, New North Road, N.
 SOUTHAL.—G. Wrightson, 1, Windsor Road, Southall, Middlesex,

- SOUTHWARK.—G. J. Chaplin, 13, Etherdon Street, Walworth, S.E.
 TOTTENHAM.—G. M. P. Brent, 19, Shobden Road, Lordship Lane, Lower Tottenham, N.
 WANDSWORTH.—H. Ward, 85, Trevelyan Road, Tooting, S.W.
 WEST HAM.—J. Gilbey, 15, Wigston Road, Plaistow, E.
 WOOLWICH.—Councillor W. Barefoot, J.P., 3, New Road, Woolwich, S.E.
- LONG EATON.—W. Archer, 61, Breedon Street, Long Eaton, Nottingham.
 LOUGHBOROUGH.—A. T. Wright, 43, Judges Road, Loughborough.
 LOWESTOFT.—J. Joplin, 41, Rotterdam Road, Lowestoft.
 LUTON.—T. W. Hawkesley, 241, Park Street, Luton, Beds.
 LYDNEY.—C. Howells, 20, Tutnalls Street, Lydney, Gloucester.
 MACCLESFIELD.—D. Sanders, 101, St. George's Street, Macclesfield.
 MAIDSTONE.—C. J. Smith, 189, Boxley Road, Maidstone, Kent.
 MANCHESTER AND SALFORD.—W. Mellor, 3, Clarence Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester.
 MANCHESTER, SALFORD AND DISTRICT (WOMEN).—Mrs. O. M. Aldridge, 9, Albert Square, Manchester.
 MANCHESTER AND SALFORD (WOMEN).—Mrs. S. Dickenson, 5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
 MANSFIELD.—J. T. Pratt, 103, Princes Street, Mansfield.
 MARKET HARBOUROUGH.—F. Burbidge, 10, Mill Hill Road, Market Harborough.
 MARYPORT.—G. Carruthers, Elizabeth Terrace, Netherton, Maryport.
 MEXBOROUGH.—J. Walton, 101, Avenue Road, Wath-upon-Deane, Rotherham.
 MIDDLESBROUGH.—H. Macgregor, 65, Waterloo Road, Middlesbrough.
 MIDDLETON (LANCS.).—A. V. Davies, 132, Victoria Avenue, Blackley, Manchester.
 NEWARK.—A. Broadberry, 13, Meyrick Road, Newark.
 NEWCASTLE AND GATESHEAD.—T. Wilkinson, 7, Elswick East Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 NEW MILLS.—G. Strutt, Trades Hall, New Mills, Stockport.
 NEWPORT.—F. H. Heath, 39, London Street, Maindee, Newport (Mon.).
 NEWTON ABBOT.—N. W. Larkworthy, 40, Fisher Road, Abbotsbury.
 NORTHAMPTON.—F. O. Roberts, 61, Collingwood Road, Northampton.
 NORWICH.—G. F. Hipperson, 91, Connaught Road, Norwich.
 NOTTINGHAM.—G. Thundercliffe, 9, Hedderley Street, Nottingham.
 NUNEATON.—W. E. Taylor, 1, Clarence Street, Nuneaton.
 OSSETT AND HORBURY.—W. Dews, 4, Jubbs Terrace, Ossett, Yorks.
 OSWESTRY.—W. Kilvington, New House, West Felton, Oswestry.
 OXFORD.—A. H. Frimbley, 1, Plantation Road, Oxford.
 PADIHAM.—J. Ingham, Weavers' Institute, Padiham.
 PETERBOROUGH.—H. Wilfred Kelly, 1, Beech Avenue, Peterborough.
 PLYMOUTH, STONEHOUSE, AND DEVONPORT.—A. H. Orchard, 99, Glendower Road, Plymouth.
 PONTEFRACT.—T. W. Hill, Midland Road, Pontefract.
 PONTYPOOL.—A. Jenkins, Greenlands, Snatchwood Road, Abersychan (Mon.).
 PORTSMOUTH.—A. E. Hatcher, 174, Guildford Road, Portsmouth.
 PRESTON.—W. Hopkins, 20, Bispham Street, Preston.
 RADCLIFFE.—G. Knights, 29, Milltown Street, Radcliffe.
 RAMSBOTTOM.—J. Whittaker, 98, Bolton Road W., Ramsbottom, Lancs.

- RAMSGATE.—W. Colegate, 5, Queensly Villas, St. Luke's Road, Ramsgate.
- RAWMARSH AND PARKGATE.—J. Smith, 79, Netherfield Lane, Parkgate, Rotherham.
- RAWTENSTALL.—J. Turner, 11, Schofield Road, Rawtenstall.
- READING.—H. Sanderson, 19, Hagley Road, Reading.
- REDDITCH.—A. F. Milward, 38, Beoley Road, Redditch.
- RETFORD.—J. J. Shorten, 12, Saville Street, Retford.
- RIPLEY (DERBY).—G. Draycott, 66, Mosley Street, Ripley, Derby.
- RISHTON.—G. H. Hollinrake, 52, Harwood Road, Rishton, near Blackburn.
- ROCHDALE.—W. T. Jones, 1, Whatmough Street, Rochdale.
- ROMFORD.—W. H. Letts, 38, Drummond Road, Romford, Essex.
- ROTHERHAM.—G. E. Caine, 475, Fitzwilliam Road, Rotherham.
- RUGBY.—H. Yates, 2, Kimberley Road, Rugby.
- RUNCORN.—E. L. Platt, 16, Halton Road, Runcorn.
- RUSHDEN.—A. J. Parker, 25, Albion Place, Rushden.
- ST. ALBANS.—A. E. Billing, 10, Princes Road, St. Albans.
- ST. HELENS.—J. Francis, 125, Speakman Road, St. Helens, Lancs.
- SCUNTHORPE.—C. Walsham, "Burbrook," Cole Street, Scunthorpe, Lincs.
- SELBY.—R. Moody, 1, Fairfax Avenue, Selby.
- SHEFFIELD FEDERATED.—R. Holmshaw, J.P., 16, Leamington Street, Sheffield.
- SHEFFIELD.—Councillor A. Short, 43, Brinsworth Street, Attercliffe, Sheffield.
- SHIELDS.—S. Pattison, 4, Upper Norfolk Street, North Shields.
- SHILDON.—A. Foster, 26, Albion Avenue, Old Shildon, Durham.
- SHIPLEY.—A. Pickern, 21, Shaftesbury Avenue, Ripley, Yorks.
- SHREWSBURY.—W. H. Edwards, 34, St. Julians Friars, Shrewsbury.
- SKIPTON.—W. Cleaver, 24, Milton Street, Skipton.
- SMETHWICK.—J. Twiss, 78, Edith Road, Smethwick, Birmingham.
- SOUTHAMPTON.—J. Laing, 7, Forster Road, Southampton.
- SOUTHPORT.—J. Hopwood, 53, Hawes Side Street, Southport.
- SOWERBY.—R. Sutcliffe, 9, Pleasant Street, Sowerby Bridge.
- SPEN VALLEY.—E. Jenkins, Rosebank Cottage, Whitehall Road, Wyke, near Bradford.
- STAFFORD.—C. L. Green, 194, Corporation Street, Stafford.
- STALYBRIDGE.—S. Bailey, 5, High Street, Stalybridge.
- STAPLEFORD AND SANDIACRE.—H. Shakespeare, "Foster House," Lot Street, Stapleford, Nottingham.
- STOCKPORT.—H. Spares, 4, St. Augustine Road, Cheadle Heath, Stockport.
- STOCKTON AND THORNABY.—J. W. Blenkey, 1, Grange Terrace, Norton-on-Tees.
- STROUD.—T. Handford, 3, Brightside, Horns Road, Stroud, Gloucester.
- SWADLINCOTE.—H. T. Forman, 87, James Street, Swadlincote.
- SWINDON.—W. W. House, 32, William Street, Swindon, Wilts.
- TAMWORTH.—A. E. Hackett, Laurel Cottage, Bolehall, Tamworth.
- TAUNTON.—H. J. Cook, 39, William Street, Rowbarton, Taunton.
- TODMORDEN.—W. J. Tout, 17, York Place, Todmorden.
- TONBRIDGE.—E. B. Blake, 131, St. Mary's Road, Tonbridge, Kent.
- TORQUAY.—T. Baker, 35, Shirburn Road, Torquay.
- TREDEGAR.—W. C. Francis, Station House, Sirhowy, Tredegar (Mon.)

- TUNBRIDGE WELLS.—G. Rogers, 72, Norman Road, Tunbridge Wells.
 TWICKENHAM.—W. L. Sterry, 45, May Road, Twickenham.
 WAKEFIELD.—W. B. Dyson, 46, Vicarage Street, Wakefield.
 WALLSEND.—E. F. Downer, 26, Kitchener Terrace, Wallsend-on-Tyne.
 WALKDEN.—W. M. Rogerson, 6, Mayfield Avenue, Walkden.
 WALSALL.—G. Giles, 127, West Bromwich Street, Walsall.
 WALTHAMSTOW.—A. H. Cordell, 31, Kenilworth Avenue, Walthamstow, N.W.
 WALLASEY.—E. Marshall, 30, Cardigan Road, New Brighton, Cheshire.
 WARRINGTON.—C. Dukes, 26, Dundonald Avenue, Stockton Heath, Warrington.
 WATFORD.—G. Pendry, 5, Sussex Road, Watford.
 WELLINGBOROUGH.—W. Mawer, 91, Albert Road, Wellingborough.
 WEST BROMWICH.—W. Cooke, 52, Westbourne Road, West Bromwich.
 WESTHOUGHTON.—E. Fearnley, 136, Church Street, Westhoughton.
 WESTON-SUPER-MARE.—Mr. Palmer, 13, Churchill Road, Weston-super-Mare.
 WEYMOUTH.—P. J. Berrisford, 42, St. Leonards Road, Rodwell, Weymouth.
 WHARFDALE.—J. Swain, Stoney Croft, Batter Lane, Rawdon, Leeds.
 WIDNES.—G. Charles, 16, Saxon Terrace, Widnes, Lancs.
 WIGAN.—E. Taylor, 37, Millgate, Wigan.
 WIMBLEDON.—F. J. Bell, 49, Denmark Road, Wimbledon, S.W.
 WINSFORD.—J. T. Plumbley, 13, Deakins Road, Winsford, Cheshire.
 WOKING.—F. R. Bolton, 19, Chertsey Road, Woking, Surrey.
 WOLVERHAMPTON.—H. Bagley, 83, Burleigh Road, Wolverhampton.
 WOODFORD.—W. J. Read, Forest Lodge, Buckhurst Hill, Essex.
 WOLVERTON.—A. E. Skinner, 18, Radcliffe Street, Wolverton, Bucks.
 WORCESTER.—A. Bryan, 129, Hylton Road, Worcester.
 WORKINGTON.—W. Atkinson, 1, Armstrong Street, Workington.
 WREXHAM.—H. Edwards, 4, Osborne Grove, Mold Road, Wrexham.
 YEOVIL.—A. E. Little, 55, Alexandra Road, Yeovil.
 YORK.—Councillor W. Dobbie, 22, Moorgate, Acomb Road, York.

SCOTLAND.

- ABERDEEN.—J. Balfour, 47, Belmont Street, Aberdeen.
 ALLOA.—W. Dempster, 111a, Greenfield Street, Alloa.
 ARBROATH.—R. S. McKechnie, 26, St. Mary Street, Arbroath.
 Ayrshire.—R. Climie, 25, Armour Street, Ayr.
 BURNTISLAND.—Mr. Ingram, 51, Somerville Street, Burntisland.
 CLYDEBANK.—S. Shearer, Millbrae Crescent, Yoker, Clydebank.
 COATBRIDGE AND AIRDRIE.—A. McGaw, 15, Alexander Street, Coatbridge.
 COWDENBEATH.—Duncan Beaton, 184, Perth Road, Cowdenbeath.
 DUMBARTON.—W. Shepherd, "Lintrose," Round Riding Road, Dumbarton.
 DUMFRIES.—J. Fair, 4, Church Street, Maxwelltown, Dumfries.
 DUNDEE.—J. Hara, 20, Park Avenue, Dundee.
 DUNFERMLINE.—J. Beck, 13, Brucefield Avenue, Dunfermline.
 EDINBURGH.—A. Smith, J.P., 50, Hamilton Place, Edinburgh.
 FALKIRK.—W. Spicer, 124, Victoria Road, Falkirk.
 GLASHIELS.—W. L. Weir, 21, St. John Street, Galashiels, Scotland.
 GLASGOW.—G. Carson, 156, George Street (City), Glasgow.
 GOVAN.—H. Hopkins, 20, Elizabeth Street, Ibrox.

GREENOCK.—A. J. Miller, 9, Mount Pleasant Street, Greenock.
 HAMILTON.—D. C. Henry, 3, Cecil Bank, Selkirk Street, Hamilton.
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THE PRESENT LEGAL POSITION OF TRADE UNIONS.

There is probably no department of law in which more confusion exists than in that which is concerned with Trade Unions, for those associations, by their very nature and purpose, raise intricate legal problems which have been the subject from time to time of special and peculiar legislation—not drafted as one complete whole, but designed piecemeal to deal with particular problems and grievances, some political, some caused by judicial decision, as occasion has arisen.

The legal decisions of any particular year can thus only be understood by reference to the past, and their importance is only evident to those who have some knowledge of previous Trade Union legal history. The legal position of Trade Unions can be traced to four principal sources:—

- (a) The common law;
- (b) the Trade Union Acts, 1871, 1876, and 1913, which are concerned in the main with civil matters;
- (c) the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875, and the Trade Disputes Act, 1906, which principally affect criminal and tortious liabilities;
- (d) the Munitions of War Act, 1915.

1. THE COMMON LAW.

Under the common law, that is the law apart from Acts of Parliament, a Trade Union generally (though not always) was and is in the position of being an association acting in "restraint of trade," though a body does not become an association in restraint of trade merely because it is called a Trade Union. As early as the time of Henry V. it was decided that a contract imposing a general restraint upon trade was void, and agreements between workmen not to take

work except upon certain terms are at common law bad, and consequently any association which exists to promote such agreements or to enforce such terms is illegal.

It followed that as Trade Unions acting or formed for acting in restraint of trade were illegal associations they could not get protection of law for their funds. It was decided in the cases of *Hornby v. Close* and *Farrar v. Close* (1867) that Trade Unions could not use the protection which Parliament had accorded to Friendly Societies. Down to 1868, indeed, the law held that it was actually not theft for a dishonest member of a Trade Union to steal the money of his union, but this was incidentally put right by the Larceny Act of that year. Still many difficulties remained. How far a Trade Union, besides being an illegal was also a criminal association, is happily now only a matter of historical interest. It was certainly made criminal by the Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800, but these were repealed in 1824.

2. THE TRADE UNION ACTS, 1871, 1876, AND 1913.

By the Trade Union Act, 1871, it was declared that a Trade Union merely because its objects were in restraint of trade should not be held to be unlawful, and its agreements were made binding, so that they would be recognised in law.

One section of that Act, however, Section 4, has produced a great amount of litigation, for by it the courts are precluded generally from hearing internal disputes between members of the union.

Two important qualifications have been made by the courts on this section; the first is that, relying on the words of the statute, "Nothing in this Act shall enable the court to entertain proceedings with the object of directly enforcing or recovering damages," in inter-union matters, it has now been decided that the indirect enforcement of an agreement is within the power of the courts. Had it not been for this interpretation in the case of the *Yorkshire Miners' Association v. Howden* (1905), A.C. 256, a member of a Trade Union could not have brought an action for an injunction, and the famous "Osborne case," which has had so many political consequences, might never have been heard.

The second power which the courts have obtained to avoid the consequences of Section 4 of the 1871 Act and so hear disputes between members and the union is more subtle but not less important.

It was usually held that Trade Unions, not being corporate bodies, could not be sued. But the Royal Commission of 1906 thought that illegality could be no obstacle to suing a Trade Union. The difficulty about suing a Trade Union was in the want of a method of taking proceedings against a number of persons who were not a corporate body, and this was got over by the institution in the latter part of the 19th century (quite irrespective of Trade Unions) of the "representative action" in which a few named members of any group of people having common interests are sued as representing the whole group of individuals. But at any rate the unlawful Trade Union could not sue. By the Act of 1871, however, this was legalised, save that, by Section 4, internal disputes are still precluded from the courts' jurisdiction.

Now, however, if the Trade Union is **not** acting in the main in restraint of trade (and whether it is so or not is a matter to be decided from its rules), it was never an illegal body, and it could bring and

defend actions at common law like any other association, and in that case Section 4 of the 1871 Act would not apply, as the whole 1871 Act is concerned with legalising Trade Unions which are in restraint of trade.

Consequently when a member of a Trade Union suing the union can show that according to its rules it is primarily not in restraint of trade, he can not only get an injunction, but, despite Section 4, can actually recover damages. The leading case on this matter which so settled the law is *Swaine v. Wilson* (1889), 29 Q.B.D. 252. It was under this principle that, in the second *Osborne* case, the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants was held at common law to be a lawful society not acting in restraint of trade.

The 1871 Act and also that of 1876 provided for the optional registration of Trade Unions by the Registrar of Friendly Societies, and nearly half of the Trade Unions of the United Kingdom have availed themselves of this provision.

The advantages of registration are not very obvious. Statutory recognition is given to the trustees who may bring or defend actions relating to property in the name of the union, and a summary method is provided of recovering the property of the union from a defaulting officer. On the other hand, a registered union is put under obligations to the Registrar with regard to its rules, accounts, etc., from which unregistered unions are exempt.

An unforeseen consequence of the 1871 Act has been that the definition section of that Act (which has been slightly enlarged by the Acts of 1876 and 1913) has been treated by the courts as being the charter under which Trade Unions are legalised, and in the famous case of the *Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants v. Osborne* (No. 1) (1910) A.C. 87, it was laid down by the House of Lords that any action of a registered Trade Union which did not fall within the definition section of the 1876 Act was outside the powers of the Trade Union and unlawful. Whether or not a particular activity did or did not fall within the definition section was, of course, a question of fact, but the House of Lords decided that the expenditure of money on Parliamentary elections was "ultra vires" or outside the section, and later, in the case of *Wilson v. Amalgamated Society of Engineers* (1911) 2 Ch. 324, a similar decision was given with regard to municipal activity. A later case, originating in Scotland, applied the same principle to unregistered societies (*Wilson v. Scottish Typographical Society* (1911) 1 S.L.J. 253).

This position continued until 1913, when a further amending Act gave power generally to a Trade Union to spend money on any lawful purpose authorised by its constitution, so long as its principal objects were those of a Trade Union, i.e., the objects defined in the 1876 Act, that is the regulation of the relations between workmen and masters or between workmen and workmen or between masters and masters or the imposing of restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business, together with the provision of benefits to members. A further provision precludes from this general power the financing of certain defined political purposes, and in these cases before such purposes can be added to the constitution of the union a secret ballot of the members must be taken in a prescribed form and a special right of individual exemption from this particular activity prescribed, and the money to be spent on such political objects must come out of a

special fund. The 1913 Act also affects the method whereby an organisation is to prove in courts of law that it is or is not a Trade Union. Thus the fact that a union is registered is sufficient proof that it is a Trade Union, a privilege which also extends to unregistered unions which have, by a new procedure inaugurated under this Act, obtained certificates, but otherwise any unregistered society must in order to show that it is a Trade Union, prove that its principal objects are statutory.

The leading case so far decided upon the matters raised by the 1913 Act is that of *Bennet v. National Amalgamated Society of Operative House and Ship Painters and Decorators and others* (1915) 31 T.L.R. 203.

While this case was principally decided on the question whether the rules of the particular union sanctioned investment in the Labour Newspapers Limited, a company whose object was to print and publish a newspaper in the interests of and to promote the policy from time to time of the political party known as the Labour Party, Warrington, J., expressed the opinion that the expenditure of money on such a publication amounted to a financing of the distribution of political documents, which is one of the political purposes defined in the 1913 Act that a Trade Union can only legally support out of the union's political fund.

It has been suggested that in one respect the 1913 Act has weakened the position of a union wishing to spend money on a political object in that, while it was laid down by Lord Macnaghten in *Osborne's case* that the Trade Union *itself* must not run a political paper, it had never actually been decided that it could not invest funds in a newspaper company, as in any others, if its rules permitted it. The 1913 Act, by precluding *indirect* as well as direct support of a political object, has, it would seem, also forbidden investment in any company conducting such a journal, save out of the political fund.

3. THE CONSPIRACY AND PROTECTION OF PROPERTY ACT, 1875, AND THE TRADE DISPUTES ACT, 1906.

The origin of the criminal liabilities of Trade Unions may be traced back to the old Statutes of Labourers of the 14th century, whereby, as a corollary of the State fixing of wages, legislation was introduced making combinations of workmen, to raise their remuneration, illegal. These statutes were finally codified in 1799 and 1800 under new general Combination Acts; by the latter every combination for obtaining an advance in wages, or altering the hours of work, or decreasing the amount of work, or preventing any person employing whomsoever he might think fit to employ, or for preventing workmen hiring themselves, or attempting to induce them to leave their work and any meeting to advance such objects or the expenditure of any money upon them was declared illegal and subjected the offenders to a liability to three months' imprisonment.

In 1824 this Act was repealed, but in 1825 new offences of molestation and obstruction were created, and as late as 1856 *Crompton, J.* (though the other judges did not concur), said that all combinations tending to impede and interfere with freedom of trade were not only illegal but criminal.

In 1859 an Act provided that peaceable persuasion (e.g., at a casual interview or by letter or circular) should not be deemed to be molestation or obstruction.

In the famous Gasworkers' case (*R. v. Bunn* (1872) 12 Cox CC. 316) Lord Esher decided, in effect that, in spite of the 1871 Act, a combination in restraint of trade which took the form of a conspiracy to intimidate the gas company and injure it in its business was still a criminal conspiracy at common law. Consequently, in 1875, it had to be declared by Parliament that "no combination to do any act in furtherance of a trade dispute shall be indictable as a conspiracy unless such act if committed by one person would be punishable as a crime."

The 1875 Act also imposed penalties for using violence or intimidation or watching or besetting a man home or following him in order to prevent his working. These are the provisions under which Trade Unionists and others are still prosecuted when they exceed their lawful rights in cases of trade disputes.

The rights of Trade Unionists with regard to picketing were finally established beyond question by Section 2 of the Trade Disputes Act, 1906, which provides that it is lawful for persons on their own behalf or on behalf of a Trade Union, in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute to attend where a person resides, or works, or happens to be, to persuade him peacefully to abstain from working. On this point the question has arisen in London and other crowded cities how far the right of attending for the purpose of persuasion may be negated by a prosecution for obstructing the highway. Many summonses have been decided by magistrates against Trade Union officials and pickets on this head, but the matter has never been considered in any higher court. It may be said that *Larkin v. Belfast Harbour* (1908) 21 R. 214 decided that trespass on private property could not be justified by the Act of 1906.

A matter of even more importance with which the 1906 Act was concerned was raised in the case of the *Taff Vale Railway Company v. Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants* (1901) A.C. 426.

At common law a person who procures a breach of contract and probably a person who prevents the formation of a contract is liable to an action for damages by one of the contracting parties unless sufficient justification for the act exists. Now Trade Unions in the course of their work have frequently endeavoured to terminate contracts which they have deemed to be unfair and which have been entered into by their members, and in the *Taff Vale* case it was decided that a liability of the officer of a union for torts extends to the union itself, so that the union funds may be made liable for the acts of its officials. By the Trade Disputes Act, 1906, however, it is provided that such an act is not actionable if done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, on the ground only that it induced some other person to break a contract of employment, or that it is an interference with the trade, business, or employment of some other person, or with his or the right of some other person, to dispose of his capital or labour as he wills (S. 3), and by a further section (4) (1) it is laid down that no action can be brought against a Trade Union or the members thereof acting on behalf of themselves and all other members in respect of a tortious act (such as interference in contracts or liberty) alleged to have been committed by or on behalf

of the Trade Union. It has been decided that this latter proviso operates whether a trade dispute is in existence or not (*Vacher v. London Society of Compositors* (1913) A.C. 107), but in the case of picketing or procurement of breach of contract the immunity is confined to cases of trade dispute.

The meaning of the words "in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute" was discussed in the recent case of *Dallimore v. Williams* and another, 29 T.L.R. 67 (1913) 30 T.L.R. 432 (1912), and in that case it was held that the term trade dispute is not confined to a dispute between an employer and his own men. It is argued that an outside union organising a strike of non-union men is equally protected. It seems clear that if there is a dispute between workmen (not in A's employment) and A, all acts done in furtherance of the dispute are protected. But if there is no such dispute in existence, and the union gets up a dispute between A and his men, the union officials would, perhaps, not be protected. (See *Conway v. Wade* (1909) A.C. 506.)

RECENT DECISIONS.

The actual decisions of 1914 and 1915 are not very important; beyond the *Bennet* case concerning the "Daily Citizen" above referred to, there is little to chronicle.

The case of *Larkin and others v. Long*, which was heard in the House of Lords in March, 1914, has raised again in the highest tribunal the question whether an external union not directly a party to a trade dispute is protected by the Trade Disputes Act, 1906; the question so far, as has been said, has not been decided in any tribunal superior to the Court of Appeal.

Two recent cases have turned upon the rights of Trade Unions to finance actions on behalf of their members. That of *Oram v. Hutt* (1914) 1 ch. 98 has decided that a union has no legal common interest in a slander action brought by one of its officers even when the officer is slandered in the way of his office, and that such conduct by the union is an unlawful "maintenance." This decision extends that of *Greig v. National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants* (22 T.L.R. 274), in that in the latter case the member defamed was not an official of the union and was not attacked in his capacity as a Trade Unionist. In *Allen v. Francis* (1914) 3 K.B. 1,065, it was decided that the question whether or not an approved society under the Insurance Act is conducting a workmen's compensation case is a matter which a County Court judge is not entitled to inquire into as a condition precedent to the hearing. (See Social Insurance, Part VIII.)

Several cases have been decided upon the limitation of the court's jurisdiction in internal affairs, none of which appears to have been reported save in the newspapers.

In the *General Labourers' Union* case heard before a Divisional Court in November of 1914 the somewhat extraordinary argument on appeal was used when a union, illegal at common law, had successfully denied the jurisdiction of the court under Section 4 of the 1871 Act, that the Act of 1913, by making the objects of a union statutory objects, had legalised the union at common law. The appeal was dismissed without the union being called upon to argue.

An action brought by two members of the *Carpenters and Joiners' Union* raised the question as to whether the illegality of the society

at common law precluded the men from complaining of expulsion. It was admitted that the rules of the society were in restraint of trade (a fact decided in the House of Lords in the case of *Russell v. the same society* (1912) (A.C. 421), and the sole question remained whether the right to expel was a direct enforcement of rights under Section 4 of the 1871 Act and so not entertainable by the courts. Mr. Justice Joyes, in consonance with the authorities, gave judgment for the union.

In *Kelly v. National Society of Operative Printers* it was admitted that the society was innocent at common law, but on the question of expulsion, Horridge, J., thought the society had full power to deal with what they deemed to be misconduct and to expel a member, while Rawlatt, J., said that he could not find that there had, in fact, been any misconduct, and, therefore, the expulsion had not been justifiable.

LEGISLATION.

No legislation directly affecting Trade Unions, other than the War Emergency Statutes, has been passed since 1913. A bill promoted by the Labour Party seeks to amend the law as laid down by Section 12 of the 1876 Act, whereby the consent of two-thirds of the members of every Trade Union concerned must be obtained before Trade Unions can amalgamate. The Labour Party bill would make the consent of a majority voting sufficient.

The Munitions of War Act, 1915, which, however, is only of temporary application, affects the rights of Trade Unions to order strikes and of workmen to withhold their labour under certain circumstances.

See *Labour and the War*, Part I.

See also *Social Insurance*, Part VIII.

See also *Registrar of Friendly Societies*.

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 Trade Union Act, 1913, 2 and 3 Geo. V., c. 30.
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INDUSTRIAL VERSUS CRAFT UNIONS.

BY A. BELLAMY, J.P. (PRESIDENT, N.U.R.).

One of the objects of the National Union of Railwaymen is "to secure the complete organisation of all workers employed on or in connection with any railway in the United Kingdom" (Rule 4), and in consequence of that object it is provided that "any worker on or in connection with any railway in the United Kingdom shall be eligible for membership" (Rule 5).

The railway transport industry is a distinct unit of industry in all its manifold ramifications necessitating the application of scores of crafts and trades, the specific object of the labour of those employed by railway companies being the maintenance of the railway system of transport and its continuation as an indispensable complete national unit.

The ramifications of the industry are so great and its variety of classes of industry are so many that the line of demarcation between the callings, crafts, or trades is indefinable, and, following a line from the latest boy recruit to the general manager, it is found that railway labour in its practical application is interchangeable, and the railway industry thereby lends itself to a subtle form of involved replacement in ordinary working or in exigencies that no effort and no organisation can resist, even if it were considered wise to offer any resistance. The industry is kept moving by the continual but barely noticeable interchangeability of the units of labour from end to end of the system, and this is one of the reasons why the National Union of Railwaymen has declared itself an industrial union, and opened its doors to all persons of any capacity employed on or about a railway. The organisation of railwaymen by craft or grade has proved unsuccessful, and experience has shown that the development of the railway transport industry necessitates the organisation of those employed in its manipulations in one Trade Union in order to bargain collectively with the one association of employers. Whatever may be the specific craft or trade a worker may follow his labour is being applied to the running of the transport machine; the objective of his work is to that one end. In whatever direction he may apply his craft skill he is bound up with and carrying on the work of the railway transport industry, and while so employed is distinctly and definitely a railway worker irrespective of his craft classification or denomination. In many respects his craft skill is peculiar to the railway system.

The principle of elementary craft unionism in the railway industry, if ever such were possible, has become obsolete. The tendency to co-ordination between railways, as in other industries, has rendered craft industrialism ineffective. The logical application of craft unionism to the railway system, with its thousand and one arts and crafts ever undergoing the natural process of advancement or interchange, has only to be examined to be reduced immediately to an absurdity. A perpetual struggle between railway workers who may follow three or four classes of employment in one week, working interlinked with others who are changing also their forms of employment according to the exigencies of the industry, or according to the changed form of technical and mechanical operation, can be

thought of to show merely its impossibility in practice when dealing with the railway owners through a managerial unit.

The desire on the part of the workers for the "right to control" their industry, their pursuit of the "achievement of power," is broken in the practice of a narrow craft unionism. A craft union protects only its own craft, a craft that mechanical development may make obsolete in a decade. An industrial union protects the complete labour of a complete industry. Whatever mechanical changes may take place in the operations of the railway system, it is the railway system all the time, and its operators are railway workers who, always organised in a national union of railway workers, are ever ready to protect their skill in transport and to negotiate any phase of their adaptable industrial conditions.

It is not possible to write the whole of the history which attaches to this development, but it may be stated that so far as the N.U.R. is concerned it took its rise after the resolution which was adopted by the Trades Union Congress in 1910 at Sheffield. That resolution read:—

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, the present system of sectional Trade Unionism is unable to successfully combat the encroachments of modern capitalism, and, while recognising the usefulness of sectional unionism in the past and present, the Congress realises that much greater achievements are possible, and the redemption of the working class would be hastened if all the existing unions were amalgamated by industries, with one central executive elected by the combined unions, and with power to act unitedly whenever there is a strike or lock-out in any industry, thus making the grievance of one the concern of all. The Congress, therefore, instructs its Parliamentary Committee to put itself in communication with all the unions in Great Britain and ascertain their views on the above question, also to promote a general scheme of amalgamation, and make a recommendation on the matter to the next Congress."

It may be remarked in passing that this resolution was reaffirmed in the following terms in 1911 at Newcastle:—

"That this Congress, recognising the increased power of the capitalists in closing up their ranks, and their adoption of improved methods, deplores the lack of similar consolidation among the workers. It urges, therefore, that the Parliamentary Committee take steps to call conferences of the different industries, with a view to amalgamating the several Trade Unions connected with each industry."

The co-operation of four of the railway unions in the successful strike of 1911 gave a great impetus to this movement, and in the spring of 1913 three out of the four unions came together and formed the nucleus of the new body, which was called the National Union of Railwaymen. Whether as a recruiting agency or as a fighting organisation the new policy has achieved remarkable success. It is its very success which has led to its being attacked. For some time before the Trades Union Congress of 1915 the matter had been before the Joint Board, and that body had tried its utmost to prevent a collision and to produce a settlement. But the craft unions insisted on a total reversal of the policy before they would enter into any

negotiations. The last proposal of the Joint Board, which was eminently reasonable, but which was refused by the craft unions, read as follows :—

“That a joint committee of all the craft unions involved and the N.U.R. be set up, consisting of 14 members, seven to be appointed by either side, with an independent chairman, to prepare and report upon a scheme whereby the difference between the craft unions and the N.U.R. can be adjusted, and the methods of future organisation determined.”

As all the world now knows, the Trades Union Congress, by a narrow majority, upheld the contention of the craft unions, but the battle is only just beginning. The new policy will not be relinquished, although the N.U.R. is quite ready to meet the legitimate complaints of the craft unions and to enter into arrangements with a view to a reasonable settlement.

CRAFT VERSUS INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

BY FRED BRAMLEY

(National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association).

Having been called upon to state the case for the craft unions during a period of crisis in the Trade Union movement brought about by the cleavage in our ranks due to a difference of opinion on methods of organisation, I do so in the hope that this statement of the position and difficulties of the craft unions may go some way to bring about an intelligent understanding of the issue and a satisfactory settlement of the impending disputes between the conflicting elements of our organisations.

Arising out of past experience, and as a consequence of numerous examples of men employed in one section of industry being used during trade disputes to assist the employers to defeat their fellow Trade Unionists in another, we naturally witness a growing desire to put an end to any method of industrial organisation which makes it possible for the enemies of Labour to use one group of men to assist them in their attacks on another and the principles which it is the duty of all, irrespective of craft or trade, to defend.

The attempts made to end this danger have taken the form of passing resolutions at the Trades Union Congress calling upon the Parliamentary Committee to promote amalgamation wherever possible of all unions representing workers employed in the same industry. The interpretation placed upon these resolutions by the craft unions differs very considerably from the interpretation used in justification by such unions as the National Union of Railwaymen of a policy which by being applied has brought them into conflict with 25 of the principal craft unions, and a conflict which because of its dimensions is likely to prove an event of historic importance to the Trade Union movement.

The policy referred to as applied by and contained in the rules of the N.U.R. is that **any worker employed on or in connection with any railway is eligible for membership in their organisation.** The importance of this policy from the craft union point of view is not determined by the effect on craft unions due to its application by one union, however large, but is due to a serious consideration of its effect if applied and extended to other organisations which have as much right to claim all craftsmen employed in their respective industries as the N.U.R. The miners, the textile workers, the printing, clothing, and the shipping trades may make the same claim. A certain section of the building trades are already making the attempt, and find themselves in a state of war with every established union in the industry.

To understand the antagonism of the craft unions to this tendency it is necessary to realise its consequences. Take, for instance, the position of a joiner or a blacksmith. These men are employed in about 20 of the principal industries of the country. The universal adoption of the policy laid down by the N.U.R. would mean that the joiner or the blacksmith migrating from one industry to another would be expected during the period of his working career to become

a member of many unions, and for such short periods that the effective maintenance of craft conditions would be impossible, and the complete extermination of craft unions inevitable.

Closer union of forces in the Trade Union movement is desirable. Competition for the same class of membership should cease. More effective control during trade disputes of workers employed in the same industry must be established, but there is a vast difference between establishing one union for the metal trades, one union for the clothing trades, one union for the printing trades, one union for the woodworking trades, with the advantages such organisation would bring, and the policy which would lead to the skilled trades being broken up into small groups and attached to the industries alleged to be applying the principles of Industrial Unionism. It is perfectly true that craftsmen employed by a railway company or a colliery company may be used during a trade dispute against railway workers or miners. But it is also true that craftsmen may be employed during a trade dispute by any combination of employers, including railway companies, at the expense of a craft union engaged in an attempt to improve conditions. The necessity of control increases as the possibility of blacklegging extends, and there is far more danger of a joiner employed by a railway company being used to blackleg a fellow craftsman in dispute outside the railway industry than there is of a joiner employed by a railway company being used to blackleg an engine driver or a railway guard. **The necessity of control is determined far more by the kind of work you do than the firm you work for.** The contention of the craft unions is that an engineer, a joiner, or a blacksmith, whether he work for a railway company, a municipality, a colliery company, or a private contractor, should be employed at the same rates of wages and enjoy the same conditions of employment, and should also pay his fair share of cash and service to maintain those conditions. He can join the N.U.R. (he may be able to join other organisations later on) and be called upon to pay a contribution representing less than one-third the demand made by his craft union. He may also escape the necessity of obtaining the proper rate of wages, for the purpose of establishing which many years of sacrifice have been made by his fellow workmen. Or he may obtain the full rates and conditions as established by the craft union for the district. In the first case he would undercut his fellows, and in the second case he would profit at their expense, reap where he does not sow, and generally justify his position by a process of reasoning usually adopted by the non-unionist.

Space will not allow for the inclusion of Trades Congress resolutions dealing with this issue. The resolutions passed at different times have been freely quoted by both sides as a justification of opposing policies. Fortunately, Joint Board findings, as representing the carefully considered judgment of impartial experts on inquiries with reference to the Municipal Employees and the Small Arms Employees' Union, have been clearly on the side of the craft union policy. In the case of the Municipal Employees' dispute with the labourers' unions, the decision given after careful consideration at many conferences is as follows :—

"All unions which sought to separate workmen from the Trade Union organised for the phase of industry to which they belonged should be refused recognition by the Trades Union

Congress, the General Federation of Trade Unions, and the Labour Party."—Joint Board report to Sheffield Congress, 1910.

At the forthcoming Congress at Bristol another decision will be sought by a resolution aimed directly at the N.U.R. policy. The craft unions to a much greater extent than ever before are fully alive to the issue. It is probable that the problem raised will require all the statesmanship and judgment of Trade Union leaders to find a solution necessary to avoid an unfortunate split in the ranks of Trade Unionism. Those of us who view with some concern the application of any policy which is not only dangerous to craft conditions of employment, but also which, in our opinion, would be against the best interests of working-class movements generally, are prepared to concede any point short of accepting a policy leading to the extermination of the unions we represent.

NATIONAL GUILDS.

By G. D. H. COLE

(Executive Member of the National Guilds League).

The Labour movement to-day, both in the political and in the industrial sphere, exists and claims allegiance as a protest against the economic system. The class struggle which it incarnates is justified as a criticism of the unequal division of freedom, responsibility, and wealth between the capitalist and the wage-earning classes. It must seek to abolish the wage system, or it is nothing. Under the wage system, labour is bought and sold as an article of commerce; the worker, without economic resource other than his Trade Union to aid him in the bargaining, must sell himself to the highest bidder or else starve. He is treated not as a human being, but as a commodity, and his wages depend upon the higgling of a market in which all the scales are weighted against him.

This system all Socialists and all true Labour men seek to abolish; but there are wide differences both in the methods they propose and in the ends they have in view. For many years the workers, through their political and industrial organisations alike, have sought a remedy in the nationalisation of industry and the capture of the Parliamentary machine. They have supposed that, given a democratic State and State ownership of industry, the wage system will be abolished and the freedom of the workers secured. They have thought this because they have fixed their minds too exclusively on the distribution of wealth. The horrors of poverty, the wrongs of the worker as a consumer, they have fully realised; but they have failed to see the other aspect of the problem—the tyranny in the workshop, the despotic administration from above, to which the worker is subject as a producer. They have been mindful of poverty, but they have forgotten industrial slavery, or, if they have remembered it, they have not seen the solution of the problem to which it points.

Trade Unionism has always been recognised as a means not only of raising wages, but also of mitigating tyranny in the factory. It has been used for this purpose both against the private capitalist and where the State or the municipality controls a service. The postal associations and the tramway workers have found no less cause for protest against the tyranny of their employers than the engineers or the railwaymen: the co-operative employees, who live under a "democratic" system, would have had no freedom but for the efforts of their unions.

Under every system of management Trade Unions are thwarted in their efforts after freedom, because the actual control is in the hands of others, of outsiders. They can only criticise the conduct of industry; they cannot themselves control it. National Guildsmen believe that the actual management of industry should be in the hands of the workers themselves; that in every industry the whole personnel engaged, including both brain-workers and manual workers, should organise and direct production. If democracy is good in the State and in local government, it is good, they hold, in industry also. Indeed, only on industrial democracy can a truly democratic society

be built. They declare, then, for the control of production by the producers.

At the same time, they recognise that the consumers, those who buy and use commodities and services, have rights and functions in industry. The State, as the representative of the organised consumers, cannot surrender the whole control of industry to the producers. It must safeguard the community against exploitation; it must keep a control over prices. Leaving the normal conduct of industry to the producers, it must keep the right to interfere. There must be, between producers and consumers, a balance of power.

This system is called the system of National Guilds. Under it, the management of each industry would be in the hands of a National Guild, including all workers in the industry. All the Guilds would be linked up in a Guild Congress representing the whole body of producers. Each Guild would administer its own internal affairs and matters of common interest would be discussed and settled by the Guild Congress. Where the consumers were concerned there would be discussion between the Guild concerned and the State, or, in matters of common concern and in cases of disagreement, between the Guild Congress and the State. In these discussions each party would have its economic power behind it; the Guilds would be in possession of the **management** of industry, the State would be the **owner** of the means of production. Guildsmen advocate State ownership and Guild management of industry, and they urge that the national revenue should be raised mainly by a tax on the Guilds. This tax would be the consumer's chief weapon against exploitation.

If this ideal is accepted, it remains to suggest how it can be reached. The answer is that the Guilds must come, through Industrial Unionism, out of the Trade Unions of to-day. The Guild system can only be realised if the unions make it their first object to secure the control of industry. The change must be gradual, but the first steps can be taken, and are being taken, in the Trade Union world to-day. Capitalistic industry is breaking down, and if the Trade Unions use their chance they may secure, here and now, a first instalment of that control which alone can bring them industrial freedom.

[The objects set forth above are the objects of the **National Guilds League**, a propagandist body which aims at "the abolition of the wage system and the establishment of Self-Government in Industry through a system of National Guilds working in conjunction with the State." Further information can be obtained from the Secretary, 16, Grosvenor Road, London, S.W., or through the publications of the League, "National Guilds" (the Victoria House Printing and Publishing Company), (1d.), etc.]

STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS.

The year 1914 falls into two parts. The period of seven months up to the outbreak of war belongs properly to that series of years from 1911 onwards which is marked by a prevalence of strikes and lock-outs frequently called Industrial Unrest. The five months after the war are marked by that ready settlement of differences which has been called the Industrial Truce. During the first seven months of 1914 there were 836 disputes affecting 423,000 workers; in the last five months there were only 137 disputes, affecting 23,000 workers. Even with this declension in the latter months of 1914 the number of strikes—973—has only once been exceeded in the past 21 years. From January to August, 1915, there were 468 disputes affecting 370,867 workers, with an aggregate duration of 2,438,400 days (of which nearly 1,500,000 were in the coalmining industry).

The following table summarises by industries the figures for 1913 and 1914 respectively:—

Groups trades.	1913.			1914.		
	No. of disputes beginning.	Number of work-people involved.	Aggregate duration in working days of all disputes in progress.	No. of disputes beginning.	Number of work-people involved.	Aggregate duration in working days of all disputes in progress.
Building	198	40,002	823,829	176	37,838	3,210,200
Coal mining	163	203,245	1,297,814	151	271,683	3,737,500
Other mining and quarrying	29	10,833	357,770	19	1,374	62,500
Engineering	173	52,666	1,095,264	87	19,225	923,100
Shipbuilding	122	27,247	149,895	87	16,958	123,200
Other metal	97	72,776	1,742,536	53	14,040	291,500
Textile	243	93,510	2,028,200	95	21,853	725,100
Clothing	75	15,227	173,910	46	3,980	58,900
Transport	123	86,225	1,245,092	55	13,642	94,500
Other trades and employés of public authorities ..	273	67,194	1,016,422	204	45,612	678,200
General dispute*..	1	20,000	1,700,000	*	*	200,000
Total.....	1,497	688,925	11,630,732	973	446,205	10,104,700

* This relates to the dispute at Dublin which began in August, 1913, and ended in February, 1914, affecting a large number of different trades.

The steady increase for the last ten years of the number of disputes, of the numbers of workers involved, and of the aggregate duration of disputes, is shown by the following table. It is to be noted the large figures for 1912 are chiefly caused by the great coal strike of that year, which alone accounted for 1,000,000 workers and 30,000,000 working days.

Year.	Number of disputes beginning in each year.	Number of workpeople involved in disputes beginning in each year.	Aggregate duration in working days in each year.
1904	355	87,208	1,484,220
1905	358	93,503	2,470,189
1906	486	217,773	3,028,816
1907	601	147,498	2,162,151
1908	399	295,507	10,834,189
1909	436	300,819	2,773,986
1910	531	515,165	9,894,831
1911	903	961,980	10,319,591
1912	857	1,463,281	40,914,675
1913	1,497	688,925	11,630,732
1914	973	446,205	10,104,700

CAUSES OF DISPUTE.

The causes of disputes are, in the main, of two kinds : those which arise from questions of Trade Union principles, together with disputes about the employment of particular classes or persons or about working arrangements, rules, and discipline, and those which arise from wages and hours. The table on the opposite page gives the figures for causes of disputes for the last ten years.

RESULTS OF DISPUTES.

The following table shows for a period of ten years the proportion of workers directly involved in disputes which were successful, unsuccessful, and partially successful :—

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WORKPEOPLE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN DISPUTES, THE RESULTS OF WHICH WERE :—

Year.	In favour of workpeople.		In favour of employers.		Compromised or partially successful.		Indefinite or unsettled.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.
1904..	15,413	27.3	23,500	41.7	17,441	30.9	26	0.1
1905..	16,702	24.3	23,029	34.0	27,894	41.2	28	0.1
1906..	67,159	42.5	38,667	24.5	52,018	33.0	28	0.0
1907..	32,883	32.7	27,483	27.3	40,362	40.0	—	—
1908..	19,475	8.7	57,606	25.7	146,888	65.6	—	—
1909..	19,123	11.2	37,994	22.3	113,141	66.5	—	—
1910..	62,640	16.3	53,375	13.8	268,307	69.7	763	0.2
1911..	54,705	6.6	76,916	9.3	699,483	84.1	—	—
1912..	918,171	74.5	177,281	14.4	137,564	11.1	—	—
1913..	162,012	31.4	108,547	21.0	245,478	47.6	—	—

Principal Cause.	Number of Workpeople Directly Involved in Disputes Beginning in									
	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.
Trade Union principles	7,925	9,377	50,750	16,439	12,218	12,935	32,777	327,588	120,924	120,470
Employment of particular classes or persons	6,081	6,408	4,734	13,699	11,078	13,492	114,793	32,639	34,985	53,714
Working arrangements, rules, and discipline	7,601	5,546	6,536	11,802	12,467	8,892	62,207	68,009	42,068	20,159
Wages	32,783	38,737	87,333	56,058	175,889	42,028	76,474	383,215	170,420	283,146
For a minimum wage*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	850,000	—
Hours of labour	1,970	3,145	7,086	2,080	8,377	87,367	91,927	13,161	8,961	13,688
Other causes.. ..	20	4,440	833	650	3,940	5,544	6,907	6,492	5,658	24,860
Grand total	56,380	67,653	157,972	100,728	223,969	170,258	385,085	831,104	1,233,016	516,037

* This relates to the general strike of coal miners in Great Britain for the adoption of the principle of an individual district minimum wage for all underground workers.

It is to be noted that there is a general tendency for disputes to be settled by compromise, and this irrespective of whether the years were of good or of bad employment. In years of good employment, like 1906, 1907, and 1913, the proportion of successful disputes is high; in years of bad employment, like 1904, 1908, and 1909, the proportion is low. The year 1912 is quite exceptional owing to the large number of people involved in the national coal strike.

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CHANGES IN RATES OF WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOUR.

CHANGES IN RATES OF WAGES.

It is necessary to state by way of introduction that the following figures do not profess to indicate the definite monetary value of the difference between the amounts actually paid in wages in any two years. It is not possible to do more than to tabulate those cases where specific changes were reported to the Board of Trade in the rate of wages paid for any particular occupation. The reader, therefore, will do well to bear the following points in mind :—

There is a real distinction between rates of wages—which alone are dealt with here—and earnings. In a year of bad employment, for instance, the total of actual earnings is considerably below the total of a year of good or average employment, yet the rates of wages for the two years are not necessarily different. In the same way earnings vary very greatly in the so-called “seasonal” trades (such as the building trades, with their different working hours in summer and winter), but unless the usual rate of wages is altered and there is some specific change in the recognised terms of employment these variations are not recorded below. On the same principle, changes in wages due to promotions or progressive increments under a fixed scale are not included.

It follows, therefore, that the chief value of the following tables is as a guide to the general tendency of wages as compared with the cost of living

CHANGES IN RATES OF WAGES IN 1913 AND 1914.

The following figures do not include agricultural labourers, seamen, or railway servants, the figures for whose trades are given separately. In the figures for 1914 police and Government employees are not included.

During the greater part of 1913 the upward movement in wages, which began in 1910, continued at an increased rate, and, though there was a falling-off in the last few months, the total net increase for the year has only twice been exceeded in the last two decades, viz., in 1900 and in 1907. For the first seven months of 1914 the upward tendency of wages continued, though there was a downward movement in the mining, pig-iron, and iron and steel industries, in which last wages vary under a sliding scale in accordance with the fluctuations in the selling price of the product. The outbreak of war, however, checked both the upward and the downward movements, and the net change in weekly wages for the year was one of the smallest ever recorded. At the end of July two months had shown a decrease, and five an increase; from August to the end of the year there were four months of increase and one of decrease.

The total number of workpeople reported to the Board of Trade as affected by changes in the rate of wages was 1,906,878 in 1913 and 834,240 in 1914. The number affected in 1913 was greater than in any previous year, amounting to 19.1 per cent. of the industrial population; the great decrease in the numbers affected in 1914 is due partly to the fact that no general changes occurred in the wages of miners in some

of the more important coalfields, and partly to the falling off in the number of changes reported after the outbreak of the war.

In 1913 1,868,086 workers received net increases amounting to £180,462 per week, and 35,727 sustained net decreases amounting to £1,751 per week; the net weekly advance of £178,711 is equivalent to an increase in wages to each of the workers affected of 1s. 10½d. per week. In 1914 407,230 workers gained a net weekly increase of £40,210, while 404,960 suffered a net decrease of £35,148 per week, 22,050 workpeople (as compared with 3,065 in 1913) sustained upward and downward changes which eventually left their wages unaltered, and the 834,240 whose wages were affected in this year secured a net weekly increase of £5,062, less than 1½d. each.

Groups of trades.	Number of workpeople* whose rates of wages were reported as changed in		Net amount of increase (+) or decrease (—) in the weekly wages of those affected, as compared with the preceding year.*	
	1913.	1914.	1913. £	1914. £
Coal mining	978,724	349,383	+ 102,175	— 26,785.
Iron, etc., mining	21,717	20,591	+ 2,004	— 2,135
Quarrying	15,717	11,944	+ 1,184	+ 1,040†
Pig iron manufacture	18,001	18,047	+ 81	— 1,438
Iron and steel manufacture ..	56,621	48,834	+ 1,854	— 3,475
Total for trades in which wages declined in 1914 ..	1,090,780	448,799	+ 107,298	— 32,793
Building	189,871	128,595	+ 23,165	+ 12,921
Engineering and shipbuilding.	224,832	106,668	+ 13,521	+ 9,594
Other metal trades	38,197	23,885	+ 3,755	+ 1,471
Textile trades	143,351	21,223	+ 9,640	+ 1,288
Clothing trades	19,810	5,591	+ 2,709	+ 614
Transport trades	49,236	23,886	+ 5,329	+ 4,843
Printing, etc., trades	12,782	17,651	+ 1,009	+ 1,417
Glass, etc., trades	25,007	13,653	+ 2,012	+ 1,046
Other trades	40,927	26,158	+ 4,439	+ 3,097
Employees of local authorities	33,198	18,131	+ 2,603	+ 1,564
Total for trades in which wages rose in 1914	777,211	385,441	+ 68,182	+ 37,855
Grand total	1,867,991	834,240	+ 175,480	+ 5,062

* Exclusive of seamen, railway servants, agricultural labourers, police, and Government employees.

† The net increase in 1914 was due to one large change in Cornwall affecting clay workers. The wages of limestone quarrymen declined in the principal districts.

In the beginning of 1915 the increase in prices had caused a sensible change in the purchasing power of every worker's income. A movement for higher wages began under unusual conditions. Only labourers could add strength to the national arms, and there was a shortage of labour in the workshop and battlefield. The rise in the cost of living had been officially chronicled and the Government's

impotence announced. On the other hand, the existence of exceptional profits due to the state of war admitted. The simple justice of the claim for some compensation for the higher prices would have gone unrecognised in normal times. But public opinion had now perforce to put a new valuation on labour power, and in the bargaining between employer and employed the worker had the best of the pull. Unprecedented increases in wages were obtained literally "at the point of the bayonet." Whether these gains can be regarded as steps in permanent working-class progress depends on the ability of the worker to retain them in periods of falling prices. The effort to withdraw them in a labour market flooded with discharged soldiers will be the beginning of the social unrest which all anticipate and few plan to prevent.

Groups of trades.	Estimated number of workpeople affected.	Estimated weekly increase in rates of wages.
Trades in which the estimated numbers affected are reported to the Board of Trade—		
Building trades	110,000	£ 11,000
Coal mining	870,000	223,000
Other mining and quarrying	32,000	6,700
Pig iron and iron and steel manufacture	123,000	23,000
Engineering and shipbuilding.....	624,000	108,400
Other metal trades	79,000	11,300
Textile trades	414,000	33,000
Clothing trades	91,000	8,300
Transport trades	142,000	28,400
Printing and paper trades	22,000	2,100
Glass, brick, chemical, pottery, etc., trades..	102,000	9,700
Employees of Local Authorities.....	96,000	9,600
Other trades	141,000	19,300
Total of above	2,846,000	493,800
Trades in which the numbers affected are estimated—		
Railway servants, seamen, agricultural labourers, police, and Government employees	1,600,000	270,000
Grand total	4,446,000	763,800

Out of the total of 1,906,878 workpeople affected in 1913, 63,986 (3.4 per cent.) had wages changed under sliding scales, 1,070,577 (56.1 per cent.) by conciliation, arbitration, or mediation, and 772,315 (40.5 per cent.) by direct negotiation.

The changes under sliding scales were almost confined to workpeople engaged in the manufacture of pig-iron, iron, and steel. Of those whose wages were changed by conciliation, arbitration, or mediation over 900,000 were in the coal-mining industry.

IRON AND STEEL MANUFACTURE.

1904	25,340	24,759	152	9,846	60,097	..	..
1905	34,651	22,513	..	6,672	63,836	..	..
1906	62,576	..	..	9,851	72,427	..	..
1907	61,825	..	..	7,451	69,276	..	..
1908	62,090	..	..	6,738	68,828	131	1,745
1909	37,475	..	..	3,680	41,155	..	..
1910	38,425	280	..	5,161	43,866	..	..
1911	52,725	..	6	3,553	56,284	3,271	3,271
1912	61,834	..	..	10,003	71,837	976	976
1913	61,983	..	..	11,432	73,415	1,098	1,207
						109	

ENGINEERING AND SHIPBUILDING.

1904	..	..	39,489	30,489	..	..	605
1905	..	..	44,224	46,174	..	..	1,945
1906	..	9	147,039	149,298	522	..	2,863
1907	..	..	44,579	46,579	38	..	2,280
1908	..	250	84,631	89,931	12,030	..	13,531
1909	..	..	44,347	48,347	..	..	625
1910	..	..	49,639	51,239	..	..	75
1911	..	300	145,252	184,022	1,350	..	25,462
1912	..	..	134,814	181,814	850	1,172	8,890
1913	..	110	159,769	212,958	1,093	..	11,874

TEXTILE TRADES.

1904	..	..	2,526	2,526	..	..	1,413	1,413
1905	..	..	224,112	311,112	..	..	325	325
1906	..	..	353,021	353,021	..	1,164	48,092	49,476
1907	..	..	246,823	246,823	..	1,095	4,045	5,140
1908	..	..	11,657	11,657	..	47	1,009	1,103
1909	..	350	5,552	5,902	..	..	150,238	150,298
1910	..	640	19,707	20,347	..	..	8,873	8,873
1911	..	245	15,218	15,463	..	438	3,330	3,888
1912	..	1,000	315,560	316,560	..	2,164	21,923	24,945
1913	..	..	124,595	124,595	..	548	18,208	18,756

TWENTY YEARS' COMPARISON.

In the following table the number of workpeople affected by changes in the rates of wages is given for each year since 1894, together with the net amount of the weekly change in each year. The wages of agricultural labourers, seamen, and railway servants are not included, nor, in the figures for 1914, are those of police and Government employees. It will be noticed that periods of rising wages correspond fairly closely with years of good employment, also that in 21 years the net weekly advance in the occupations covered by this table (industries in which, roughly, 10,000,000 workpeople are employed) has been one of less than £650,000 :—

Year.	Net increase or decrease in rates of wages per week.				Mean percentage of Trade Union members unemployed.	
	Years of falling wages.		Years of rising wages.		Years of bad or declining employment.	Years of good or improving employment.
	Number affected.	Amount of decrease per week.	Number affected.	Amount of increase per week.		
		£		£		
1894* ..	670,386	45,092	—	—	6.9	—
1895* ..	436,718	28,125	—	—	5.8	—
1896 ..	—	—	607,654	26,519	—	3.3
1897 ..	—	—	597,444	31,508	—	3.3
1898 ..	—	—	1,015,169	80,713	—	2.8
1899 ..	—	—	1,175,576	90,313	—	2.0
1900 ..	—	—	1,135,786	208,588	—	2.5
1901 ..	932,126	76,588	—	—	3.3	—
1902 ..	887,206	72,595	—	—	4.0	—
1903 ..	896,598	38,327	—	—	4.7	—
1904 ..	800,658	39,230	—	—	6.0	—
1905 ..	688,889	2,169	—	—	5.0	—
1906 ..	—	—	1,115,160	57,897	—	3.6
1907 ..	—	—	1,246,464	200,912	—	3.7
1908 ..	963,333	59,171	—	—	7.8	—
1909 ..	1,154,796	68,922	—	—	7.7	—
1910 ..	—	—	548,938	14,534	—	4.7
1911 ..	—	—	916,366	34,578	—	3.0
1912 ..	—	—	1,818,240	139,404†	—	3.2†
1913 ..	—	—	1,906,878	178,711†	—	2.1
1914 ..	—	—	834,240	5,062	—	3.3

Net weekly advance £638,520.

* In these years the fall in wages was almost confined to the coal mining industry.

† Exclusive of any changes in wages resulting from the Awards under the Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Act, and from the Minimum Wage Regulations under the Trade Boards Act.

‡ Omitting March, which was seriously affected by the coal strike, the percentage was 2.5.

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

The figures given below are exclusive of piecework earnings, extra payments for hay and corn harvests, overtime, etc., and all allowances in kind.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

After being practically stationary for many years the wages of agricultural labourers began to increase in 1912, largely owing to greater activity on the part of the agricultural Trade Unions. A net weekly increase of £5,291 in 1912 was followed by one of £9,964 in 1913 and one of £19,337 in 1914. It is worthy of mention that the total of the increases of the ten previous years was less than the increase of 1914.

In 1914—for the first time since 1900—no decreases in wages were reported to the Board of Trade, while the wages of 242,047 persons were raised. The numbers of those who obtained increases in 1912 and 1913 were 102,602 and 182,040 respectively, while 1,846 and 641 suffered decreases in these years.

Most counties shared in the general upward movement of wages. In Cumberland, Westmorland, the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire, Leicestershire, Derbyshire, Gloucestershire, Shropshire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, Berkshire, Denbighshire, and Montgomeryshire over 75 per cent. of the total number of labourers were affected by advances in cash wages in 1914.

Until 1914 the usual amount of change in wages was between 6d. and 1s. per week; in 1913 over 65 per cent. of the increases recorded were of this nature. In 1914 the advances were slightly larger; even in this year, however, over 46 per cent. of the workers affected received increases of 1s. or less per week.

The outbreak of the war did not check the upward movement in wages. Increases continue to be reported from most counties; in some cases the advances amount to 4s. per week. The scarcity of agricultural labour has been intensified by enlistment, and, in spite of attempts to keep down wages by the increased employment of women and of children of school age, the rise in wages should continue until at least the end of the war.

That there is ample necessity for increased wages may be gathered from the following average county rates obtaining in August, 1914, which were supplied by the officials of the Agricultural Labourers' Union. The figures relate only to certain English and Welsh counties in which this union has members:—

s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Buckinghamshire 16 0	Gloucestershire .. 14 7	Norfolk 15 0
Bedfordshire 15 0	Hampshire 15 0	Oxfordshire 12 6
Brecknockshire.. 18 8	Huntingdonshire. 15 0	Staffordshire.... 16 6
Berkshire 15 0	Kent 18 0	Suffolk 14 0
Cheshire 18 2	Lincolnshire 16 6	Somersetshire .. 14 6
Cambridgeshire.. 14 6	Lancashire 22 3	Shropshire 15 9
Dorsetshire 13 7	Middlesex 19 0	Worcestershire .. 15 8
Essex 15 0	Nottinghamshire . 16 7	Wiltshire 14 0
Flintshire 18 0	Northamptonshire 15 9	Yorkshire 20 0

CHANGES IN RATES OF WAGES OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1904-1914.

Year.	Estimated number of agricultural labourers affected by changes in wages.	Estimated number of agricultural labourers whose wages were changed by				Computed amount of change in weekly cash wages, comparing each year with the previous year.
		6d. and under per week.	Over 6d. and up to 1s. per week.	Over 1s. and up to 2s. per week.	Over 2s. per week.	
INCREASES.						
1904	23,779	4,437	17,779	1,563	—	£ 1,032
1905	6,659	1,531	4,752	376	—	581
1906	14,758	—	12,944	1,814	—	252
1907	14,971	8,755	5,342	874	—	704
1908	40,134	15,612	20,431	4,091	—	479
1909	29,244	17,213	9,644	2,387	—	1,411
1910	15,431	5,839	5,355	3,733	524	747
1911	25,427	5,241	16,592	3,594	—	794
1912	102,602	25,760	52,751	21,681	2,410	1,214
1913	182,040	21,688	118,581	38,117	3,654	5,383
1914	242,047	12,478	99,681	97,737	32,151	9,996
						19,337
DECREASES.						
1904	9,569	1,814	6,449	1,306	—	£ 451
1905	12,438	3,000	9,438	—	—	442
1906	8,744	1,911	6,833	—	—	322
1907	3,439	1,216	2,223	—	—	103
1908	13,780	4,919	3,567	5,080	214	684
1909	19,772	11,890	7,748	134	—	451
1910	271	—	97	174	—	22
1911	4,360	1,064	1,638	1,658	—	270
1912	1,846	—	1,846	—	—	92
1913	641	—	641	—	—	32
1914	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Gross change.				Net change.

SCOTLAND.

Farm servants in Scotland are still to a large extent engaged at the hiring fairs, which are held every six—or, in some cases, twelve—months. Wages are consequently fixed in the spring and autumn of each year.

Wages began to rise in the spring of 1913, and, with a few exceptions at the autumn hirings of that year, the tendency towards higher wages continued in 1913 and 1914. The rise is generally attributed to a scarcity of labour caused by emigration and accentuated in the autumn of 1914 by army recruiting. The scarcity of female labour continued, and women's wages rose in many counties.

The increases were smaller in the south than in the north. In 1913 they ranged from £1 to £3 a year (4½d. to 1s. 1½d. per week); in 1914 increases of from £1 to £3 for the half-year were obtained at the spring and autumn hirings.

In May, 1915, as compared with a year ago, wages rose considerably. In the north increases were made ranging from £1 to £6 per half-year. In the south wages rose by 2s. to 3s. per week.

IRELAND.

The upward movement in wages, which has been noticeable in Ireland for some years, continued in 1913 and 1914 as a result of the increasing scarcity of labour and the rise in the cost of living. The advances in both years were fairly evenly distributed among the various counties, though there were comparatively fewer changes in Leinster than in the other provinces. The increases usually ranged from about 1s. to 2s. per week in the case of men paid by the week; in the case of men paid by the year the amounts varied from £1 to £2 per annum in 1913 and from £1 to £3 in 1914, though in the latter year a few increases of £4 and £5 were obtained.

In the case of Scotland and Ireland material is lacking for a table similar to that given for England and Wales.

SEAMEN.

STEAMSHIPS.

Early in 1913 a general advance of 10s. per month was granted to seamen, firemen, and trimmers at the principal ports of the United Kingdom. This, together with the levelling up of rates at certain ports to the new predominant rates, accounts for the increase in average monthly rates of 11s. 1d. for able seamen and of 10s. 3d. for firemen and trimmers.

During the last three years wages have risen by nearly 30 per cent.

SAILING VESSELS.

In 1913 the average monthly rates of wages were higher than in 1910 by 24s. 4d.—a rise of 40 per cent.

RAILWAY SERVANTS.

As a rule the remuneration of railway servants is regulated by graduated scales of pay. At the same time continual alterations take place in the nature and amount of work to be done by individuals, and thus it is difficult to state the number of persons whose rates of pay for the same work were changed during 1913.

Therefore, the figures of changes in the wages of railwaymen given below take into account actual earnings rather than rates of wages, and do not show the number of workpeople affected by changes during the year.

NUMBER OF RAILWAY SERVANTS* EMPLOYED BY 27 OF THE PRINCIPAL RAILWAY COMPANIES, TOGETHER WITH THE AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS PER HEAD IN THE FIRST WEEK IN DECEMBER IN EACH YEAR.

Year.	England and Wales.		Scotland.		Ireland.		United Kingdom.	
	Number employed.	Average weekly earnings per head.	Number employed.	Average weekly earnings per head.	Number employed.	Average weekly earnings per head.	Number employed.	Average weekly earnings per head.
		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.
1904	380,610	25 7	45,836	23 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	19,751	19 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	446,197	25 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1905	384,321	25 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	46,071	23 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	19,531	19 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	449,923	25 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1906	391,661	25 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	47,044	23 3	19,874	19 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	458,579	25 5
1907	412,804	26 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	47,040	23 4	19,470	19 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	479,314	25 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
1908	395,271	25 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	45,442	22 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	19,040	19 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	459,753	25 0
1909	394,928	25 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	45,671	23 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	19,369	19 11	459,968	25 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1910	397,715	26 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	46,606	23 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	19,199	20 7	463,520	25 9
1911	405,651	27 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	47,125	23 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	20,392	20 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	473,168	26 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1912	415,197	28 0	47,499	24 4	20,209	20 9	482,905	27 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1913	421,925	28 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	47,741	25 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	20,406	22 0	490,072	27 11 $\frac{1}{2}$

* Exclusive of clerical staff, salaried officers, and persons casually employed for less than three days during the week.

It will be noticed that the increase for 1913 amounted to 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in England and Wales, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in Scotland, and 1s. 3d. in Ireland.

Under an agreement arrived at in October, 1915, the war bonus paid by the railway companies under then existing agreements was increased as shown below :—

	Present War Bonus. s. d.	Revised War Bonus s. d.
Employees 18 years of age or upwards, whose standard rate of wage is 30s. per week or more ..	2 0	5 0
Employees 18 years of age or upwards, whose standard rate of wage is under 30s. per week ..	3 0	5 0

	Present War Bonus. s. d.	Revised War Bonus. s. d.
Employees under 18 years of age, except boys engaged since January 1st, 1915, at rates of pay which exceed by 2s. 6d. or more the rates usually paid to boys in positions similar to those in which such newly engaged boys are working	1 6	2 6

The first payment of the revised bonus to be in respect of the week ending October 23rd, 1915, and the agreement to remain in force until notice shall have been received from the Government determining the present control agreement, and thereafter shall be subject to determination in one month's notice on either side.

CHANGES IN HOURS OF LABOUR IN 1913 AND 1914.

A slight decrease in the hours of labour has been in progress for over 20 years, affecting, in the main, only the well organised trades. In 1913, of 154,618 workpeople affected by changes of this nature, 7,665 had their aggregate working time increased and 146,953 had it reduced; there was a net reduction of 377,673 hours in their weekly working time. In 1914 79,135 workpeople were affected; of these 78,689 had their working hours reduced. The net amount of the aggregate weekly reduction was 262,153 hours, or an average reduction of about three hours and 20 minutes per week for each of the workers affected.

In 1913 the changes were effected in 31,096 cases (20 per cent.) by arbitration, conciliation, or mediation; the remainder were arranged by direct negotiation. The changes were preceded in the case of 33,625 workpeople by stoppages of work.

CHANGES IN THE HOURS OF LABOUR, 1904-1914.

Year.	Number of changes.	Total number of workpeople affected by			Net amount in hours of decrease per week.
		Increases.	Decreases.	All changes.	
1904 ..	71	774	16,018	16,792	24,599
1905 ..	76	5,806	90,179	95,985	65,265
1906 ..	86	1,985	52,969	54,954	98,892
1907 ..	87	841	35,366	36,207	78,975
1908 ..	75	3,349	23,192	26,541	38,423
1909 ..	85	3,212	559,679	562,891	2,392,322
1910 ..	82	8,006	19,360	27,366	47,575
1911 ..	119	4,351	151,056	155,407	715,459
1912 ..	192	1,013	104,304	105,317	210,556
1913 ..	416	7,665	146,953	154,618	378,009
1914 ..	*	446	78,689	79,135	262,153

* Figures not yet available.

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THE COST OF LIVING.

By JOHN A. HOBSON.

From 1873 to 1895 a considerable and fairly continuous fall of wholesale and of retail prices took place in this country. From 1896 up to the outbreak of the war a considerable though less regular rise of prices had been taking place. The causes of the rise of prices, affecting in particular raw materials and foods, are somewhat obscure. The immediate cause of a rise of prices is a decline in the rate of output and supply of goods as compared with the rate of effective demand or purchasing power. During the period in question the supply of money, or purchasing power, was evidently growing faster than the supply of goods. This increased rate of the production of money is partly attributable to the growth in the output of the world supply of gold to which the development of the South African mines formed a chief contributor. But most buying and selling is no longer due to gold. The development of the banking system and of the sorts of money which banks manufacture under the name of credit is a much more important factor. Though gold is needed to support this great fabric of credit, it is the growth of this latter, and the rapid increase of joint stock companies with stocks and shares which become instruments of credit, that are chiefly accountable for the enlarged supply of money.

The output of foods, raw materials, and goods in general had, of course, been increasing during this same period, but not so rapidly as the supply of money. This failure of goods to grow as fast as money is partly due to the immense amount of capital and productive energy which, during these years, has flowed into the work of railroad-making and other developments of new countries in South America, Canada, and elsewhere. This development will eventually cause an immense expansion of the supplies of foods and materials for the world markets. But these fruits are not yet fully realisable, and the interim effect is to depress the rate of increase of consumable goods. Add to this the large destruction of consumable wealth and of capital during the South African, the Russo-Japanese, and the Balkan wars, and the diversion of a large and growing percentage of the increase of almost every great industrial country into expenditure in armaments, and the retarded growth of the world supplies of foods and materials seems intelligible. But whatever be the explanation, about the facts there is no question. In considering the bearing of these facts upon the cost of living of the working classes, we are concerned, of course, chiefly with the retail prices of foods, coal, and other articles which they consume. From 1896 onwards most of the principal articles of working-class diet, the prime necessities of life, have advanced considerably in price, especially since 1905. A table published by the Board of Trade in 1913 showed that in London the three groups of foods (1) bread, flour, cereals, and potatoes, (2) meat, (3) dairy produce, had all advanced over 35 per cent. The only group showing a slower rise, i.e., 10 per cent., was that including tea, coffee, and cocoa. When the figures are "weighted," in accordance with the importance they bear in the expenditure of working-class families of various

incomes and in various districts, the advance in price of retail food works out as follows :—

1896.	1898.	1900.	1902.	1904.	1906.	1908.	1910.	1912.	1913.	1914.
91.7	99.5	100	101.0	102.4	102	107.5	109.4	114.5	114.8	116.8

There is a rise amounting to about 27 per cent. between 1896 and 1914. During the same period the price of coal in London moved upwards nearly as fast, rising from an average figure of 68.2 in 1896 for various qualities of coal up to 90.7 in 1914. The statistics of other towns conform tolerably closely to the London movement. The average price of a quartern loaf at the co-operative stores in various districts of England, Wales, and Scotland shows pretty regular advance during the first twelve years of this century from 4.99d. in 1900 to 6.06 in 1914.

Working-class rents have not shown a similar advance. Between 1905 and 1912 the rise of rents in London and the large cities works out at less than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and though in the group of towns with between 100,000 and 250,000 inhabitants there are instances of a large increase, as, for instance, in Coventry and Preston, the group, as a whole, gives a rise of 3.7 per cent., while the smaller towns show a lower rate of rise.

A very interesting table in this return presents the combined result of rents and retail prices for food and coal, comparing the various districts of the country :—

Geographical group.	Number of towns included.	Means of index numbers for towns in group.		
		Rents.	Retail prices.	Rents and retail prices combined.
London area—Middle zone ..	1	100	100	100
Inner zone....		116	99	102
Outer zone....		87	100	97
Northern counties and Cleveland	9	66.0	98.0	91.6
Yorkshire (except Cleveland) ..	10	58.5	96.0	88.5
Lancashire and Cheshire	17	56.9	95.1	87.5
Midlands	14	52.3	94.2	85.8
Eastern and East Midland counties	7	53.4	97.7	88.8
Southern counties	10	63.7	99.5	92.3
Wales and Monmouth	4	64.8	98.5	91.8
Scotland	10	62.0	102.6	94.5
Ireland	6	51.7	99.8	90.2

It must always be borne in mind that the prices of food, coal, and housing form a larger part of the expenditure of the poorer than of the better-to-do classes, and that this applies within the various working-class grades of income. The poorest suffer most from any rise of food prices, not merely because they live at the narrowest

margin above starvation, but because a larger share of every sovereign they spend goes in buying the articles whose price has risen most.

The figures I have given are pre-war figures. The damage done by the war prices, following the earlier increases, is measured thus by figures worked out by the Board of Trade for 1895-1912, with additions for 1914 and 1915 (March) made by the Fabian tract, "Facts for Socialists."

A sovereign was worth—

	s.	d.		s.	d.
1895	20	0	1905	17	11
1896	20	0	1906	18	0
1897	19	3	1907	17	7
1898	18	6	1908	17	2
1899	19	4	1909	17	3
1900	18	5	1910	16	11
1901	18	4	1911	17	0
1902	18	3	1912	16	3
1903	17	11	1914	14	7
1904	18	0	1915	11	10

Since the calculation for March, 1915, was made, prices have risen a good deal more, amounting in July, 1915, to 35 per cent. rise for food in large towns and 30 per cent. in the small towns, and there is every likelihood that a still higher level will prevail if the war drags on. For the increasing removal of workers from work of production to work of destruction diminishes supplies of food and other wealth, while the policy of inflating the currency, to which every Government is driven, increases the supply of money. The immense extra drain upon the supplies of food and coal and many other articles in this country for the consumption of the fighting forces, while the production of these goods within this country and their importation from abroad are curtailed, must continue to make the cost of living higher for our people.

The further increase of recruiting to enlarge the fighting forces and to make good the "wastage" increases the consumption while it diminishes the productive power of the nation available for supplying the needs of the civil population. Thus every further combination of the war must come home to the workers in further rises of the cost of living. Money wages may tend to rise so as to meet this extra cost, but they cannot actually rise as fast as prices for the workers as a whole. For with three millions of the able-bodied workers in the prime of life taken out of production and endowed with increased powers of consumption, while at least another million is taken from ordinary work to make munitions, the actual production must be considerably reduced, in spite of speeding-up and overtime and increased employment of women. Though certain favoured sections of the workers have to some extent gained from war expenditure, this gain has been at the expense of the majority of their fellow workers. For there is no way in which the destruction and waste of war can be made economically advantageous to the people as a whole. The people must suffer, and the chief direct way in which this suffering is inflicted is by a continuous rise in the cost of the necessities of life.

WAGES AND PRICES AND THE COST OF LIVING.

Information in regard to changes in rates of wages is incomplete as a measure of working-class progress, unless interpreted in the light of contemporaneous movements in the cost of food, coal, house-room and clothing, otherwise in the cost of living. It is possible to record the joint movement by the device of index numbers, which are so frequently used in statistical comparisons of this kind that we give an explanation of their construction.

We are informed by the Board of Trade (Cd. 7,635 of 1914) that the rates of weekly cash wages most generally paid to ordinary agricultural labourers in Leigh, Lancashire, had increased between January, 1913, and January, 1914, from 20s. to 21s., or 5 per cent. Another method of stating this fact is that the index number for the wages of this group of labourers, which was 100 in 1913, had risen to 105 in 1914. If the wages at corresponding dates in other years were similarly written down as a percentage of the wages paid in 1913, the base year, we should obtain a series of index numbers describing the movement of the wages of ordinary agricultural labourers in the district of Leigh, Lancashire. For the purpose of estimating the course of the wages of this class of labour throughout England and Wales, the Board of Agriculture take the average rate paid on about 156 farms scattered throughout the country. When miners state that hewers' wages in the Scottish district were 75 per cent. above the standard of 1888, they are using the method of index numbers, expressing the wages of each year as a percentage of the wages paid in the base year.

In the calculation of an index number for the average wage of workmen of different grades or occupations, the wage-rate of each group is allowed to influence the average in proportion to the numbers employed at that rate. This process is described as weighting. An index number for retail prices must be weighted, if we are to have a true index of changes in the cost of living. A 10 per cent. rise in the price of bread is of more importance than a 100 per cent. rise in the cost of coffee. This is recognised in the official index number for 23 articles of food by giving to bread the weight 50 and coffee the weight 2, this being the estimated relative importance of bread and coffee in working-class expenditure.

Money wages and prices are the two factors in the making of real wages. The wages of a workman reckoned in coin of the realm, his money wages, have a different intrinsic value when expressed in terms of food, clothing, house-room, etc., according as prices have risen, fallen, or remained stationary since the date from which the comparison is made. The process of division of the index number for money wages by the index number for prices, starting the same base year throughout, gives the index number for real wages, the money wages corrected for changes in purchasing power. We may illustrate the process of conversion from the experience of the average skilled building operative in the period 1905 to 1914. In 1905 his wages were represented by 100 and prices by 100. At the end of seven years wages had risen 5 per cent. to 105; the cost of living had increased 10 per cent. to 110; and, therefore, real wages had fallen $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., from 100 to 95.5. If we assume that not more than four-fifths of this worker's income had changed in purchasing power and allow for the fact, we may say that in terms of commodities purchased,

his income had shrunk about 2½ per cent., despite the increase in his money wages of 5 per cent.

The course of wages, prices, rents and real wages in the second half of the nineteenth century has been estimated by Mr. G. H. Wood. The substance of his conclusions is reproduced here from the "Statistical Journal," of March, 1909, where readers will find an explanation of his method.

For prices the method adopted by Mr. Wood was simply to take the unweighted mean of a series of index numbers for all commodities of ordinary consumption for which records were obtainable. He assumed a progressive increase in expenditure on rent, and that one-half was due to an increase in rent as a price for a certain standard of accommodation, the other half being payment for a higher standard.

The cause of wages was estimated for the following trades: building, engineering, shipbuilding, printing (compositors), agriculture, coal, puddling, cotton, wool and worsted (Huddersfield), worsted (Bradford), gas, furniture.

I. WAGES, PRICES AND RENTS, REAL WAGES, 1850-1902.

	Wages. Per cent.	Prices and rents. Per cent.	Real wages (allowing for unemployment). Per cent.
1850-54 to 1873-77	+41	+11	+32
1873-77 to 1880-84	- 4	- 7	+ 3
1880-84 to 1900-02	+21	- 8	+32
1873-77 to 1900-02	+17	-14	+36
1850-54 to 1900-02	+70	- 5	+80

The shifting of workers from low paid to higher paid occupations was the cause of a 30 per cent. increase in the standard of comfort in the second half of the last century. Higher wages and reductions in the cost of living account for the other 50 per cent. This evidence of a very considerable improvement in the standard of comfort is confirmed by a table prepared by Mr. Wood, showing a corresponding increase in the average consumption of articles of food in the same period, and by the results of an independent inquiry, communicated by Professor Bowley in the article "Wages," in the Appendix to the "Dictionary of Political Economy." With a reasonably fair distribution of the increased products of industry and invention, a more appreciable improvement would have had to be recorded. In 1914 the whole manual labour class of the United Kingdom received only four-elevenths of the national income.

There is no official index number for the average wages of all occupations. The movement of the average rates of wages of skilled workers in the building, coal mining, engineering and textile trades since 1880 is calculated by the Board of Trade, and published annually in the "Abstract of Labour Statistics." Changes in agricultural wages are also shown, including, in the case of Scotland, the value of allowances in kind. A composite figure for these groups, which ignores the numbers employed in the several industries, is added.

II. INDEX NUMBERS OF AVERAGE RATES OF WAGES.

WAGES IN 1900=100.

End of year.	General.	Building.	Coal mining.	Engineering.	Textile.	Agriculture.			Board of Trade unweighted average.
						England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	
1880.....	77	85.6	61.5	88.0	89.8	92.6	89.7	85.8	83.1
1881.....	77	85.6	63.2	89.4	94.2	92.5	89.2	85.8	84.6
1882.....	79	85.6	67.9	89.9	94.2	92.8	91.0	87.5	85.8
1883.....	79	84.4	69.2	90.1	93.3	93.0	91.4	88.3	85.7
1884.....	79	84.4	65.7	90.0	93.6	92.5	89.9	89.2	85.0
1885.....	78	84.4	63.1	90.0	90.2	91.2	90.3	89.4	83.7
1886.....	77	84.4	61.1	89.6	89.3	90.4	90.3	90.3	83.0
1887.....	78	84.4	60.8	90.3	90.2	89.5	89.5	91.3	83.1
1888.....	80	84.4	64.8	91.3	93.8	89.4	90.6	91.8	84.9
1889.....	85	85.6	75.8	91.7	94.7	90.1	90.2	91.9	87.7
1890.....	88	86.7	85.9	92.7	95.1	91.4	93.4	93.0	90.5
1891.....	88	87.8	86.5	93.3	96.9	93.3	94.1	93.4	91.6
1892.....	88	88.9	78.9	93.3	96.0	93.8	94.0	94.0	90.2
1893.....	88	90.0	80.4	92.6	95.0	93.1	93.3	93.7	90.3
1894.....	88	91.1	76.1	92.6	95.0	92.6	94.4	95.2	89.6
1895.....	88	92.2	72.5	93.2	95.0	92.8	93.7	95.8	89.3
1896.....	88	93.3	71.9	96.7	95.0	93.1	94.4	97.0	90.2
1897.....	89	94.4	72.6	98.2	95.0	93.9	98.2	97.3	91.1
1898.....	92	97.8	78.6	99.2	95.0	95.7	95.6	97.7	93.4
1899.....	95	98.9	83.5	99.6	98.2	97.1	98.4	99.4	95.6
1900.....	100	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1901.....	98	100.0	94.0	100.3	100.0	100.7	100.3	101.0	99.0
1902.....	97	100.0	87.5	100.3	100.0	101.1	100.6	102.2	97.8
1903.....	96	100.0	84.9	99.9	100.0	101.2	101.8	103.4	97.3
1904.....	95	100.0	82.3	99.9	100.0	101.4	100.9	103.8	96.8
1905.....	95	100.0	81.0	100.0	102.7	101.7	101.2	105.4	97.3
1906.....	97	100.0	83.4	100.8	106.2	102.0	101.4	105.6	98.7
1907.....	102	100.0	96.3	102.0	108.9	102.0	104.3	106.2	102.1
1908.....	...	100.0	93.3	101.7	108.9	102.4	102.0	107.2	101.5
1909.....	...	100.0	89.2	101.3	107.1	102.6	102.8	108.1	100.3
1910.....	...	100.0	89.6	102.0	107.1	103.1	103.1	109.6	100.7
1911.....	...	100.0	88.8	103.3	107.1	103.2	104.1	112.1	100.9
1912.....	...	101.1	93.8	104.2	110.7	104.9	106.4	114.2	103.4
1913.....	...	104.4	100.1	105.0	111.6	109.0	108.5	117.8	106.5

The first column indicates the trend of the average wages paid in all the industries for which calculations have been made, including those for which the Board of Trade results are shown. These index numbers have been computed by Professor Bowley, and, compared with the Board of Trade unweighted average, suggest that during the last 25 years the re-grading movement within industries and changing distribution of the numbers employed in different occupations, has not materially affected the average rate of wages. We may, therefore, conclude, in the absence of a general figure for the average wages of all trades, that the Board of Trade unweighted average conforms fairly closely to the movement of the general average.

Comparison with any of the standard tables of index numbers of food, coal, and food and raw materials, shows that within the lifetime of the present generation of young men, there has been an almost continuous fall in the power of the working-class income to command the necessities of life.

III. INDEX NUMBERS OF PRICES.

PRICES IN 1900=100.

Year.	Food.				Coal.	Food and raw materials.
	Retail prices in London.		Wholesale prices.		Retail prices in London.	Board of Trade (47 articles).
	Board of Trade (9 articles).	Board of Trade (23 articles).	Board of Trade.	Sauerbeck.		
1871.....	...	...	144.1	142	...	135.6
1872.....	...	...	147.3	147	...	145.2
1873.....	...	...	153.4	155	...	151.9
1874.....	...	...	152.5	151	...	146.9
1875.....	...	...	148.9	145	...	140.4
1876.....	...	...	148.0	143	...	137.1
1877.....	150.7	...	154.8	146	...	140.4
1878.....	141.1	...	144.1	139	...	131.1
1879.....	134.8	...	138.9	130	...	125.0
1880.....	142.3	...	140.9	136	...	129.0
1881.....	140.2	...	138.6	132	...	126.6
1882.....	140.1	...	141.0	129	...	127.7
1883.....	139.9	...	139.7	129	...	125.9
1884.....	127.9	...	123.9	114	...	114.1
1885.....	116.2	...	115.4	107	...	107.0
1886.....	110.3	...	109.9	104	...	101.0
1887.....	104.9	...	106.5	101	...	98.8
1888.....	104.6	...	110.5	104	...	101.8
1889.....	108.3	...	110.4	109	...	103.4
1890.....	106.3	...	108.5	106	...	103.3
1891.....	108.8	...	116.3	112	...	106.9
1892.....	108.9	103.9	109.9	106	74.4	101.1
1893.....	103.1	99.3	108.6	104	83.4	99.4
1894.....	100.0	94.9	101.9	96	70.5	93.5
1895.....	95.0	92.1	98.9	93	68.8	90.7
1896.....	91.0	91.7	93.3	89	68.2	88.2
1897.....	97.6	95.5	97.4	94	70.2	90.1
1898.....	103.9	99.5	102.2	99	72.1	93.2
1899.....	97.4	95.4	98.0	94	79.3	92.2
1900.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100	100.0	100.0
1901.....	105.1	100.4	100.1	97	89.0	96.7
1902.....	102.6	101.0	101.4	97	84.6	96.4
1903.....	104.3	102.8	100.6	96	80.9	96.9
1904.....	...	102.4	101.2	99	79.4	98.2
1905.....	...	102.8	101.2	100	78.4	97.6
1906.....	...	102.0	101.0	100	79.5	100.8
1907.....	...	105.0	105.5	104	88.9	106.0
1908.....	...	107.5	107.0	106	85.6	103.0
1909.....	...	107.6	108.7	106	84.1	104.1
1910.....	...	109.4	109.2	107	83.8	108.8
1911.....	...	109.4	111.6	109	85.1	109.4
1912.....	...	114.5	119.9	117	87.0	114.9
1913.....	...	114.8	117.7	112	90.7	116.5
1914.....	...	116.8	121.0	120	...	117.2

In the building, engineering, and textile trades wages increased respectively 12, 8½, and 17½ per cent. between the years 1896 and 1913; the mean of the rates of wages in all trades probably did not increase by more than 18 per cent. These gains were more than offset by a rise in prices of 27 per cent. Miners were more fortunate, but for them many bad years intervened.

The Board of Trade index number for 23 articles of food in Table III. measures, in fact, the changes in the cost of the average family budget detailed in the last column of the following table:—

CONSUMPTION AND COST OF FOOD IN WORKMEN'S FAMILIES IN URBAN DISTRICTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Based on 1,944 family budgets collected by means of an Inquiry by the Board of Trade in the summer of 1904.

Limits of weekly income.	Under 25s.	25s. and under 30s.	30s. and under 35s.	35s. and under 40s.	40s. and above.	All incomes
Number of returns	261	289	416	382	596	1,944
Average weekly family income.....	s. d. 21 4½	s. d. 26 11½	s. d. 31 11½	s. d. 36 6½	s. d. 52 0½	s. d. 36 10
Average number of children living at home }	3·1	3·3	3·2	3·4	4·4	3·6
	{cost.					
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Bread and flour	3 0½	3 3½	3 3½	3 4½	4 3½	3 7
Meat (bought by weight).....	2 8	3 4½	4 3½	4 5½	5 10½	4 5½
Other meat* (including fish)	0 7½	0 8½	0 10	1 0	1 4	0 11½
Bacon.....	0 6½	0 9	0 10½	0 11½	1 3½	0 11½
Eggs	0 5½	0 8½	0 11	1 0	1 4½	1 0
Fresh milk	0 8	0 11½	1 3½	1 4½	1 7½	1 3½
Cheese	0 4½	0 5½	0 6	0 6	0 8	0 6½
Butter	1 2	1 7	1 10½	2 0	3 0½	2 1½
Potatoes	0 8½	0 9½	0 10½	0 10½	1 1½	0 11
Vegetables and fruit.....	0 4½	0 7	0 10	0 11½	1 3½	0 11
Currants and raisins.....	0 1½	0 1½	0 2½	0 3	0 3½	0 2½
Rice, tapioca and oatmeal	0 4½	0 5	0 6	0 5½	0 7	0 6
Tea	0 9½	0 11½	1 0½	1 1½	1 5	1 1½
Coffee and cocoa	0 2	0 3½	0 3½	0 4½	0 5½	0 3½
Sugar	0 8	0 10	0 10½	0 11½	1 3	0 11½
Jam, marmalade, treacle, and syrup.	0 4½	0 5½	0 6	0 6½	0 8½	0 6½
Pickles and condiments	0 2	0 2½	0 3½	0 3½	0 4½	0 3½
Other items	1 0½	1 3½	1 6½	1 10½	2 6½	1 9½
Total expenditure on food	14 4½	17 10½	20 9½	22 3½	29 8	22 6
Expenditure on all food, as percentage of income }	67	66	65	61	57	61
	QUANTITIES.					
	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.
Bread and flour	28.44	29.97	29.44	29.99	37.76	32.04
Meat (bought by weight).....	4.44	5.33	6.26	6.43	8.19	6.50
Bacon.....	0.94	1.11	1.19	1.38	1.82	1.38
	pts.	pts.	pts.	pts.	pts.	pts.
Fresh milk	5.54	7.72	9.85	10.34	12.63	9.91
	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.
Cheese	0.67	0.70	0.79	0.77	1.02	0.83
Butter	1.10	1.50	1.69	1.89	2.78	1.96
Potatoes	14.05	15.84	16.11	15.87	19.93	16.92
Currants and raisins	0.42	0.50	0.62	0.80	0.91	0.70
Rice, tapioca, and oatmeal.....	2.54	2.64	2.93	2.55	3.38	2.95
Tea	0.48	0.55	0.57	0.59	0.72	0.60
Coffee and cocoa	0.15	0.18	0.20	0.23	0.29	0.22
Sugar	3.87	4.62	4.79	5.21	6.70	5.31

* e.g., Sheep's heads, tripe, heart, liver, pigs' fry, tinned meats, rabbits.

This "standard working-class budget," which cost 22s. 6d. in the summer of 1904, as shown in the above table, would have cost in

Year.	s. d.	Year.	s. d.	Year.	s. d.
1892	22 10	1900	22 0	1908	23 7
1893	21 10	1901	22 1	1909	23 7
1894	20 9	1902	22 2	1910	24 0
1895	20 4	1903	22 5	1911	24 0
1896	20 2	1904	22 6	1912	25 1
1897	21 0	1905	22 7	1913	25 2
1898	21 10	1906	22 5	1914	25 8
1899	21 0	1907	23 2		

An expenditure of something more than 33s. would have been needed for the same purchases at war prices on 1st July, 1915. A housewife would not have paid much more for them 40 years ago.

Of all inquiries into concurrent changes in wages and cost of living, the most comprehensive was that made by the Board of Trade for the period 1905 to 1912 (see "Report on the Cost of Living," Cd. 6955 of 1913). Particulars of wages were obtained in certain occupations in the building, engineering and printing trades, these having been selected as industries which are found in most industrial towns, and in which the time rates of wages were highly standardised. The following table shows for each geographical group of towns the mean percentage changes between October, 1905, and October, 1912, in rents, retail prices of food and coal, and rents and prices combined, together with the percentage changes in rates of wages in the three industries.

Geographical group.	Number of towns included.	Mean percentage changes in							
		Rents and retail prices.			Rates of wages.				
		Rents.	Retail prices.	Rents and prices combined.	Building.		Engineering.		Print ing.
					Skilled men	Lab-ourers	Skilled men	Lab-ourers	Com-positors
London—									
Middle zone ...	1	-4	+12	+9	+1	Nil.	+3	9	Nil.
Inner zone		-6	+12	+8					
Outer zone		-2	+10	+8					
Northern Counties and Cleveland ...	9	+0.7	+13.2	+10.7	+0.1	+1.7	+5.9	...†	+ 2.3
Yorkshire (except Cleveland)	10	+1.3	+14.0	+11.5	+2.0	+2.1	+5.1*	..†	+ 1.6
Lancashire and Cheshire	17	+3.4	+15.8	+13.3	+2.6	+2.6	+4.8*	+5.0*	+ 2.0
Midlands.....	14	+0.4	+14.4	+11.6	+2.2	+3.6	+5.9*	+1.3*	+ 4.8
Eastern and East Midland Counties	7	+3.1	+12.4	+10.5	+0.3	+1.1	...†	...†	+ 4.5
Southern Counties	10	+1.2	+ 9.8	+ 8.1	+0.9	+1.6	...†	...†	+ 3.9
Wales and Mon-mouth	4	+4.3	+15.0	+12.9	+5.8	+6.8	...†	...†	+10.5
Scotland	10	+1.9	+13.1	+10.9	+3.0	+1.1	...†	...†	+ 6.9
Ireland	6	+1.2	+15.0	+12.2	+0.5	+5.3	...†	...†	+ 3.2
UNITED KINGDOM..	88	+1.8	+13.7	+11.3	+5.5	+2.6	+5.5*	3.9*	+ 4.1

*The number of towns used in calculating this percentage is less than the total number included in the geographical group.

†The number for which comparable information is available for October, 1905, and October, 1912, is insufficient to justify the calculation of a mean percentage for the group

The Report states that there has been a rise in the cost of clothing, probably not much less in proportion than that of food, coal and rent combined, the rise taking the form either of an increase in price for the same article or a lower quality for the same price.

The trend of wages, prices, and real wages in the years 1790-1904 has been concisely described by Professor Bowley. A description of the movement in later years has been added to complete the table.

Periods.	Nominal wages.	Prices.	Real wages.
1790-1810..	Rising fast.....	Rising very fast...	Falling slowly
1810-1830..	Falling	Falling fast.....	Rising slowly
1830-1852..	Nearly stationary..	Falling slowly	Rising slowly
1852-1870..	Rising fast.....	Rising	Rising considerably
1870-1873..	Rising very fast....	Rising fast.....	Rising fast
1873-1879..	Falling fast	Falling fast	Nearly stationary
1879-1887..	Nearly stationary..	Falling	Rising
1887-1892..	Rising	Rising and falling..	Rising
1892-1897..	Nearly stationary..	Falling	Rising
1897-1900..	Rising fast.....	Rising	Rising
1900-1904..	Falling a little	Falling and rising..	Stationary
1904-1907..	Rising	Rising a little.....	Falling slowly
1907-1910..	Falling slowly	Falling	Nearly stationary
1910-1913..	Rising	Rising	Stationary

A discussion of "The Cost of Living" by Mr. John A. Hobson precedes this article.

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Clothing (Cd. 4844). 2s. 5d.

Building and Woodworking (Cd. 5086). 1s. 10d.

Public Utility Services (Cd. 5196). 1s. 9d.

Agriculture (Cd. 5460). 8½d.

Metal, Engineering, and Shipbuilding (Cd. 5814). 2s.

Railway Service (Cd. 6053). 2s. 3d.

Paper, Printing, etc. (Cd. 6556). 2s. 8d.

TRADE BOARDS.

Prior to 1909 wages were left, in the breezy phrase of the professors, to the play of economic forces. At whose expense these forces played was shown in the "Daily News" Sweated Industries Exhibition of 1906, to which we owe the National Anti-Sweating League and its progeny the Trade Boards Act. In this exhibition 44 homeworkers, representative of almost as many trades, took part, the average of whose earnings appeared on investigation only slightly to exceed 1d. per hour.

Economic forces played with more than homeworkers. In the year already mentioned, viz., 1906, the Board of Trade in their memorable Census of Earnings and Hours of Employment, collected decisive evidence of the industrial degradation of the nation, a sorry record in which the woman worker cut an especially unhappy figure. Included in the census were 32 textile and clothing trades carried on mainly by female operatives; in all of these, save five, a division of the aggregate wages paid to women of 18 years and over by the number of such women in employment showed a resultant figure of less than 15s. per head. The Lancashire textile workers apart, one-fifth of all the women whose trades are covered by the inquiry, amounting in number to hundreds of thousands, were shown to receive less than 10s. per week.

Here, surely, was a case for intervention, and after the National Anti-Sweating League had stumped the country in favour of a legal minimum wage; after a Select Committee of the House of Commons had endorsed this proposal as regards women homeworkers; and Mr. Ernest Aves, now the Chairman of the various Trade Boards, had reported upon the Australasian experiments in wage regulation without, it must be admitted, coming to any definite conclusion thereon, the Government intervened. Their measure, based upon the Wages Boards Bill of Sir Charles Dilke, which in turn was derived from the legislation of the Colony of Victoria, was blessed by everyone, and became an Act without any vote on principle having been registered against it.

It proved a better Act than one would expect from the suspicious cordiality of its reception, and has worked so smoothly that its future is already beyond doubt. The salient provisions of the Act may be grouped as follows:—

1. The establishment of Trade Boards in certain specified trades, viz. :—

Ready-made and wholesale bespoke tailoring. (The scope of this Board has now been widened to include other parts of the retail bespoke trade.)

Paper box making.

Lace finishing.

Certain kinds of chainmaking.

2. Power given to the Board of Trade to move for the establishment of additional Boards.

3. The constitution and powers of the Boards.

4. The enforcement of minimum rates.

THE FIRST TRADE BOARDS.

1. The trades first scheduled in the Trade Boards Act were intended to furnish a sufficient basis for experiment. They had, therefore, in common only a tendency to pay low wages. Two of them—lace finishing and chainmaking—are confined to a single area, the other two are widely dispersed. The part played by homeworkers and the seriousness of foreign competition are different in each. In chainmaking wages are a determining element in the cost of production: in tailoring they are subsidiary to other factors. In short, so dissimilar were the trades that to make minimum wages "work" in them would argue their workability in any other trade whatsoever.

POWER TO EXTEND.

2. Provided that the Act did work within the limits assigned to it at the outset, Parliament agreed that the limits should be widened. The procedure of extension is as follows :—If the Board of Trade are satisfied that rates of wages in certain trades or in parts of them are “exceptionally low,” it may promote a Provisional Order to apply the Act thereto. A Provisional Order requires confirmation by a bill, which must go through the usual Parliamentary stages, and if a petition be presented against it must be reported on by a Select Committee in each House, or by a Joint Committee of both Houses. In 1913 the following trades were added to the Act by a Provisional Order :—

Sugar confectionery and food preserving.

Shirt-making.

Metal hollowware. (This designation covers the distinct trades of (a) metal hollowware; (b) tin boxes; for which separate Boards have now been established.)

Linen and cotton embroidery.

An attempt to apply the Act also to the calendering and machine ironing branches of the laundry trade was successfully resisted in 1913 and the following year, in the first case because of a technical defect in the Order, and, in the second case, because a Select Committee were not satisfied as to the practicability of applying the Act merely to the branches of the trade named in the Order.

CONSTITUTION AND POWERS.

3. Each Trade Board consists of two classes of members :—

(a) Neutral persons, numbering in practice from three to five, appointed by the Board of Trade.

(b) Equal numbers of representatives of employers and of workers whom these may elect to represent them, or who alternatively may be nominated by the Board of Trade on their behalf. (It is important to note that the persons so elected or nominated need not themselves be either employers or workers, and that thus the door is left open, on the one hand, for the legal adviser of the Employers' Association, and, on the other hand, for the Trade Union secretary or other such adherent of the workers.)

The powers of the Boards are concerned with the determination of the minimum rates, which may be time rates only, or time rates and piece rates, and may be fixed so as to apply universally throughout the trade or only to particular areas or particular classes of workers.

Where necessary the Boards may appoint District Committees, and these Committees, if appointed, are given certain definite duties under the Act. Final authority, however, remains with the Board, and the rôle of the District Committees has been so far of minor importance.

ENFORCEMENT OF MINIMUM RATES.

4. A minimum rate comes tediously into operation. For three months after the Board has come to a decision the rate is in the “proposal” stage, and may be objected to either by or on behalf of the employers or workers. At the end of three months, objections

to the rate proposed are considered by the Board, which may then give effect to them and issue a new proposal, which would likewise run for three months, or may overrule them and "fix" the rate. For six months after the rate is fixed, it is in "partial operation," that is to say, it is obligatory only on employers undertaking contracts from Government or municipal departments. All other employers may continue to pay less than the minimum rate provided that they secure the consent of their employees in writing thereto.

At the end of six months the Board of Trade must either issue an Order making the rate generally obligatory, or an Order of a contrary character. (Thus, although not entitled to modify the minimum rate, the Board of Trade, by refusing to make it compulsory, is in a position to exercise serious pressure on the Trade Board.)

Where the rate is obligatory the non-observance of it may involve a fine in respect of each offence not exceeding £20, and a fine not exceeding £5 for each day on which the offence is continued after conviction therefor.

In addition to these fines the employer may be adjudged to refund to the worker any sum by which the wage received by the latter falls short of the minimum rate to which he is entitled.

SUCCESS IN THE CHAIN TRADE.

As to the operations of the several Boards it is possible here to speak only in brief. The reader may be referred for fuller information to the series of monographs on the minimum wage edited by Mr. R. H. Tawney for the Ratan Tata Foundation, the first of which describes the complete success attained by the Board in the chainmaking industry.

The success is many sided. In a comparison of the earnings of male chainmakers, before and after the Trade Boards Act, Mr. Tawney discovers the "mode" (i.e., the point at which the largest group is found) in the first case between 13s. and 14s., and in the latter case between 20s. and 21s. The increase in the wages of women is more striking, and inquiry into the earnings of 86 women employed in the manufacture of the commonest short-link chain, indicates an average increase of earnings of 67 per cent., which percentage has since been considerably increased by further advances of piece rates made by the Board. Increases in piece rates imply a greater increase in net earnings, as an actual instance may show:—

"Miss X, prior to the issue of the Trade Board determination, was paid 3s. 6d. per cwt., and made 2cwt. of chain per week, thus getting 7s., out of which she paid 2s. per week for breeze, so that her net wage was 5s. . . . The piece rates were advanced by 100 per cent., so that she earned a gross wage of 14s., or when 2s. per week was paid for fuel, 12s. A rise of 100 per cent., therefore, in the piece rates made in this case a rise of 140 per cent. in weekly earnings."

Perhaps the most interesting testimony adduced by Mr. Tawney is as to the reaction of the Trade Board on the social life of the chainmakers. In his book shopkeepers testify to the improvement in the purchasing power of the workers; teachers to the better feeding and clothing of the children; clergymen and other residents to the alteration, clearly discernible in the rising standard of manners and comfort in the locality.

The happiest outcome of all is in the heightened spirit of the district, which has found expression in an encouraging growth of Trade Unionism among men and women not only in the chainmaking trade, but in other trades adjacent to it, of which the hollowware and brick trades are the chief.

HIGHER WAGES IN TAILORING.

The tailoring trade, by reason of its larger scale, is less easy to review, but here, too, Mr. Tawney's investigation reveals encouraging results and tendencies. As to wages: the Tailoring Trade Board fixed a minimum rate of 3½d. per hour for women, and 6d. per hour for men, and the women's rate has since been increased to 3¾d., which in a week of 51 hours realises 14s. 10½d. This amount, it must be remembered, is a minimum. Compare the earnings shown for women in this trade in the census of 1906:—

Receiving under 8s. a week	7 per cent.
" 9s. "	14 "
" 10s. "	24 "
" 11s. "	34 "
" 12s. "	50 "

The minimum rate for men of 6d. an hour was not designed for the expert workers, chiefly pressers and cutters, who were left by tacit agreement to the protection of their various unions, but for men of lower grade. Even so, the rate has been of considerable value in certain backward districts. An article in a recent number of the "Economic Journal" gives an interesting illustration of this:—

"Of the male workers employed at Hebden Bridge 111 are known by the union to have obtained advances necessary to bring their wages (formerly 20s. to 23s. per week) up to the minimum rate. Twenty-three others, whose wages were above the minimum, have obtained advances, given because they were recognised to be worth more than the lower-paid men—a notable refutation of the fallacy that the minimum wage tends to become a maximum. The advances varied from 1s. to 8s., and averaged 3s."

In this large trade the improvements in habits and modes of life due to better wages are less easy to apprehend than in the smaller trade. On the other hand, the impetus given to organisation is more noticeable. For instance, the male operatives at Hebden Bridge already referred to were induced by their increase of wages to join the local branch of the Clothiers' Operatives Union, which in consequence increased in membership from 29 to over 300, and is now in a position to "oblige the employers for the first time to make a collective bargain with their workpeople."

The membership of this union has risen strikingly also in other districts since the establishment of the Trade Board, nor is it the only organisation in the trade to benefit in this way. Mr. Tawney attributes this spread of Trade Unionism to the "psychological influence of the Trade Board system," which he regards as "the most important of its results."

It remains to note certain bye-products of the Trade Board determinations. As minimum rates are to be paid "clear of all deductions," various fines and other such customary nibblings at

workers' earnings became illegal. As, further, the workers under the Act are entitled to be paid wages for all time spent in the workshop, it is no longer profitable to allow them to "wait for work." Better industrial organisation, which Trade Boards have everywhere induced, has secured greater continuity of employment. On the occasions when work is still not available, the women are free to leave the factory or workshop and spend their leisure as they please.

The Boards have been efficacious also in some degree in safeguarding young workers. For these they have prescribed rates of wages less than the minimum, but it is a condition of the payment of lower rates that reasonable facilities for the due learning of the trade are afforded.

It is not possible within the confines of a short article to descant upon the other Boards which in many respects repeat the experience of the two already mentioned, but their value will appear from the subjoined statement, in which are given all the minimum rates so far affixed:—

Trade.	Minimum Rate Fixed.	Average weekly wages earned in 1906.
Readymade and wholesale bespoke tailoring, and certain branches of the retail bespoke trade	Male persons of 22 years of age and over, 6d. per hour (per week, 25s. 6d.)	31s. 11d.
	Ditto under 22 years of age, from 4s. 2d. to 21s. 11d., according to age	
	Female persons of 18 years of age and over, 3½d. per hour (per week, 14s. 10½d.)	12s. 11d.
	Ditto under 18 years of age, from 3s. to 12s. 6d. per week, according to age and experience.	6s. 6d.
Ditto (Ireland) ..	Male persons of 24 years of age and over, 6d. per hour (per week, 25s. 6d.)	29s. 6d.
	Ditto under 24 years of age, from 4s. 6d. to 24s., according to age	
	Female persons of 18 years of age and over, 3d. per hour (now to be increased to 3½d. per hour) (per week, 13s.)	10s. 1d.
	Ditto under 18 years of age, from 4s. to 11s. 6d.	
Paper box making	Male persons 21 years of age and over, 6d. per hour (per week, 26s.)	28s. 10d.
	Ditto under 21 years of age, 4s. to 21s. per week, according to age and experience	
	Female persons of 18 years of age and over, 3d. per hour (per week, 13s.); now being increased to 3½d. per hour. (per week, 14s. 1d.)	12s. 3d.
	Ditto under 18 years of age, from 4s. to 10s. 6d. per week	6s. 6d.

Trade.	Minimum Rate Fixed.	Average weekly wages earned in 1906
Paper box making (Ireland)	Male persons of 24 years of age and over, 6d. per hour (per week, 26s.) Ditto under 24 years of age, from 4s. 6d. to 24s. per week, according to age and experience Female persons over 18 years of age, 2½d. per hour (per week, 11s. 11d.) Ditto under 18 years of age, from 4s. to 10s. 6d.	No separate figures
Lace finishing ..	Female persons of 18 years of age and over, 2½d. per hour Young persons under 18 years of age, from 5s. to 9s. 6d. per week	No figures for this branch of the lace trade given in Census of Wages. (Home-workers understood to have earned from 1d. to 2d. per hour.)
Chainmaking ..	Male persons over 18 years of age, from 5d. to 7½d. per hour Ditto under 18 years of age, from 4s. to 12s. 6d. per week Female persons over 17 years of age, 2½d. per hour Ditto under 17 years of age, from 4s. per week and upwards (In this trade the rates are fixed to apply to (a) dollied or tommied and the larger sizes of hand hammered chain; and (b) to the smaller sizes of hand hammered chain, and not, as in other cases, on the basis of sex. In practice, however, the women work at the lower and the men at the higher rates)	No figures for this branch of the chain trade given in Census of Wages.
Sugar confectionery, and food preserving	Male persons 22 years of age and over, 26s. per week Ditto under 22 years of age, 6s. to 23s. per week Female persons 18 years of age and over, 13s. per week Ditto under 18 years of age, 6s. to 11s. per week	Cocoa, chocolate, etc., 30s. 9d.; preserved food, etc., 28s. 7d. Cocoa, chocolate, etc., 11s. 9d.; preserved food, etc., 10s. 11d.
Ditto (Ireland) ..	Male persons of 22 years of age and upwards, 5½d. per hour Ditto under 22 years of age, 6s. to 21s. per week, according to age Female persons of 18 years of age and upwards, 2½d. per hour Ditto under 18 years of age, 5s. to 9s. per week, according to age	

Trade.	Minimum Rate Fixed.	Average weekly wages earned in 1906.
Shirt making....	No rates fixed for male persons Female persons over 18 years of age, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour (per week, 15s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.) Female persons under 18 years of age, from 3s. to 12s. 6d. per week	13s. 4d.
Ditto (Ireland) ..	No rates fixed for male persons Female persons over 18 years of age, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour (per week, 14s. 1d.) For female homeworkers this Board has also fixed general minimum piece rates	
Tin box making..	Male persons 21 years of age and upwards, 26s. per week Ditto under 21 years of age, from 6s. to 22s. 6d. per week Female persons 18 years of age and upwards, 14s. 1d. per week Ditto under 18 years of age, from 6s. to 12s. per week	No figures

Lest a too rosy view of the Trade Board system should be given by this article, it is proper to add, firstly, that the minimum rates fixed cannot in any case be regarded as sufficient to provide the amount needed for the maintenance of seemly and comfortable life; secondly, that meagre as they are, they have been attended in some cases with a reprehensible "speeding-up": and that, thirdly, especially as regards homeworkers, there are complaints that the rates are in some cases being evaded.

On the other hand, it may be noted that :—

1. Additions have been made to the rates first fixed and that further progressive improvements in them may be expected.

2. Complaints as to "speeding-up" become less numerous after the trades have settled down to the new conditions, and have improved their organisation.

3. The grievance of the homeworkers is due to some extent to the deficiency of investigating officers, less than a dozen of whom are available for all the purposes of the Act in the trades above mentioned, and to some extent, where the Trade Board has not been able to fix a piece rate, to the difficulty of deciding as to the sufficiency of the piece rate that is, in fact, paid by the employer. There is reasons to anticipate both that the number of inspectors will be appropriately increased and that their capacity to pronounce upon piece rates will grow with experience.

To sum up, the Boards have raised rates of wages considerably, and have protected the worker from raids of various kinds upon his earnings. They have encouraged the workers to organise, and the employers to manage their factories and workshops more efficiently.

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UNEMPLOYMENT.

There are few branches of our national statistics which are so complete as those dealing with unemployment. The Board of Trade in its "Labour Gazette" publishes each month a considerable amount of information on the state of the Labour market gleaned from some half-dozen different sources, which together give a fairly complete picture of the state of employment.

There are four chief sources: (1) returns made by certain Trade Unions with about one million members showing the number of members unemployed at the end of each month; (2) returns made by employers employing some one and a-quarter million workpeople showing the numbers employed by them at the end of the month, or, in the case of mining, the number of days worked per week; (3) statistics as to the working of the 400 Labour Exchanges scattered throughout the United Kingdom showing the number of people registered for employment and the number of vacancies notified and filled; (4) statistics as to the numbers unemployed in the trades compulsorily insured against unemployment—these cover about two and a-quarter million workpeople, chiefly in the building, engineering, and shipbuilding trades.

The first set of returns—the "Trade Union percentage"—goes back for about 40 years, and is shown graphically in Chart A. Members sick, on strike, locked out, or whose benefit is exhausted are excluded. It will be seen that with one exception the curve of unemployment is cyclical, maxima being reached (with one exception) every seven years. Thus 1879, 1886, 1893, and 1908 were years of

severe unemployment, and 1875, 1882, 1889, 1899, 1906, and 1913 were years of good employment. Had the cycle remained the same we might have expected the next bad year to be 1915 or 1916. But the war intervened. It will be seen that the range of the curve is very considerable, from 11.4 in 1879 to 2.0 in 1899. It will be noticed that the amount never falls below 2 per cent., which may be regarded as the "irreducible minimum" of unemployment. The effect of the war is an interesting one, and the end of the chart shows the figures month by month during 1914 and 1915. The percentage shot up from 2.7 per cent. at the end of July to 7.1 at the end of August, but since then has been gradually falling, and in 1915 the "irreducible minimum" of 2 per cent. has been actually passed, the figure for the end of July being only 1 per cent.

The second set of statistics relates to the so-called "insured" trades. By the National Insurance Act of 1911 insurance against unemployment was made compulsory in the trades of building, construction of works, shipbuilding, engineering, and making of vehicles, and since every workman in these trades is compelled, on becoming unemployed, to lodge his unemployment book at a Labour Exchange very complete and reliable information is available as to unemployment in these trades. The statistics only go back to January, 1913, and the percentage of unemployed for the two and a-quarter million workmen in these trades is shown week by week in Chart B. As figures are only available since 1913 comparison is not possible with the Trade Union percentage over a series of years. We can, however, compare the monthly Trade Union figures (Chart A) with the insured figures for the same period (Chart B), when it will be seen that both show similar movements. The "insured" figures are, it will be noted, generally higher than the "Trade Union" figures, especially in the winter months. This is due to the fact that the building trade, which always suffers from a higher rate of unemployment than other trades, forms a very large proportion of the "insured trades"—over 40 per cent.—while in the "Trade Union" percentage it only forms a very small part. The effect of the war is reflected in both diagrams very similarly. Both show a sudden rise from July to August; the insured trades from 3.6 to 6.3, the "Trade Union" percentage from 2.7 to 7.1 (the latter shows a greater rise than the former because it includes the textile trades, which experienced exceptionally severe unemployment), and both fall, not quite so rapidly, to "normal" figures by the end of the year. Since the beginning of this year unemployment has further been reduced till it has now fallen lower than ever before recorded. Two of the insured trades—engineering and shipbuilding—have been working at terrific pressure; the amount of unemployment at August, 1915, was only 1 per cent. For the various "insured" trades it stood as follows:—

Building	1.9
Works of construction	0.6
Shipbuilding	0.8
Engineering	0.5
Making of vehicles	0.6
<hr/>	
All industries	1.0

The statistics of Labour Exchanges are dealt with in the separate section, headed Labour Exchanges.

The statistics known as "employers' returns" give each month the number of persons employed and the amount of wages paid in certain industries. These returns are not reliable over long periods, but give good indications of the trend of trade during a short period. No "index" figures or percentages are given for these figures over a period, and for this and the above-mentioned fact the figures are not quoted. They can be seen each month in the "Labour Gazette." They are chiefly valuable as affording evidence of conditions in the so-called short time trades. Many trades, chiefly coalmining, textiles, and paper, do not resort to dismissals in a time of depression so much as to short time. This aspect of unemployment—better known as under-employment—is, of course, very important, but quite neglected in the figures given hitherto. It is, however, quite impossible to measure under-employment statistically, and these returns from large employers, showing the number of employees and wages paid, are the only data available.

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LABOUR EXCHANGES.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL SYSTEM.

The Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress, 1905-9, unanimously recommended as an essential part of any scheme for dealing with the problem of unemployment the establishment of a national system of Labour Exchanges, and in September, 1909, power was conferred on the Board of Trade by the Labour Exchanges Act, 1909, to set up such a system.

Certain Labour Exchanges or Bureaux were already in existence, established as a general rule under the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, but these exchanges were few in number and were almost entirely local in character, the most important being the system of exchanges maintained in the Metropolis by the Central (Unemployed) Body for London. The Labour Exchanges Act gave the Board of Trade power to take over such exchanges, while it was further provided that the exercise of the authority to establish or maintain Labour Exchanges given by the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, should, after the lapse of one year, be subject to the sanction of the Local Government Board for England, Scotland, or Ireland, as the case might be, in consultation with the Board of Trade. These provisions were intended to secure the absorption into the Board of Trade system of all the exchanges established under the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905.

The first Labour Exchanges under the control of the Board of Trade were opened on the 1st February, 1910, on which date some 60 exchanges commenced operations. By the 1st of May, 1911, the number working had risen to about 200, and after the passing of the National Insurance Act, 1911, the number rose, mainly in consequence

of unemployment insurance, to over 400. There is, in addition, a large number of local agencies for Labour Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance which have been established in districts where the opening of a Labour Exchange would not be justified, and which are concerned with Labour Exchange business mainly only in so far as it is affected by unemployment insurance. The cost of administration of the Labour Exchanges is borne by the national exchequer.

OUTLINE OF THE ORGANISATION OF THE NATIONAL SYSTEM.

For purposes of administration and control the United Kingdom is divided into eight divisions, viz., London and South-Eastern, South-Western, Yorkshire and East Midlands, West Midlands, Wales, North-Western, Scotland and Northern, and Ireland. Each of these divisions has a divisional office, which forms the controlling centre for the exchanges within its area, and as a co-ordinating administrative authority over the whole there is a central office in London. The exchanges are linked up with one another, both divisionally and inter-divisionally, by means of the telephone service, and are thus enabled to keep in constant touch with each other both directly and through the divisional offices.

FUNCTIONS AND WORKING OF THE EXCHANGES.

A "Labour Exchange" is defined by the Act as "any office or place used for the purpose of collecting and furnishing information, either by the keeping of registers or otherwise, respecting employers who desire to engage workpeople and workpeople who seek engagement or employment."

The exchanges deal with both male and female applicants, and their work is conducted under general regulations made by the Board of Trade under the authority of Section 2 of the Labour Exchanges Act. The work of the Exchanges is also affected by the National Insurance Act, 1911, and the regulations made thereunder.

The general procedure and working may be summarised as follows:—

(a) **Registration.**—Applicants for employment must ordinarily register in person, though registration by post is not precluded in certain circumstances, i.e., where the applicant lives more than three miles from an exchange. Applicants are urged to register at the exchange nearest their place of residence, since when a vacancy is notified the first attempt to fill it is normally made locally. Only if no suitable local applicant is forthcoming is the vacancy notified to other exchanges. Application must be renewed weekly, and a workman is not precluded from registering by the fact that he is already in employment. No fees are charged either to workmen or employers. In the case of workmen in trades included within the scope of the National Insurance Act, 1911, registration on becoming unemployed is in effect compulsory since benefit cannot be obtained unless the workman's book is lodged at a local office of the Unemployment Fund, but in trades outside the scope of the Act registration is voluntary.

(b) **Notification of Vacancies.**—No special formalities are required for the notification of vacancies by employers and no fee is charged by the exchange.

(c) **Filling of Vacancies.**—The use of an exchange leaves to the employer the final selection of the workmen to be engaged. The exchange merely submits applications for his consideration.

In notifying applications for employment and vacancies to employers and applicants, respectively, the exchange undertakes no responsibility with regard to wages or other conditions beyond supplying the employer or applicant, as the case may be, with any information in its possession as to the rate of wages desired or offered.

In effect, therefore, the Labour Exchange is simply a medium of communication. It is left to employers and workmen to decide for themselves whether or not they will come to terms upon the conditions so communicated.

(d) **Trade Disputes.**—Regulation 4 (3) provides that “no person shall suffer any disqualification or be otherwise prejudiced on account of refusing to accept employment, found for him through a Labour Exchange, where the ground of the refusal is that a trade dispute which affects his trade exists, or, that the wages offered are lower than those current in the trade in the district where the employment is found.”

Under Regulation 3 a statement as to the existence of a strike or lock-out affecting their trade may be filed at a Labour Exchange by any association of employers or workmen, and in notifying vacancies the exchange is required to call attention to the statements that have been received.

(e) **Advance of Travelling Expenses.**—To meet the difficulty of workmen being unable to accept employment at a distance on account of the expense of travelling, the Board of Trade is empowered, under certain conditions, to make advances to registered applicants towards meeting the expenses of travelling to the place of employment.

The advance must not exceed the amount of the fare of the individual applicant, and is normally made by railway warrant.

An undertaking to repay must be given by the person who requests the making of the advance (either the employer or the applicant). No advance can be made if the vacancy comes within the regulations as to strikes and lock-outs, and care must be taken to avoid unduly encouraging rural labourers to migrate from the country to the towns or between Great Britain and Ireland.

(f) **Advisory Trade Committees.**—The Board of Trade are required, in such areas of the United Kingdom as they think fit, to set up Advisory Trade Committees consisting of equal numbers of representatives of employers and workmen, with a chairman agreed upon by a majority both of the employers and the workmen's representatives, or in default of such agreement appointed by the Board of Trade. The tenure of office is in all cases three years.

The duty of the Advisory Trade Committees is to advise and assist the Board of Trade in regard to any matters referred to them in connection with the management of Labour Exchanges.

A number of such Committees (which deal with large areas and not with single exchanges) has been established in various parts of the country. The Board of Trade are empowered to pay travelling and other allowances to members of Advisory Trade Committees.

(g) **Accommodation for Trade Union Meetings.**—Accommodation for Trade Union meetings is granted at Labour Exchanges, subject

to terms and conditions approved by the Advisory Trade Committee for the district. The fee usually charged is 1s. per meeting.

(h) **Casual Labour Schemes.**—Various attempts have been made by the Board of Trade to formulate and carry into effect schemes for dealing with casual labour. These schemes are in most cases arrangements entered into by the Board of Trade under Section 99 of the National Insurance Act, 1911, and the most important of them is that known as the Liverpool Dock Scheme. This scheme has for its most prominent features the payment of wages and contributions under the National Insurance Act, 1911, by the Board of Trade on behalf of the employers, and the limitation of engagements of workmen to registered holders of tallies. Surplus stands have also been set up to which men who have not been engaged at their usual stands may repair with a view to getting work elsewhere. The practice of large numbers of employers each engaging men at a separate stand has not, however, been affected.

As regards all these schemes, from such information as is available it would probably be safe to say that little or no substantial progress has as yet been made with the decasualisation of labour through their means, and that the schemes have served mainly to provide experience which may be valuable in the future.

(i) **Juvenile Employment.**—Special provision is made for juvenile applicants (i.e., applicants under 17 years of age). They are not required to register in person, and different particulars are necessarily asked of them on registration.

In order to meet the special conditions affecting juvenile applicants for employment, Advisory Committees for Juvenile Employment attached as a rule to various Labour Exchanges, but occasionally embracing larger areas, have been appointed by the Board of Trade.

The duty of these committees is to give advice with regard to the management of any Labour Exchange in their district in relation to Juvenile applications for employment, and, either by themselves or in co-operation with any other bodies or persons, they may give information, advice, and assistance to boys and girls and their parents with respect to choice of employment and other matters bearing thereon.

In addition to these especial arrangements for dealing with juvenile applicants, the Board of Trade co-operate with committees appointed by various Local Education Authorities in England and Wales in accordance with schemes approved by the Board of Education under the Education (Choice of Employment) Act, 1910. They co-operate also with a number of committees appointed by School Boards in Scotland under the terms of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1908.

STATISTICS AS TO THE WORKING OF LABOUR EXCHANGES.

The first Labour Exchanges were established in 1910, and statistics of the work done during the four years 1911, 1912, 1913, and 1914 have been published in the 17th Labour Abstract and the (February, 1915) "Labour Gazette." It is of the utmost importance to remember that these figures are not strictly comparable, as the number of exchanges has continually grown and their sphere of operation consequently increased. In addition, the coming into force of

unemployment insurance in July, 1912, made the use of the Labour Exchanges compulsory in certain trades employing about two and a-quarter million workpeople.

The following table shows the number of registrations for employment, number of situations notified, the number filled, and the number of individuals given work during each of the four years 1911-1914.

I. SUMMARY OF WORK DONE BY LABOUR EXCHANGES IN 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914.

	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.
No. of Exchanges open at end of year	261	413	422	400
No. of registrations	2,040,447	2,465,304	2,965,893	3,442,452
No. of individuals registered	1,513,369	1,643,587	1,871,671	2,164,023
No. of vacancies notified ..	788,609	1,062,574	1,222,828	1,479,024
No. of vacancies filled ..	621,410	828,230	921,853	1,116,909
No. of individuals given work	469,210	573,709	652,306	814,071

During the period registrations increased by 69 per cent., individuals registered by 43 per cent., vacancies notified by 88 per cent., vacancies filled by 80 per cent., and number of individuals given work by 74 per cent. The efficiency of Labour Exchanges cannot be judged from these figures, as they are not strictly comparable from year to year as mentioned in paragraph 1. A better measure is given by the following table, which shows for each year, of the number of individuals who registered for unemployment, the proportion who were given work by the Labour Exchange, and the proportion of vacancies notified which were filled :—

II. PROPORTION OF INDIVIDUALS GIVEN WORK AND OF VACANCIES FILLED.

	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.
Proportion of individuals given work to individuals registered	31.0%	34.9%	34.9%	37.6%
Proportion of vacancies filled to vacancies notified ..	78.8%	77.9%	75.4%	75.5%

In 1911, 31 per cent. of the workpeople who registered were given work, which increased to 37.6 per cent. in 1914, whereas of number of vacancies notified, 78.8 per cent. were filled in 1911 but fell to 75.5 in 1914. Here, again, no general conclusions can be drawn, for by the National Insurance Act registration is made compulsory in the insured trades, but notification of vacancies is still optional. The summary figures for 1914 are shown in the next table for the four

separate "departments" of Labour Exchanges, viz., men, women, boys, and girls:—

III. SUMMARY OF WORK DONE IN 1914 DISTINGUISHING MEN, WOMEN, BOYS, AND GIRLS.

	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.
No. of registrations	2,316,042	707,071	211,898	207,441
No. of individuals registered	1,381,694	476,926	157,093	148,310
No. of vacancies notified ..	909,383	312,344	157,278	100,019
No. of vacancies filled ..	706,458	232,935	103,280	74,236
No. of individuals given work	507,538	160,145	85,068	61,320

The "juvenile" work of Labour Exchanges is, on the whole, more successful than the "adult" side. Of the individuals registered for employment, 36.7 per cent. were given work in the case of men, 33.6 in the case of women, 54.1 in the case of boys, and 41.4 per cent. in the case of girls.

Space prevents the inclusion of any more figures as to the working of the exchanges, but separate figures for different trades and districts are given in the "Abstract of Labour Statistics." The figures are, however, so difficult to interpret to anyone unacquainted with them that it is earnestly to be hoped that the long-promised report on the Labour Exchanges will be issued without delay.

Since the outbreak of the war returns have been published showing, for men and women, the numbers each week registering for employment at the Labour Exchanges. Workmen in the insured trades are excluded, and the remainder, the so-called uninsured live register, is set out on the chart below, which is given in order to complete the information as to the affect of the war on employment, as shown in Charts A and B (pages 230-1), and because these figures comprise the only information available as to the affect of the war on women's employment. The effect, it will be seen, is very similar to that shown in August by the previous charts, but, whereas men's employment rapidly recovered, the women's curve remains high for a very considerable period.

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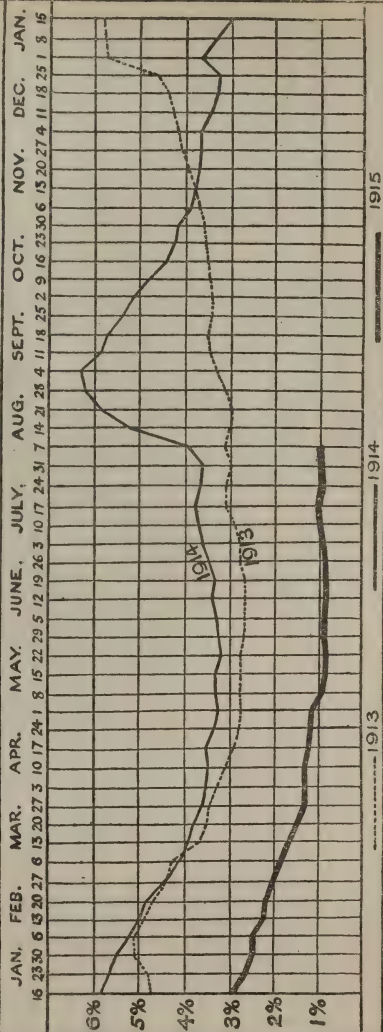
"First Year's Working of the Liverpool Docks Scheme," R. F. Williams (P. S. King and Son).

* No official report of the proceedings of the Board of Trade under the Labour Exchanges Act, 1909, has yet been published.

CHART B.

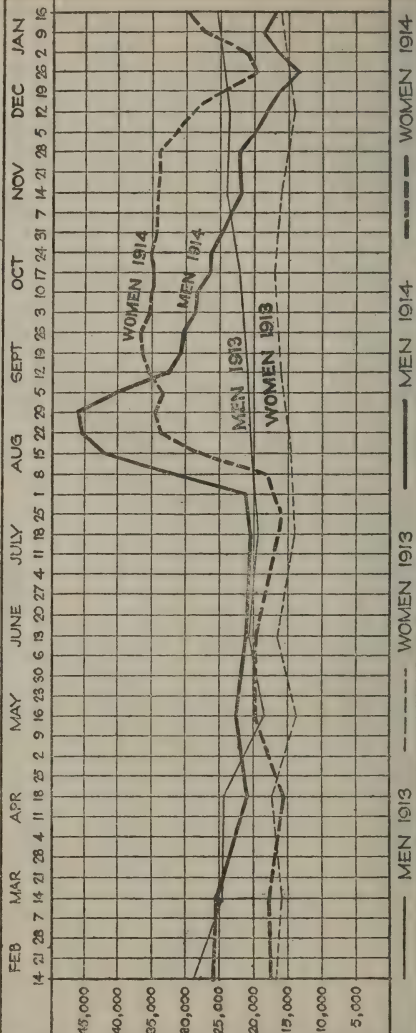
PROPORTION UNEMPLOYED IN THE INSURED TRADES
AT THE END OF EACH WEEK IN 1913, 1914 and 1915

B



1913 1914 1915

NUMBER OF MEN AND WOMEN REMAINING ON THE UNINSURED LIVE REGISTER OF BOARD OF TRADE LABOUR EXCHANGES AT THE UNDERMENTIONED DATES



INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS.

The figures given below serve to indicate the steadily increasing toll of casualties in the ranks of labour. This increase is the more significant when it is remembered that each year more appliances are invented for the safety of the workers, and more Government inspectors are appointed. Yet, in spite of precautions, we find that among non-fatal accidents there has been a steady increase of some 10,000 casualties per annum in factories and workshops alone between 1899 and 1913. Partly, it may be explained, the increase is due merely to more accurate registration. But there is, without doubt, a real net increase.

To what, then, is this due?

The main cause is undoubtedly "speeding-up," whereby the employers, in their eagerness for larger profits by means of increased output, do not scruple to risk the lives of their employees.

In the case of railway accidents, another of the principal causes is that the staffs have been reduced in order that the railway companies may economise in their expenditure, while the amount of work to be done has remained the same, resulting in the overstrain of employees and consequent accidents. Added to this, the companies have in many cases neglected to make use, on the grounds of expense, of the various safeguards against accidents, such as automatic couplings.

The following figures give some idea of the rate of increase in accidents to railway employees :—

In 1904 1 carriage cleaner out of 33 was injured.

1912 1 " " 21 "

1904 1 carriage and wagon examiner out of 47 was injured.

1912 1 " " 32 "

1904 1 checker out of 50 was injured.

1912 1 " " 11 "

1904 1 coupler out of 10 was injured.

1912 1 " " 5 "

1904 1 loader out of 25 was injured.

1912 1 " " 5 "

In the mining industry the fatal accidents in 1914 averaged 100 per month, but this figure does not show any notable increase on those of previous years.

The casualties in factories and workshops maintain a yearly increase of some 10,000 non-fatal injuries.

It should be added that the National Health Insurance Acts and the Notice of Accidents Act of 1906 have resulted in the calling of attention to accidents which would not otherwise have been recorded.

NUMBERS OF PERSONS KILLED IN INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS.

Year.	Persons.	Year.	Persons.
1899.....	4,619	1907	4,453
1900.....	4,753	1908	4,154
1901.....	4,622	1909	4,133
1902.....	4,516	1910	4,704
1903.....	4,154	1911	4,307
1904.....	3,985	1912	5,252
1905.....	4,268	1913	4,863
1906.....	4,369	1914	4,554

NUMBERS OF PERSONS INJURED IN INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS.

Year.	Persons.	Year.	Persons.
1899.....	96,369	1907	156,278
1900.....	104,303	1908	158,356
1901.....	107,286	1909	154,357
1902.....	112,128	1910	167,653
1903.....	115,564	1911	190,764
1904.....	115,515	1912	197,958
1905.....	122,386	1913.....	222,061
1906.....	135,693	1914	—

FATAL INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS.

1914.

Grand totals, including seamen.	Month.	Railways.	Mines and quarries.	Factories.	Docks, wharves, warehouses, etc.
330	January ..	41	121	80	25
422	February ..	33	110	86	24
353	March ..	44	117	80	20
286	April	52	93	61	30
386	May	27	139	89	40
458	June	45	105	72	23
305	July	34	110	65	25
249	August ..	34	67	77	33
292	September	39	79	65	27
391	October..	37	110	89	37
423	November	41	114	98	27
659	December	44	107	107	33
		471	1,272	969	344

Total, 3,056. Grand total, including seamen, 4,554.

1915.

Grand totals, including seamen.	Month.	Railways.	Mines and quarries.	Factories.	Docks, wharves, warehouses, etc.
438	January..	30	116	110	24
437	February ..	39	125	74	32
539	March ..	48	95	69	22
576	April	60	131	112	30
766	May	36	87	81	25
380	June	28	117	77	24
428	July	36	91	72	17
428	August ..	31	101	91	23
		308	863	686	197

Total, 2,054. Grand total, including seamen, 3,992

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES.

The following shows the total number of railway accidents each year from 1899 :—

Year.	Killed.	Injured.	Year.	Killed.	Injured.
1899	584 ...	15,582	1907	509 ...	21,514
1900	631 ...	15,698	1908	432 ...	24,181
1901	565 ...	14,740	1909	372 ...	24,095
1902	485 ...	13,858	1910	420 ...	25,137
1903	497 ...	14,356	1911	446 ...	27,848
1904	448 ...	14,561	1912	403 ...	28,200
1905	437 ...	14,335	1913	463 ...	29,247
1906	483 ...	16,256	1914	477 ...	27,218

In 1913 the total number of railway employees was 643,135, being an increase of 34,385 on the total for 1912. Of these 88,939 were mechanics, 76,210 clerks, 73,207 labourers, 61,648 porters, 29,869 engine drivers, 29,512 signalmen, and 25,509 carmen and vanguards.

The following table shows the total number of railway employees and contractors' servants killed and injured in 1914 :—

	Killed.	Injured.
Accidents connected with the running of trains or the movement of railway vehicles	417	4,950
Other accidents on railway premises	52	22,153
	469	27,103

The following table shows the proportion of employees of different grades engaged in the running of trains killed or injured by train accidents during the year 1914 :—

Class of servant.	Number employed on 31st December, 1913.	Number of killed and injured in 1914.		Proportion to the number employed.	
		Killed.	Injured.	Killed.	Injured.
Engine drivers	29,869	3	26	1 in 9,956	1 in 1,149
Firemen	27,343	4	25	1 in 6,836	1 in 1,094
Guards (goods) and brakemen	16,588	—	39	—	1 in 425
Guards (passenger) ..	8,427	—	13	—	1 in 648
Total	82,227	7	103	1 in 16,792	1 in 798

NOTE.—In addition to the above, one railway employee was killed and twelve were injured. These men were not ordinarily employed in the working of running trains.

The following table shows for the year 1913 the number of men employed by the companies in certain occupations, the numbers killed and injured in accidents, other than train accidents, in which the movement of trains and railway vehicles was concerned, and the proportions of killed and injured to the numbers employed, with the average proportions for the period of ten years ending with 1912 :—

Class of employees.	Numbers employed on December 31st, 1913.	Number of employees of railway companies killed and injured in 1914.		Proportion to the number employed.		Average proportion for the ten years ending with 1913.	
		Killed.	Injured.	Killed.	Injured.	Killed.	Injured.
Engine drivers.....	29,869	22	505	1 in 1,358	1 in 59	1 in 1,436	1 in 65
Firemen	27,343	15	676	1 in 1,823	1 in 40	1 in 1,439	1 in 41
Guards (goods) and brakemen	16,588	39	848	1 in 425	1 in 20	1 in 504	1 in 19
Guards (passenger)	8,427	6	103	1 in 1,404	1 in 82	1 in 1,403	1 in 66
Permanentwaymen	52,517	94	150	1 in 559	1 in 350	1 in 748	1 in 428
Labourers(permanentway)	19,427	19	48	1 in 1,022	1 in 405		
Labourers (others)	53,780	22	117	1 in 2,445	1 in 460	1 in 1,620	1 in 320
Porters.....	61,648	58	551	1 in 1,063	1 in 112	1 in 1,269	1 in 94
Shunters.....	15,095	34	828	1 in 444	1 in 18	1 in 425	1 in 15

The following table shows the average number of employees of railway companies killed or injured by train accidents, and the average train mileage for three periods of ten years and one of nine years ending 1884, 1894, 1904, and 1913 respectively, with the figures for 1914 :—

Year.	Killed.	Injured.	Train mileage (millions).
1875-1884 (Average).....	19	154	238.2
1885-1894 „	8	101	304.9
1895-1904 „	11	139	382.8
1905-1913 „	9	145	420.7
1914	8	115	430.3

The following table shows the average numbers of employees of railway companies killed or injured in accidents connected with the movement of trains and railway vehicles (excluding train accidents), and the approximate numbers employed, for three periods of ten years and one of nine years ending 1884, 1894, 1904, and 1913 respectively, with the figures for 1914 :—

Year.	Killed.	Injured.	Approximate number of employes.
1875-1884 (average).....	560	2,267	291,143
1885-1894 „	440	2,448	367,146
1895-1904 „	457	3,822	530,692
1905-1913 „	376	4,850	610,748
1914	408	4,910	643,135

NOTE.—An Order of the Board of Trade of the 21st December, 1906, required non-fatal accidents to be reported whenever they caused absence from ordinary work for a whole day (instead of absence preventing five hours' work on any of the next three days). This alteration caused a large apparent increase in the number of non-fatal accidents in 1907 and later years.

The following statement shows the average numbers of employees of railway companies killed or injured on railway premises from causes not connected with the movement of trains and railway vehicles, and the average numbers employed, for the two periods 1896-1904 and 1905-1913 inclusive, together with the figures for 1914 :—

Year.	Killed.	Injured.	Approximate number of servants employed.
1896-1904 (average).....	40	10,237	537,979
1905-1913 ,, 	42	18,271	610,748
1914 	47	21,989	643,135

Although these accidents are not as a rule attributable to railway working, an exception must be made in the case of accidents caused by contact with the live rails and wires of railways equipped for electric traction, which are distinctly railway accidents, though not caused by the movement of vehicles. In this way ten employees were injured in 1914; two employees were killed and 14 injured in 1913; in 1912, 14 employees were injured; in 1911, one employee was killed and 20 were injured; and in the seven previous years, 1904-1910 inclusive, the average number of accidents of this nature was one killed and twelve injured. Accidents of this class have become comparatively less frequent than they were when electrical working was introduced, when the increase in the length of line equipped for electric traction is taken into account.

MINES AND QUARRIES.

The following shows the total of mining accidents each year from 1899 :—

Year.	Killed.	Injured.	Year.	Killed.	Injured.
1899	1,089 ...	5,644	1907	1,368 ...	7,690
1900	1,177 ...	5,759	1908	1,437 ...	7,662
1901	1,229 ...	5,326	1909	1,577 ...	7,558
1902	1,172 ...	5,189	1910	1,902 ...	7,444
1903	1,192 ...	5,514	1911	1,407 ...	7,285
1904	1,202 ...	5,312	1912	1,394 ...	6,606
1905	1,304 ...	5,318	1913	1,870 ...	7,164
1906	1,275 ...	5,440	1914	1,272 ...	—

The total number of persons employed at mines and at the quarries under the Quarries Act in the United Kingdom and the Isle of Man during the year 1913 was 1,236,211, of whom 1,155,302 were employed in or about mines and 80,909 in or about quarries.

TABLE I.

PERSONS EMPLOYED AT ALL MINES UNDER THE COAL AND METALLIFEROUS MINES REGULATION ACTS,
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX.

Kind of mine.	Under ground.				Above ground.								Total under and above ground.	Percentage of total number.	Comparison of total number employed with that of preceding year.	
	Males.			Total.	Males.				Females.							
	Ages under 16.	Ages above 16.	Total.		Ages under 14.	Ages 14 to 16.	Ages above 16.	Total.	Ages under 14.	Ages 14 to 16.	Ages above 16.	Total.				
Coal mines...	3,121	51,005	844,852	895,857	5,517	16,016	186,940	208,473	31	911	5,612	6,554	215,027	1,110,884	96.1	+ 38,491
Iron mines..	141	315	13,733	14,048	53	374	3,531	3,958	—	—	6	6	3,964	18,012	1.6	+ 53
Other mines	660	481	15,973	16,454	13	618	9,133	9,764	—	17	171	188	9,952	26,406	2.3	— 390
Total in 1913	3,922	51,801	874,558	926,359	5,583	17,008	199,604	222,195	31	928	5,789	6,748	228,943	1,155,302	100.0	+ 38,154
Total in preceding year	3,910	50,678	844,807	895,485	4,664	15,704	194,633	215,001	30	912	5,720	6,662	221,663	1,117,148	100.0	+ 20,910

MINES.

Of the 1,155,302 persons employed at mines 926,359 worked under ground and 228,943 above ground; of the latter 6,748 were females. Compared with the preceding year, there is an increase of 30,874 males working under ground, and an increase of 7,194 males and of 86 females working above ground, making a total increase of 38,154 persons. The increase at coal mines was 38,491, at iron mines 53, but at "other" mines there was a decrease of 390 in the number of persons employed.

The table on the previous page gives a general summary of the number of persons employed in each of the three classes of mines.

QUARRIES.

According to the returns received by the inspectors, 80,909 persons were employed during 1913 in and about the quarries of the United Kingdom which fall under the Quarries Act, 1894. Of this total 51,266 persons worked *inside* the actual pits, holes, or excavations, whilst 29,643, including 19 females, were employed at factories and workshops *outside*.

Compared with 1912, the figures show increases of 211 and 811 persons employed inside and outside quarries respectively.

ACCIDENTS IN 1913.

In 1913 there were 1,332 fatal accidents in and about mines and quarries, causing the loss of 1,870 lives, or an increase of 476 fatalities as compared with the previous year. Of these accidents 1,251, causing the loss of 1,785 lives, happened at mines, and 81, causing the loss of 85 lives, happened at quarries, or, expressed in terms of the number of persons employed, the death-rate from accidents per 1,000 persons at all mines was: Under ground 1.736 (or surface and under ground 1.545) for 1913, as compared with 1.273 under ground (or 1.181 surface and under ground) for 1912. The high rates for 1913 are due chiefly to the Senghenydd Colliery disaster, where 439 lives were lost. At mines there is, as compared with the previous year, an increase of 60 in the number of fatal accidents and of 466 in the number of deaths.

In classifying the accidents according to place or cause, we find that in 1913 35.4 per cent. of the deaths were due to falls of ground, 23.0 per cent. to miscellaneous causes under ground, 25.9 per cent. to explosions of fire-damp or coal dust, and 5.8 per cent. to shaft accidents.

Explosions of Fire-damp or Coal Dust.—There were twelve fatal and 89 non-fatal accidents by explosions of fire-damp or coal dust, resulting in 462 deaths and injuries to 150 persons. Of the non-fatal accidents, 78 caused a disablement of more than seven days to 131 of the persons injured. Compared with the preceding year, these figures show a decrease of 29 in the number of explosions, but an increase of 338 in the number of deaths and a decrease of 28 in the number of persons injured. The death-rate from explosions of fire-damp or coal dust per 1,000 persons employed under ground in 1913 was 0.499, whilst the average death-rate from this cause during the last ten years was 0.218.

Falls of Ground.—During 1913 632 persons were killed and 62,341 persons were injured by falls of ground at all mines under the Coal

and Metalliferous Mines Regulation Acts, an increase of 43 in the number of deaths, and of 8,940 in the number of persons injured on the figures for the previous year.

Three accidents caused four deaths each, two accidents three deaths each, eleven accidents two deaths each, and the remaining 592 one death each.

Comparing the number of fatal accidents and deaths from falls with the total number of fatal accidents and deaths at mines, it will be seen that falls are responsible for 48.6 per cent. of the total number of accidents and 35.4 per cent. of the total number of deaths.

Shaft Accidents.—Eighty-one fatal accidents, causing 104 deaths, or 5.8 per cent. of the total number of deaths in and about all mines under the Coal and Metalliferous Mines Regulation Acts, were caused by shaft accidents. One accident caused 14 deaths, another four deaths, two accidents three deaths each, three accidents two deaths each, and the remaining 74 caused one death each. Ninety-eight deaths occurred in coal mines and six in other mines.

Miscellaneous Underground Accidents.—Under this division are included all underground accidents other than those from explosions of fire-damp or coal dust, falls of ground, and shaft accidents. It is an important division, which in 1913 caused 374 separate fatal accidents and 410 deaths, or 23 per cent. of all the deaths at mines.

One accident caused 22 deaths, one eight deaths, one three deaths, six two deaths each, and the remaining 365 one death each.

Suffocation by Natural Gases.—Four fatal accidents occurred by which five lives were lost.

Underground Fires.—There were two fatal accidents from this cause, resulting in 25 deaths.

Underground Haulage.—By underground haulage in 1913 there were 249 fatal and 44,076 non-fatal accidents, resulting in 251 deaths and injuries to 44,154 persons, the accidents showing an increase over the preceding year of eleven deaths and 8,386 persons injured.

On Surface.—At all mines classed under the Coal and Metalliferous Mines Regulation Acts there were 176 separate fatal accidents on the surface, involving the loss of 177 lives. There was a decrease of two in the number of fatal accidents and deaths as compared with the preceding year. The death-rate per 1,000 persons employed above ground was .773, and surface accidents account for 9.9 per cent. of the deaths in and about all mines.

One of the accidents caused two deaths, and 175 caused one death each.

Of the 178,962 persons injured by accidents which have occurred at mines, it will be seen that a greater number of persons are disabled for two to four weeks than for any other of the stated periods, viz., no less than 95,391, or over 53 per cent. of the total. From 1,140 mines returns were made showing that no accident has occurred thereat.

ACCIDENTS IN QUARRIES IN 1913.

The total number of fatal accidents which happened in and about the quarries of the United Kingdom under the Quarries Act, 1894, was 81, or ten more than in the preceding year. The total number

TABLE II.
NUMBER OF PERSONS INJURED BY ACCIDENTS AT ALL MINES, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO PERIOD OF
DISABLEMENT.

Act.	8 days.	9 days.	10 days.	11 days.	12 days.	13 days.	2 and under 3 weeks.	3 and under 4 weeks.	4 and under 13 weeks.	13 and under 26 weeks.	26 and under 39 weeks.	39 weeks and over.	Not re- covered at end of year.	Left mine.	Total.
Coal Mines Act	2,715	3,231	3,054	2,560	2,570	1,132	61,694	32,896	49,790	3,698	537	108	13,029	175	177,189
Metalliferous Mines Act...	24	62	59	58	70	6	502	299	509	44	11	4	123	2	1,773
Total in 1913	2,739	3,293	3,113	2,618	2,640	1,138	62,196	33,195	50,299	3,742	548	112	13,152	177	178,962
Total in preceding year ...	2,439	2,761	2,463	2,001	2,142	1,046	50,774	26,976	44,774	3,669	521	92	12,443	201	152,302

of deaths was 85, or ten more than in 1912. Of these 81 separate accidents, 65 causing 69 deaths, happened "inside" the quarries, and 16 causing 16 deaths "outside."

Four of the accidents caused two deaths each, and 77 caused one death each.

The number of non-fatal accidents reported under the Notice of Accidents Act of 1906 was 5,221, and the number of persons injured 5,240.

PROSECUTIONS.

Prosecutions of owners, agents, and managers for offences under the Coal and Metalliferous Mines Regulation Acts :—

	Prosecu- tions.	Convic- tions.	Cases withdrawn or not proven.	Cases dismissed.	Total amount of fines and costs imposed.
Total in 1913 ..	170*	102	5	63	£337 12s. 7d.

* The number of separate firms proceeded against was 31.

This table shows that 102 out of 170 prosecutions, or 60 per cent., resulted in convictions. The average amount of fines and costs imposed was £3 6s. 2d., as compared with £2 19s. 10d. in the preceding year and £2 8s. in 1911.

FACTORIES, DOCKS, WHARVES, WAREHOUSES, ETC.

The following table shows the number of workers killed and injured in factories, docks, and all places of employment other than railways, mines, and quarries, from 1899 to 1914 :—

FACTORIES, DOCKS, WHARVES, WAREHOUSES, ETC.

Year.	Killed.	Injured.	Year.	Killed.	Injured.
1899	871	69,889	1907	1,179	123,146
1900	1,045	77,975	1908	1,042	121,112
1901	1,035	82,725	1909	946	116,554
1902	1,110	89,245	1910	1,080	128,470
1903	1,047	91,553	1911	1,182	147,763
1904	1,018	91,950	1912	1,260	154,972
1905	1,063	99,546	1913	1,309	176,852
1906	1,116	110,788	1914	1,313	—

SHIPPING.

In 1913 the number of seamen employed in vessels belonging to the United Kingdom, the Isle of Man, and the Channel Islands, including Lascars and Asiatics, was 292,057, showing an increase of 6,251 on the figures for 1912.

The number of fatal accidents to seamen in merchant vessels does not show any marked variation during the period between 1899 and 1913. They average about 1,000 a year; but in 1912 the number amounted to 1,961, as this included 673 lives lost in the "Titanic" disaster.

Fishing vessels show a total of 303 deaths for 1913, nearly 100 more than in any of the previous five years.

The total fatal accidents in 1914 in merchant and fishing vessels amounted to 1,498.

As regards non-fatal accidents, there were in 1913 17,658 in merchant and 422 in fishing vessels; in both divisions a considerable increase on the previous three years.

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INDUSTRIAL DISEASES.

1889-1914.

The following table indicates the returns of cases of industrial diseases and deaths resulting therefrom reported to the Home Office from 1889 to 1914, detailed figures for the latter year and for 1915 up to date of publication being given in additional tables:—

Year.	Cases.			Deaths.			Total.	Grand Total.
	Lead poisoning.	Other poisons.	Anthrax.	Lead poisoning.	Other poisoning.	Anthrax.		
1889	1,258	18	55	31	1	14	46	1,331
1900	1,257	34	37	76	3	7	86	1,328
1901	1,032	34	39	75	1	10	86	1,105
1902	798	14	38	46	2	9	57	860
1903	815	13	47	58	0	12	70	875
1904	824	9	50	55	1	10	66	883
1905	755	12	59	51	1	18	70	826
1906	813	9	66	69	0	21	90	888
1907	752	17	58	65	3	11	79	827
1908	885	34	47	76	1	7	84	966
1909	794	16	56	77	0	12	89	866
1910	737	17	51	73	1	9	83	805
1911	932	22	64	85	1	11	97	1,018
1912	843	22	47	91	0	6	97	912
1913	826	20	70	64	0	7	71	916
1914	686	12	54	67	1	7	75	752

1914.

Cases.					Deaths.			
Month.	Lead.	Other poisoning.	Anthrax.	Grand total.	Lead.	Other poisoning.	Anthrax.	Grand total.
January ..	62	0	7†	69	9	0	3	12
February ..	75	0	5*	80	7	0	0	7
March ..	57	0	7†	64	5	0	0	5
April	55	2	7†	64	4	0	2	6
May	49	2	8§	59	2	0	0	2
June	69	1	2||	72	6	0	0	6
July	84	3	6	93	5	0	0	5
August ..	51	0	2	53	8	0	0	8
September	50	2	1	53	5	1	0	6
October ..	43	2	2	47	5	0	1	6
November	44	0	2	46	8	0	0	8
December.	47	0	5	52	3	0	1	4
Total ..	686	12	54	752	67	1	7	75

* Two extra cases, dock labourers, reported.

† In addition, one case of dock labourer reported.

‡ In addition, one dock labourer.

§ Two extra cases, one dock labourer and wife of man employed in tannery.

|| In addition, two cases of dock labourers reported (one fatal).

1915.

Cases.					Deaths.			
Month.	Lead.	Other poisoning.	Anthrax.	Grand Total.	Lead.	Other poisoning.	Anthrax.	Grand Total.
January ..	36	2	2	40	7	0	0	7
February ..	33	0	5	38	7	0	0	7
March	35	0	5*	40	4	0	1	5
April	38	0	4	42	5	0	0	5
May	60	0	8	68	7	0	2	9
June	46	2	5	53	4	1	1	6
July	39	2	5	46	2	0	1	3
August ..	46	2	4	52	2	0	0	2
Total ..	338	8	38	379	38	1	5	44

* In addition, three cases (two fatal) reported among dock and transport labourers.

INDUSTRIAL FATIGUE.

1. Fatigue, or the diminution of the capacity for work which follows excess of work or lack of rest, has been considered so natural a feeling that it is only recently that doctors have begun to look into its causes and its physiological aspects. In the course of the last 20 years, however, research, led by Professor Mosso, has shown that there is a definite objective fatigue of the muscles due to the "accumulation of poisonous products of activity and the exhaustion or diminished supply of the substances necessary for the continuance of activity," and that these physical and chemical features of muscular fatigue are demonstrable also in the other tissues and organs of the body.

These bodily or "objective" changes do not necessarily always occur when we have "subjective" feelings of fatigue, and sometimes occur when we have no such feelings; but all the same, the state of mind undoubtedly has an influence on our capacity for work. For instance, as a set off to fatigue, interest in the work and even interests outside to which to look forward will quicken our activities, and with the ability brought by practice of working quite automatically, have a direct influence, mainly on the capacity to work itself, but also on other capacities, such as the avoidance of accidents.

2. How great exactly the **Influence** of all these factors is **in the actual working life of the factory** can be gauged statistically in the following manner: Divide the working day into periods of, say, one hour each and record the output and accidents occurring each hour; then the difference between the hours will measure the effect of the amount of previous work done. If accidents rise and output falls as the hours roll by, then it would indicate that the work is fatiguing; if accidents fall and output rises, on the other hand, "practice" or interest would seem to overcome fatigue.

Let us then look at some few of the actual figures collected for a committee of the British Association on Industrial Fatigue that reported in September, 1915.

TABLE I.

A. OUTPUT IN TIN SOLDERING ON A PIECE WAGE.

A sum of three records of output per worker per day taken at three different factories and representing a total of 143 working days.

B. OUTPUT IN TIN LABELLING ON A PIECE WAGE.

A sum of three records of output per worker per day taken at two different factories and representing a total of 46 working days.

Morning.			Afternoon.		
Hour of spell.	Number of tins.		Hour of spell.	Number of tins.	
	A	B		A	B
1st	114.06	593.7	1st	119.43	602.6
2nd	167.44	669.0	2nd	165.42	622.9
3rd	159.59	687.9	3rd	163.23	611.0
4th	157.27	624.7	4th	155.95	—
5th	138.96	574.3			

TABLE II.

OUTPUT OF SEMI-AUTOMATIC STAMPING PRESS.

Collected in the U.S. Report on Women and Child Wage-Earners, Vol. VII. Hours of work are 7 to 11-30, 12 to 4-30.

Hour of day.	Total.	Hour of day.	Total.
	Per hour.		Per hour.
7 to 8 a.m.....	37,631	12 to 1 p.m.	39,156
8 to 9 a.m.....	39,855	1 to 2 p.m.	40,592
9 to 10 a.m.	40,201	2 to 3 p.m.	41,258
10 to 11 a.m.....	40,316	3 to 4 p.m.	40,373
11 to 11-30 a.m.	42,234	4 to 4-30 p.m.	42,010

TABLE III.

ACCIDENTS IN THE LANCASHIRE COTTON INDUSTRY.

Presented to the Departmental Committee on Accidents, 1908. Regular hours of work are 6 to 8, 8 to 12-30, 1-30 to 5-30.

Hour of day.	Accidents per hour.	Hour of day.	Accidents per hour.	Hour of day.	Accidents per hour.
6 to 7	240	8.30 to 9.30	316	1.30 to 2	222
7 to 8	467	9 to 10	372	2 to 3	335
		10 to 11	665	3 to 4	536
		11 to 12	623	4 to 5	512
		12 to 12.30	651	5 to 5.50	615

TABLE IV.

ACCIDENTS IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY IN THE STATE OF ILLINOIS, 1911, 1912, AND 1913.

Reports of the Illinois Bureau of Labour Statistics. Usual hours of work are about 7 to 12 and 1 to about 5.

Hour of day.	Total number of accidents.	Hour of day.	Total number of accidents.
7 to 7.59	695	1 to 1.59	886
8 to 8.59	970	2 to 2.59	1,253
9 to 9.59	1,275	3 to 3.59	1,382
10 to 10.59	1,485	4 to 4.59	1,327
11 to 11.59	1,438		

The feature of all these records that strikes us first is the repetition of the upward or downward trend in each of the two or three spells

of work. It is not the hour of the day that seems important in determining the number of accidents and the amount of output, but the hour of the spell. It is, therefore, on the changes between the four or five different hours of the spell that we must concentrate attention.

The number of **accidents** is much greater in the second than the first hour of each spell, and very much greater in the third than in the second, the increase of the third over the first hour in both spells being about 220 per cent. for cotton in Lancashire and from 50 to 66 per cent. for manufacture in Illinois. Towards the end of the spell there follows a drop in the accident number, though where the very last half-hour is measured separately, as in cotton, the drop is then recovered again.

The amount of **output** is a good deal less in the first hour of each spell than in the second in all cases. After the second hour, in the case of soldering and labelling tins, output gradually **diminishes**, till in the fifth hour there is quite a big drop, while in the case of stamp pressing the output is almost stationary but increases on the whole.

3. For these rather complicated facts, it is obvious that the **explanation** cannot be a simple one; there is not one cause, but a perspective of causes. In the foreground comes the struggle of practice and interest against fatigue, and behind them and throwing them into different relief are all the different working conditions, and especially the different kinds of work performed. With this picture in our minds let us try to explain our facts as befits the scientist, not dogmatically, but suggestingly and with reserve.

Between the first and second hour of the spell the increasing output is probably due to the increased facility brought by an hour's practice, but this practice does not counterbalance fatigue in its effect on accidents, for these would occur through momentary inattention and lack of muscular control rather than through lack of facility.

Between the second and third hour and in the middle of the spell generally, fatigue is the strongest influence both on output and accidents; accidents rise everywhere and output falls in soldering and labelling, though in pressing it is almost stationary. The difference in the course of these "outputs" seems due to the nature of the process; while labelling and soldering requires judgment and skill, stamp pressing is uniform and automatic and the mind and nervous system need not be concentrated. Hence, while the number of tins labelled and soldered diminishes as the central nerves get fatigued, the pressing goes on quite independently, hardly falling or rising.

In the last hour or hour and a-half of the spell an interest outside one's work comes in. There is the anticipation of a pause, a rest, a change, and food, and this wakes a man from lethargy, braces up his attention and muscular control, and decreases accidents. But this anticipatory excitement does not seem to increase speed; the output in soldering and tin-labelling continues to decrease, still presumably under the supremacy of fatigue, while even in the stamp-pressing output there is quite a drop from 3 to 4 p.m.

In the cotton and stamp-pressing tabulation we are enabled to see the events of the very last half-hour of each spell, and we find accidents swerving up again and output increasing. The latter is probably due to a conscious spurt on the part of workers trying to make up their amounts, the former perhaps to the failure of even "anticipation" in coping with fatigue.

4. The test of fatigue adopted by the British Association Committee is **not the only test** of industrial fatigue, **nor yet does it measure every aspect of fatigue.**

The famous experiments of Dr. Abbé at the Zeiss Optical Works (in 1891) and of Sir William Mather at the Salford Iron Works (in 1894) proved the existence of fatigue by showing **no diminution of output**, though the hours of work were reduced from nine to eight per day, and similar results proved the same facts in Fromont's reduction at the Engis chemical works in Liège, in 1897, in the introduction of the eight-hour day at Woolwich Arsenal in 1894 (see the "Labour Gazette" for July, 1905, page 196), and in many changes from the twelve-hour to the eight-hour shift in iron and steel works, particularly in America.

The fatigue that increases from day to day and week to week, which instead of being wiped out by rest, food, and sleep accumulates until it leads to permanent debility or a breakdown, can obviously not be measured by a daily or even weekly record of output and accident. The test needed here is some correlation of the sickness rate with the amount of overtime or speeding-up that is prevalent.

5. **The significance to industrial organisation** of the conclusions of all the scientific researches chronicled above may be sketched roughly in the following sequence :—

First, the importance of the rôle played by fatigue and other inner states of the individual worker. It is not a monopoly of mental work to be influenced in quantity and quality by the human disposition. For the efficient management and organisation of factory and office account must be taken of the human element just as much as of the material and the machine.

Second, the importance of the rest pause. A break in the work would seem to shed its influence all round; it causes a bracing excitement that avoids accidents beforehand and brings on after it a new lease of working capacity. More important than the length of the working day seems the length of spell, the breaking up of continuous periods of work.

Third, the importance of the nature of the work in modifying the onset of fatigue. In uniform repetition work causing "subjective" feelings of monotony "objective" fatigue seems far less effective than in the nerve-taxing work of attending to a loom or of labelling and soldering accurately in place.

Fourth and finally, the importance of a really scientific management that will take account of and study fatigue, and that will adapt accordingly the hours of labour in each kind of work. Failing this, scientific factory laws.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The standard work summarising all the knowledge of industrial fatigue gained up to the time of its publication (1912) and advocating reforms on that basis is Josephine Goldmark's "Fatigue and Efficiency" (Russel Sage Foundation, New York). Hugo Münsterberg's "Psychology and Industrial Efficiency" throws light on certain aspects, but otherwise reading matter is confined to articles, passages in official reports, and scientific pamphlets, such as Professor F. S. Lee's, from which we have quoted.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.

Scientific management is the best name for what is also called "American methods" and "efficiency engineering," because the two words indicate exactly the difference from similar systems and define exactly the scope of such systems.

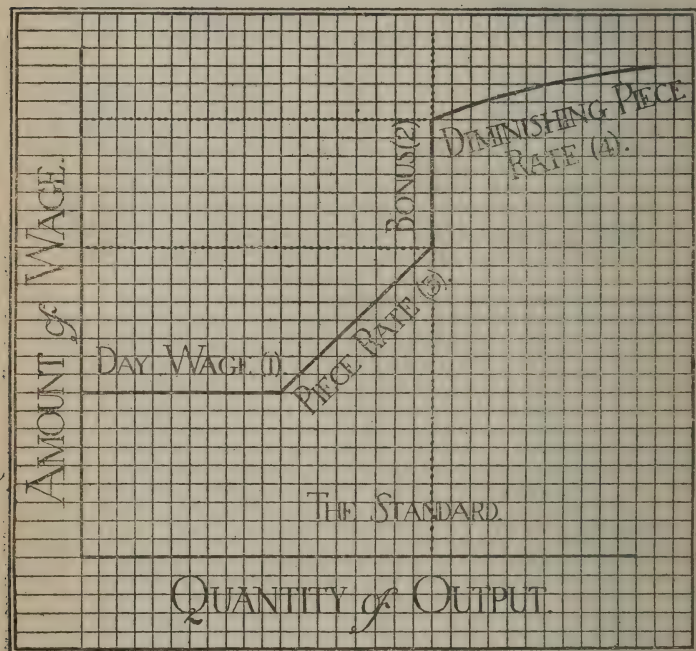
When we say that an invention is scientific we mean that before being used it has been thoroughly thought out and been found to work efficiently in all conditions; similarly, while many of our business managers are inclined to muddle through or, as the Americans put it, "to trust to the Almighty," scientific management stands for forethought and experiment, for a "look" before the "leap."

The word management limits the system to one of relative subordination. By management proper is meant not the control of industry such as capitalists now exercise, but simply the carrying out of the controllers' policy. The manager has but to think of ways and means, and would be equally necessary under State or Guild control as under the capitalist régime. The work of the factory manager consists, first, in bringing together material, equipment, and men for certain hours of the day and dividing out the work among them; then in planning the operation of this "organisation" in turning materials into goods, while all the time keeping records of the cost.

Scientific management has introduced changes in all these branches. Buildings are designed to facilitate the flow or "routing" of the goods, and appliances are invented to save the worker awkward movements and generally to ease the working conditions; the total daily hours of labour are often shortened, or else pauses are introduced, and the work is divided anew to suit more closely the powers and opportunities of the workers and introduce into the factory the new class of trained scientific managers; finally, on special forms the most detailed accounts are recorded of all the actual factory operations and their cost. But scientific management has gone further and extended its deliberate "fore-planning" to the operations of the individual workers or gangs, time-studies of which are made the basis of the whole calculation. A **time-study** is an observation of a typical individual at work which resolves his work into its component motions, times these motions, and notes any that seem useless or possible of improvement; from this knowledge a "standard" method and speed of operation can be devised which eliminates all waste motion and strain, allows sufficient rests and often introduces quite new ideas in the arrangement and performance of the work. That the operations now actually standardised in this way are subject to further improvement may be deduced from the fact that research into the laws of muscular and nervous fatigue has as yet received little more than lip-service in "efficiency" text-books. There is a constant bias to make the standard one of output (partly because that is easily measured) rather than one of human health and convenience. Yet this is only to say that the scheme of management is in some directions not scientific enough.

The scheme once thought out, the problem arises how to gain its adoption by directors and staff of the factory. There must be some "**inducement**" offered to capitalist and to worker. To the capitalist the

inducement is obvious; higher profits flow automatically from greater efficiency, and all that has to be done is to show him tactfully how inefficient he is to start with. To the worker within the capitalist system, however, the gains of efficient management are not thus immediately available; to attract him, therefore, scientific management has to devise new methods and new scales of remuneration, so arranged that it will be to the workers' pecuniary interest to adopt "standard" working habits and the "standard" speed.



In the **method of remuneration** the obvious device will be to give the worker a bonus when he has reached the standard output or "task" and to encourage approximations to this output by a piece wage. This is represented in the diagram below by the rising incline (3) and sudden jump up (2) in the "amount of wage" line as the output (measured along the base line from left to right) increases to the standard. For quantities of output at each extreme (low and high) there is less agreement among the wage-systems of different scientific managers. Most, however, pay a time rate or "day" wage, which ensures the worker a certain flat amount ((1) in the figure) however small the output, and for an output beyond the standard pay a piece

rate diminishing as the output increases. This diminution in the rate, marked in the figure by a curve (4), is important since it discourages unlimited speeding-up beyond what was scientifically fixed as the standard.

As for the **scale of remuneration**, scientific managers maintain that they not only pay higher wages, but since they only settle piece rates after detailed analysis and time-study, they are in a position to guarantee that there will be no subsequent "nibbling" of the rate. These contentions, however, are not entirely supported by the Trade Unions and require statistical examination, particularly since the scale is seldom settled or maintained by collective bargaining.

Though there are but few firms in England that have introduced scientific management, the system has spread very largely in America, and an acute controversy has arisen as to the **effect of the system as a whole on the workers and their unions**. The main questions in dispute are these :—

1. Whether scientific management does not force the workman to depend on the employers' conception of fairness and limit the democratic safeguard of the worker : or whether it is not substituting natural law and a rational rule in place of conservative traditions and a code of discipline based upon the caprice and arbitrary power of men.

2. Whether scientific management, by making him follow definite individual instruction cards does not tend to deprive the worker of all thought, initiative, sense of achievement, and joy in his work in so far as he had them before and to break up the "social ethics" of the workshop ; or whether workers do not take a certain common pride in the efficiency of the whole of which they form part, and whether, by the transmission to the workers of industrial knowledge and by providing immediate rewards for increased or improved output and for all usable suggestions, scientific management does not stimulate the worker intellectually.

3. Whether scientific management is not a form of speeding-up leading to fatigue, inability to enjoy one's leisure, and a merely short time efficiency ; or whether the observations on which the task is set are sufficiently general to ensure a better adaptation of the work to the individual.

4. Whether scientific management, by transferring to the management and the efficiency engineer the traditional knowledge and skill of the worker, does not intensify the modern tendency toward extreme specialisation ; or whether the worst features of such a tendency are not the result of the introduction of machinery and of the capitalist control that works at present above the management.

All these controversies bring us back to the fact that scientific management is as yet the servant of capitalism and that there are but few chances of judging it on its own merits. Where, however, it is unconnected with the "human factor" of the wage-earner, scientific management has developed mechanical devices and acquired a "handwisdom" that should be of value in eliminating waste and increasing the wealth of the whole community, whoever has industrial control.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Since F. W. Taylor, the founder of Scientific Management, published his "Principles" there has accumulated a wealth of literature on this subject in America all rather inaccessible to the English reader. The most complete treatment is C. B. Thompson's "Scientific Management," which gives extracts from all the principal exponents. Other authorities are H. L. Gantt, "Work, Wages, and Profits"; F. B. Gilbreth, "Motion Study"; Harrington Emerson (many works on "Efficiency") and C. E. Knoeppel, "Installing Efficiency Methods," each expounding a somewhat different school of thought. Critical examinations of these schemes are at present confined to articles in reviews, such as Mr. Edward Cadbury's in the "Sociological Review" in 1914. The United States Commission on Industrial Relations is, however, investigating very exhaustively the relations of Scientific Management and Labour, with Professor R. F. Hoxie, of Chicago, as their representative, to whose work this article owes much.

THE FUTURE OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

BY MARGARET G. BONDFIELD.

The war has accelerated the invasion by women of those employments hitherto the close preserves of men. The awful sacrifice of men's lives demanded by war ensures that the invasion is of a permanent character. Organised Labour will be well advised to keep this fact in mind and to so shape its policy as to be able to seize the new opportunities to build on sure foundations and to organise a more rational distribution of labour in relation to its fitness for the work.

Three conditions of vital importance to the whole community must be insisted upon: that the influx of women in such large numbers shall not further depress the standard of life of the working classes; that the conditions under which women work shall not impair their physical, mental, and moral efficiency as human beings and potential mothers; and that the industrial system shall be humanised.

The dominant factor is the question of wages. Opinions among women themselves as to the best method of progression can be divided into two main groups, i.e., the collectivist group and the individualistic group; the latter group sees primarily the individual woman, demands her right to personal freedom and to opportunities for self-development, and is inclined to resent any form of prohibition, whether by Trade Unions or by legislation. The collectivist group sees primarily the working class as a whole, and is ready to sacrifice the individual to the good of the greater number. The difference between them is largely that of emphasis; there is no fundamental antagonism, but each group views the problem from a different angle. It is necessary that both groups should join forces on the points of agreement, and by the exercise of mutual goodwill work together to secure conditions essential to protect the woman wage-earner from degradation.

In the out-of-work man's household it is the wife, the mother, and the daughter, equally with the father, who calls "shame" on the women "rate breakers." She not only displaces the man, but helps to starve those other dependent women; it must be remembered, however, that hatred against the male blackleg is equally intense, and that—notwithstanding the speeches of certain old-fashioned Trade Unionists and the actions of certain Trade Unions, which are to be deplored—the problem of the future is far more one of cheap labour than of sex antagonism.

The principle of equal pay for equal work is accepted generally by organised Labour as represented by the Workers' War Emergency Committee and the Trades Union Congress, but that is a very rough guide and breaks down in application to detail on account of the difficulty of determining the "equal work." In the textile trade piecework prices are fixed irrespective of whether the work is done by men or women, and there are many occupations in which that method could be adopted, but for the great groups of time workers and in processes where women only are employed some outside help will be needed to lift them to the point of effective organisation.

Trade Boards have effected some improvement, but the machinery is only adapted to deal with the sensationally low wages of the sweated trades, and the awards only aim at a low subsistence level, also its growth is painfully slow.

A far more effective method would be the establishment of a national minimum wage of £1 per week at 18 years of age, with the onus on employers alternatively to show cause why they should be exempted from the national minimum and be permitted to make application under the Trade Board Act for a lesser minimum.

The next important factor is the question of hours, and the programme of organised Labour for a national eight-hour day should be rigorously pressed, as it would bring immense relief to women workers. It would not, however, in itself be adequate to safeguard the health of the rising generation.

It is pointed out in the Report of the Committee on Physical Deterioration that, from a physical point of view, the most dangerous period is that between leaving school and 18 years of age. "The Committee are impressed with the conviction that the period of adolescence is responsible for much waste of human material, and for the entrance upon maturity of permanently damaged and ineffective persons of both sexes. The plasticity of the physical organisation, the power it possesses of yielding rapidly towards degenerative or recuperative influences, appears to terminate at 18, and the records of the years preceding that age are in the great majority of cases decisive for self-improvement or the reverse."

It is, therefore, extremely important to secure for all working girls up to the age of 18 a reduction of the total hours worked (including class work) to 30 hours a week, coupled with a plan of physical and technical education.

The demand for an all-round knowledge of a trade must be made more insistently by organised Labour to combat the tendency to concentrate attention intensively upon very limited tasks. It is not at all proved that in the long run the best commercial results are obtained by minute sub-divisions of labour; it is certainly proved that this method does lead to the stultification and deterioration of men and women, and it is therefore hurtful to the community. There is less danger of injury to the individual if she starts her industrial career with a broad training of hands and brain.

It is a healthy sign of growth that the workers are not content even when hours and working conditions have reached a fairly high level; they want effective control of their lives; they demand recognition as partners in this business of life—the creation and distribution of wealth.

The Verband Schweiz-Konsumvereine (the Swiss Consumers' Union), among many other excellent regulations for the conduct of its affairs, has developed a method of control by means of the "Workshop Committee," about which more should be heard in this country. The special duties attached to the Committee are:—

1. To express its opinion on every proposal put forward by the management affecting wages and conditions of employment, and on any arrangement which would affect the personnel before any of these proposals can be enforced.

2. To advise with regard to, and give reasons for, advocating any wishes and efforts put forward by the management concerning any matters affecting the entire personnel or any group of employers.

3. To examine and report to the management on all complaints, requests, or wishes brought forward by employees, collectively or individually.

4. The Committee must report to the employees on all matters laid before it by the management which affect the interests of any or all the employees.

5. If requested to do so by either party, the Committee must attempt to settle any dispute which has to do with conditions of employment.

6. To maintain order and discipline amongst employees, and to establish a friendly feeling between employees and between foremen and those under them.

This Workshops Committee, exercising many of the powers vested in the ordinary management of a business, is elected by the workpeople from among their number. It holds office for three years. Every employee who has been in the service of the V.S.K. is eligible for election, and every employee of three months' service is eligible to vote. Every employee who has not already served on the Committee must accept election, and the basis of representation is one committee-man for every 30 employees or fraction over 15 employees, but it must not consist of less than seven persons.

A modified form of the V.S.K. Workshops Committee is being tried in this country by at least one large employer of labour.

Mr. Edward Cadbury says :—

"We adopt a system of committees in the general organisation of the factory. The four managing directors divide the business organisation between them, and have the control of their own departments. They and the chairman meet weekly as a committee of management, and this committee is the final authority in all cases. There are also several committees, with one of the managing directors as chairman, for example, the Men's Works Committee, which is responsible for the internal working of the men's departments, and the Girls' Works Committee, which has the same function with regard to the women's departments. These two committees consist of one of the directors as chairman, members of the staff selected by the board of directors, and a foreman or forewoman elected by the foremen or forewomen to represent them. The secretary of the Men's Works Committee is a member of the Girls' Works Committee, thus keeping the two committees in touch with each other. These committees serve a most useful purpose, and the directors have continued to devolve duties upon them. They have a large amount of work to do, having an agenda of 70 to 80 items each week."

It is important to note that in the V.S.K. and at Bournville the management encourages Trade Union organisation.

The need for these national minima is the more urgent in view of the extended application of "scientific management." This system "fundamentally consists of certain broad general principles, a certain philosophy, which can be applied in many ways . . . the best mechanism for applying these general principles should in no way be confused with the principles themselves. The managers assume the burden of gathering together all the traditional knowledge which in the past has been possessed by the workman, then of classifying, tabulating, and reducing this knowledge to rules, laws, and formulæ which are immensely helpful to the workmen in doing their daily work."—(Taylor's "Scientific Management," pp. 28-9.)

It is claimed the system selects the best worker for the job, trains him in it so that the output is of the best quantity and quality, and

at the same time the system improves the wages, health, and morals of the workers.

But that is true only so long as the management is honourable, conscientious, and controlled by the workers themselves. In the absence of high principles and of democratic control the system tends to feed selfish interests and lust for wealth at the awful cost of the stultification and enslavement of the worker.

In practice this "mechanism" has been on occasions absolutely divorced from all right principles or humane philosophy, and has degenerated into sheer "drive," and into "task" work which is soul-destroying in its absolute denial of initiative, of personality, or of control to the individual worker, and which "unloads the hazards of lost time and mistakes in construction upon the men." (*"The McKee Rocks Strike."* Survey, 1909, p. 656.)

The very sub-division of processes entails the metamorphosis of the workers from thinking human beings to automata who repeat certain motions mechanically with incredible speed until told to stop! Organised workmen are resisting this soulless monster because they cannot yet control it. Will women be able to do so? Only if they adopt the weapon of Trade Union organisation and intelligently apply themselves to understand its uses. One of its uses is to study the theory and practice of "Scientific Management," and discover how to subordinate it to human needs.

Because women will in future take such a large share of the world's work it is more than ever important that conditions of work shall be humanised; in future the success of an industrial undertaking must be measured not alone by its cash profits, but by the number of human lives which it makes or mars, by the opportunities it offers to its labour force to develop its intelligence and self-reliance as well as its skill.

During the war we have heard much about British love of justice and freedom; of her hatred of greed and selfishness, of her pure-souled purpose to die to the last man for the maintenance of righteousness.

Here in Great Britain the immediate future of her industrial women workers is full of menacing perils. Our patriots will have the opportunity to prove their sincerity, their passionate abhorrence of wrong done to women and children through uncontrolled industrialism, by helping to secure the reforms outlined above. Women workers will be wise, however, not to depend too much on the "paper patriots"; they must learn to take care of themselves, to fight their own battles, to face bravely and unitedly the terrible problems bound up with working-class life, the spells of unemployment, the married woman worker and her double responsibility, the woman with dependents, the young girl and her temptations, the clashing of interests between employer and employed, between industrial life and family life.

There is a fine, brave social consciousness growing in our midst manifested in all classes and in all sorts and conditions of people. That force will be irresistibly drawn to support the just demand of women workers for a decent standard of life.

But that demand must become strongly articulate and intelligently possible through perfecting the machinery of Trade Union organisation—one of the instruments by means of which the soul of the people may find fulfilment.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

OCCUPATIONS.

TABLE I. (I.)*.—Occupations of women of 10 years of age and upwards in England and Wales, classified according to industries, from the Census of 1911 :—

I. General or Local Government	50,975
II. Defence of country .....	..
III. Professional occupations	347,043
Principal occupations—	
Teaching	187,283
Medical (including sick nurses)	87,699
IV. Domestic services	1,734,040
Principal occupations—	
Domestic indoor service	1,271,990
Charwomen	126,061
Laundry workers	167,052
V. Commercial occupations	126,847
Principal occupation—	
Commercial clerks	117,057
VI. Transport	24,474
VII. Agriculture	94,722
VIII. Fishing	100
IX. Mines and quarries	5,511
X. Metals, machines, tools, conveyances.....	101,050
XI. Precious metals, etc.	23,633
XII. Building.....	580
XIII. Wood and furniture	30,184
XIV. Bricks, cement.....	39,124
XV. Chemicals	36,870
XVI. Skins, leather, hair, feathers.....	30,208
XVII. Paper, prints, books, etc.	121,309
XVIII. Textile fabrics	746,154
Principal occupations—	
Cotton manufacture	371,797
Wool and worsted manufacture.....	120,910
Dealers (drapers and others)	89,818
XIX. Dress	755,964
Principal occupations—	
Tailors	127,115
Dressmakers	339,240
Milliners	66,578
Shirtmakers, seamstresses	80,338
XX. Food, tobacco, drink, lodging	474,683
Principal occupations—	
Bakers, confectioners (dealers)	66,242
Grocers (dealers)	53,638
Board, lodging, dealing in spirituous drinks	212,505
XXI. Gas, water, electricity, sanitary service.. ..	116
XXII. General and undefined workers and dealers	87,115
Total in all occupations	4,830,734
XXIII. Without specified occupations or unoccupied	10,026,379

* The figures in brackets refer to the authorities, of which a list is given on page 278.

Of this total of close upon 5,000,000 "gainfully occupied" women and girls of 10 years of age and upwards, about 80,000 (II.) are working employers, about 313,000 more are individual producers on their own account, while the remainder, who comprise the vast majority, are serving for salaries or wages. More than half the female population between the ages of 15 and 25 is thus at work for hire; at the most employed ages, viz., 15 to 20 years, 70 per cent. are employed. In fact, the vast majority of English women are wage-earners during some part of their lives.

If the female workers of Scotland (593,210) and of Ireland (430,092) be added to those of England and Wales the total reaches 5,854,036. By 1915 the number of women and girls working for gain in the United Kingdom must have risen to at least 6,000,000.

COMPETITION BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN.

TABLE I. (I.).—Number of women per 1,000 employed in certain occupations for the six census years, 1861-1911:—

Occupations.	Census of					
	1861.	1871.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
Teachers, professors, lecturers	725	741	727	740	745	727
Photographers	66	147	197	234	257	297
Laundry and washing service.....	990	987	981	964	957	931
Commercial or business clerks	5	16	33	72	153	245
Telegraph and telephone service	82	76	236	291	406	522
Earthenware, china, porcelain	311	354	384	385	392	421
India rubber, waterproof goods workers ..	206	200	275	391	398	370
Brush, broom, hair, bristle workers	321	346	382	389	431	440
Paper manufacture	417	395	444	401	366	312
Stationery, paper box, etc.—makers and dealers	345	380	531	600	643	653
Cotton manufacture	567	598	620	609	628	614
Wool and worsted manufacture.....	461	513	561	557	582	571
Silk manufacture	642	676	691	667	702	693
Hemp, jute, cocoa fibre, rope, mat, canvas, sailcloth, etc.—manufacture	265	304	374	393	492	530
Hosiery manufacture.....	468	468	533	629	713	735
Lace manufacture	829	826	743	625	653	630
Carpet, rug, felt—manufacture	183	312	362	440	517	544
Drapers, linen drapers, mercers.....	208	257	349	433	504	560
Straw—plait, hat, bonnet manufacture ..	921	926	903	814	737	666
Glove makers	864	882	854	769	761	731
Boot, shoe, slipper, patten, clog—makers and dealers	154	115	160	185	210	226
Tobacco manufacturers; tobacconists	221	296	435	548	601	596

The Table may be read thus:—

Of 1,000 persons employed as commercial clerks in 1861, 5 were females; of 1,000 similarly employed in 1871, 16 were females; and of 1,000 in 1911, 245 were females. (The Table, of course, gives no indication as to the growth or decline of any occupation; it only shows the number of females relative to the aggregate of males and females at each census.)

Competition between men and women is seldom direct, for (except in periods of trade transition) men and women are seldom employed on the same processes of industry. Either the women are excluded, on the one hand, by the rough or heavy character of the work, by tradition, or the high rate of pay which the employer is unwilling to pay to a woman while he is able to employ a man; or, on the other hand, the men are excluded by the light or feminine character of the work and by the low rate of pay which no man is willing or able to accept. (See under Wages.) The introduction of a new machine or a new method of work and the exchange of skilled for unskilled or semi-skilled labour is the common occasion of the entry of women to a trade. Competition is then rather between one process and another, between a man's trade and a woman's trade; for instance, between the skilled handicraftsman and the semi-skilled female factory operative, the mule-spinner and the ring-spinner, the old-fashioned "bespoke" tailor and the female buttonhole maker, baster, or machinist, the chop-house waiter and the tea-shop waitress, the male copying clerk and the female typist. Nevertheless, competition is by no means ineffective, a reduction of wages in one trade reacts on another, and the men are affected by the employment of cheap female labour on novel processes as well as by the introduction of women at lower rates and on easier terms to their own, as sometimes occurs in the printing, boot and shoe, engineering, earthenware, cotton spinning, dyeing, and other trades. The tendency is now for the displacement of men by women in clerical occupations, in the boot and shoe, tobacco, drapery, china and earthenware, paper-box, printing, tailoring (the number of men to each woman has decreased since 1881, in printing from 26 to 5.2 and in tailoring from 2 to 1* (III.)), hemp and jute, hosiery, and carpet trades; the relative position of the sexes is now practically stationary among teachers and in the cotton, woollen, silk, and rubber trades, the displacement of men by women having apparently reached its climax about 1900, while women tend to be displaced by men in laundries, paper, lace, straw-hat and glove-making, as well as in agriculture and in quarries and mines; the number of men to each woman has increased since 1881 in agriculture from 20 to 33 and in quarries and mines from 69 to 188. (III.).

The proportion of men to women in all occupations remains, however, practically stationary:—

(2) 1881	2.3 males to 1 female.
1891	2.2 ,, 1 ,,
1901	2.4 ,, 1 ,,
1911	2.4 ,, 1 ,,

Of persons returned as not employed for gain the number of women to men has slightly increased during the same period from 4.2 to 4.5.

* These figures, although not strictly comparable between one census year and another, are valuable as a general index.

WAGES.

TABLE I. (II.).—The following unofficial estimate has been made of the earnings of employed manual working wage-earners in the United Kingdom in the year 1912 :—

MALES.			Average earnings in full week.	
Class.	Numbers.		s.	d.
Men in situations :—				
Below 15s.	320,000 = 4%		13	0
15s. to 20s.	640,000 = 8%		18	0
20s. to 25s.	1,600,000 = 20%		22	6
25s. to 30s.	1,680,000 = 21%		27	6
30s. to 35s.	1,680,000 = 21%		32	6
35s. to 40s.	1,040,000 = 13%		37	6
40s. to 45s.	560,000 = 7%		42	6
Over 45s.	480,000 = 6%		50	0
Men in situations	8,000,000 = 100%		30	0
Casuals	700,000		12	0
Adult males	9,700,000		28	4
Boys.....	1,900,000		10	0
All males.....	10,600,000		25	3

Average earnings per adult employed manual working man working throughout the year—£1 5s. 9d. per week.*

FEMALES.			Average earnings in full week.	
Class.	Numbers.		s.	d.
Women in situations :—				
Below 12s.	1,000,000 = 33%		9	0
12s. to 15s.	1,500,000 = 50%		13	0
Over 15s.	500,000 = 17%		17	0
Women in situations	3,000,000 = 100%		12	4
Casuals	100,000		3	6
Adult women	3,100,000		11	7
Girls.....	1,500,000		7	6
All females	4,600,000		10	7

Average earnings per adult employed manual working woman working throughout the year—10s. 10½d. per week.*

* The estimate includes the value of board and lodging, when supplied, and all extras, but allows for an average of five weeks lost in a year through short time, sickness, involuntary holidays, and unemployment.

TABLE II. (IV.) AND (V.).—Earnings of women and girls in various trades, employed for full time on the employers' premises, in one representative week of 1906 :—

Trade.	Average for workers of 18 years and upwards.				Average for workers of under 18 or 20 years.			
	Women.		Men.		Girls under 18.		Lads and boys under 20.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
I. TEXTILE (Cd. 4545):—								
Cotton.....	18	8	29	6	10	1	11	6
Woollen and worsted	13	10	26	10	8	4	8	10
Linen	10	9	22	4	6	7	7	8
Jute	13	5	21	7	9	8	10	11
Silk	11	2	25	8	6	4	8	2
Hosiery	14	3	31	5	7	9	9	5
Lace	13	5	39	6	7	1	12	8
Carpet.....	13	8	26	7	7	7	9	1
Hemp	10	11	25	4	6	9	8	3
Smallwares	11	5	26	6	6	2	7	5
Flock and shoddy.....	12	3	23	9	8	9	11	8
Elastic web	11	8	30	3	6	6	10	8
Hair.....	9	4	21	3	7	0	7	5
Other textile	13	7	25	8	7	0	9	1
Fustian and cord cutting	10	10	24	1	8	1	9	8
Bleaching, printing, dyeing, and finishing textile fabrics.....	12	4	27	8	8	2	10	8
All above industries.....	15	5	28	1	8	11	10	5

II. CLOTHING (Cd. 4844):—

Dress, millinery, etc. (workshop)								
“living out”.....	13	10	50	11	3	9	7	5
Dress, milliners, etc. (factory)	15	5	31	8	6	4	9	11
Shirt, blouse, underclothing, etc.....	13	4	29	10	6	9	8	9
Tailoring (bespoke)	14	2	33	6	5	5	6	11
Tailoring (ready made)	12	11	31	11	6	6	9	9
Boot and shoe (ready made)	13	1	28	8	6	10	10	6
Boot, shoe, and clog making (bespoke) and repairing.....	12	6	27	3	6	11	8	3
Silk and felt hat	16	4	34	3	7	8	12	7
Leather glove	12	1	29	7	5	11	7	7
Corset (factory).....	12	2	28	11	6	3	10	4
Fur	16	7	35	7	7	2	10	6
Straw hat and bonnet	19	10	36	7	11	2	10	1
Other clothing	12	11	30	3	6	2	11	4
Dyeing and cleaning	13	10	29	6	7	2	10	7
Laundry (factory).....	12	10	26	2	6	6	8	9
Laundry (workshop)	12	9	22	6	6	7	9	4
All above industries	13	6	30	2	5	9	9	8

III. BUILDING AND WOOD WORKING (Cd. 5068):—

Sawmilling, machine joinery, etc.	12	5	27	4	8	4	9	8
Cabinet-making, etc.	13	1	33	0	6	2	8	7

IV. PUBLIC UTILITY (Cd. 5196) :—								
Road, sanitary, etc., services, Borough	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
and Urban District Councils*	14	6	28	1	8	2	11	10

VI. METAL, ENGINEERING, AND SHIP-BUILDING (Cd. 5814):

VII. RAILWAY SERVICE (Cd. 6053) ..	II	5	..	6	4	..
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Grain milling	10	1	22	9	5	5	11	0
Baking and confectionery	12	8	28	11	6	5	9	6
Malting and brewing	9	4	26	3	7	5	10	5
Cocoa, chocolate and sugar confectionery	11	9	30	9	6	7	9	8
Preserved food, jam, pickling, sauce ..	10	11	28	7	6	7	10	4
Biscuit	10	10	27	5	7	1	9	10
Sugar refining	10	6	28	3	7	7	12	3
Aerated water	9	7	24	7	7	4	9	6
Spirit distilling.....	10	2	22	11	7	6	12	3
Other food and drinks.....	11	9	26	4	7	5	11	2
Tobacco, cigar, cigarette and snuff	12	0	30	6	6	2	9	9
All the above.....	11	3	26	5	6	6	10	

Paper manufacture	11	11	29	0	7	6	10	8
Printing	12	3	36	10	6	4	8	7
Bookbinding	12	10	34	1	6	0	8	8
Paper, stationery manufacture	11	11	31	4	6	6	8	6
Cardboard, canvas, etc.	12	3	28	10	6	1	10	3
Wallpaper, etc., manufacture	13	2	32	11	7	9	10	2
Process block-making	18	9	45	9	9	5	9	7
All the above.....	12	2	34	4	6	4	8	1

Porcelain, china, earthenware	II	II	32	4	6	2	II	2
Bricks, tile, pipe, etc.	II	5	26	7	9	4	II	6
Glass bottle	8	9	38	4	7	I	12	I
Chemical manufacture	10	8	29	I	7	4	10	3
Explosives	13	I	31	6	8	I	15	5
Lime and cement	12	5	28	4	—		II	9
Soap and candle	10	I	29	2	8	6	II	0
White salt	10	6	29	0	6	II	9	8
Other glass	10	6	31	10	6	II	9	I
ther chemicals	II	8	26	10	6	9	10	5
All the above	II	10	29	2	7	0	II	6

XI. MISCELLANEOUS TRADES:—

	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Leather tanning and dressing, etc.	12	11	28	11	9	2	11	0
Brush and broom.....	10	6	30	1	6	7	9	11
India rubber, gutta percha, etc.	12	8	26	9	7	9	9	11
Linoleum, oilcloths	12	9	26	0	7	2	10	5
Saddlery, harness, whips	10	7	29	5	5	5	7	5
Portmanteau, bag, purse, and miscel- laneous leather	12	8	30	1	6	6	10	5
Musical instrument	15	9	37	3	8	3	9	2
Umbrella, parasol, sticks	15	7	32	4	6	11	10	7

* There were only 43 girls employed.

† No general average given.

TABLE III. (IV.).—(a) Average for male and female cotton weavers (pieceworkers) employed for one full time week:—

Cotton.	Men.	Women.
3 looms	19 6	17 8
4 looms	24 11	23 5
6 looms	32 10	30 7

(b) Average for male and female wool and worsted weavers (pieceworkers) employed for one full time week:—

Wool.	Men.	Women.
1 loom	23 5	15 10
2 looms	25 10	15 4
Worsted.		
1 loom	26 0	16 7
2 looms	19 3	14 0

TABLE IV. (VI.).—Scale of minimum and maximum wages for male and female postal and telegraph clerks over the age of 18:—

	Men.			Women.	
	Min.	Max.		Min.	Max.
	Per week.			Per week.	
London	20s.	65s.	....	18s.	40s.
Provinces	16s.	50s.	....	14s.	36s.
	Per annum.			Per annum.	
Central Office	£100	£600	....	£65	£110

TABLE V. (VII.).—Average rate of wages per hour for men and women shop assistants:—

	Men. d.	Women. d.
Drapers (London)	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Drapers (Provincial)	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Boots (London)	6	4
Boots (Provincial)	5	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
Stationery	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hairdressers	6	4
Grocers' clerks (London)	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
Grocers' clerks (Provincial)	7	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Drapers' clerks (London)	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Drapers' clerks (Provincial)	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Butchers' clerks	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
Furnishers' clerks	7	4

The average wage for an adult working woman is thus seen in Table I. to be 10s. 10½d. a week, or about two-fifths the average wage for an adult workingman, and falls in particular trades, e.g., hair manufacture, glass bottlemaking, malting and brewing, aerated water-bottling (Table II.), to about 9s. a week, notwithstanding that outworkers as well as part-time and casual workers are excluded. In few trades, however, exact comparison is possible between men and women, for both are seldom together employed on the same process of industry. The most important exceptions appear in the textile trades. In cotton weaving, for instance, men and women are employed on the same process, and paid at the same piecework rate, individual women earning often as much as or more than individual men, while the average earnings for men and women (Table III.) approximate more than in other trades. The difference is in part accounted for by the inability of women to tune their own machines and the prohibition of overtime, but also by the fact that the men tend to select the better-paid but heavier cloths. In wool and worsted weaving again the process is the same; on the other hand, a lower piecework rate is paid in this case to women than to men, so that the difference in wages is more than in cotton-weaving. But in spinning and other processes of the textile trades, as well as in the great majority of non-textile trades (although there are many exceptions, e.g., the female "machinist" trouser or vest-maker, the female compositor, machine ruler, "presser," "polisher," cigar maker), in boot and shoemaking, tailoring and other dress trades, in printing and papermaking, in the metal and furniture, china and earthenware trades, in chemical and tobacco manufacture, and in food-preserving, women are generally employed on other and less skilled processes than men, or, if the process is the same, the strain or speed is less, the number of machines is reduced, the material is lighter or inferior in quality. The wages of the male and female clerk or shop assistant are more comparable (Tables IV. and V.), although even in this case a readjustment of work so as to exact a less degree of effort or responsibility (e.g., additional supervision or assistance, an exemption from night work or other special duties) often accompanies the lower wage. Thus women have, on the whole, a lower productive power than men. In view of the probability of early marriage, there is less incentive to long or thorough training. The period of apprenticeship is shorter; the interest in the trade is less serious. Nor have women the same powers of physical endurance as men, although the difference in nature is probably less than is sometimes supposed. For low wages react inevitably on physical health. The vast majority of wage-earning women are self-supporting (II.), while the proportion of women having dependents or who contribute to the family more than the cost of their own support is variously estimated from 30 to 50 per cent., and in particular trades (e.g., laundries) as high as 75 per cent. The pocket money worker is rare even in the class of clerks, shop assistants, and warehouse girls. A woman has less to spend than a man on food, house-room, or recreation; she has often besides the added strain of home duties, and her industrial efficiency is to this extent impaired. But, although women have, on the whole, a lower productive power than men, the difference in wages is out of all proportion; equal work is no guarantee for equal pay, and other elements enter as well. Custom,

a low standard of personal needs, the tradition of other means of support, are other important factors. Low wages are at other times tolerated for the sake of superior social or other amenities. Competition is also more severe in a less skilled than a more skilled trade, and is, moreover, aggravated by a large reserve of "emergency" labour. Widows, deserted wives, wives of casual or unemployed workmen, and other women are compelled at times into industry, and through ignorance or extreme need accept whatever terms are offered. Women are also behind men in the position won by means of Trade Unionism.

TRADE UNIONS.

TABLE VIII.—Number and percentage of occupied women in Trade Unions according to trades:—

FEMALE MEMBERSHIP OF TRADE UNIONS, 1913 (VIII.).

Textile.		Percentage of total female workers in the trades.
Cotton preparing	53,317	14.94
Cotton spinning	1,857	.52
Cotton weaving	155,910	43.68
Wool and worsted	7,738	2.17
Linen and jute	20,689	5.80
Silk	4,247	1.19
Hosiery and others	4,070	1.14
Textile printing, etc.	9,453	2.65

257,281

Non-Textile.		
Boot and shoe	9,282	2.60
Hat and cap	3,750	1.05
Tailoring and other clothing	9,798	2.74
Printing	5,893	1.65
Pottery, etc.	2,600	.73
Tobacco	2,060	.58
Shop assistants	24,255	6.79
Other trades	8,742	2.45
General labour	23,677	6.63
Employees of public authorities	9,625	2.70

99,682

Grand total..... 356,963

FEMALE MEMBERSHIP OF TRADE UNIONS, 1904-1913.

TEXTILE TRADES.

Year.	Cotton preparing.	Cotton spinning.	Cotton weaving.	Woollen and worsted.	Linen and jute.	Silk.	Hosiery and other textile.	Textile printing dyeing, packing, etc.	Total textile trades.
1904	22,343	1,684	76,669	1,034	9,704	287	1,689	305	113,715
1905	26,953	1,688	82,597	1,205	9,124	231	1,481	488	123,767
1906	29,954	1,698	95,712	2,393	12,651	1,010	1,687	701	145,806
1907	38,834	1,744	110,670	2,436	14,467	2,988	2,026	1,546	174,711
1908	42,149	1,815	109,862	2,370	13,100	3,654	1,662	2,122	176,734
1909	43,859	1,838	106,779	2,168	14,383	4,973	1,978	1,910	177,908
1910	43,421	1,862	105,745	4,677	17,319	5,908	1,804	2,699	183,435
1911	45,720	1,620	132,919	3,767	18,917	5,334	3,047	3,937	215,261
1912	48,716	1,474	149,069	5,268	21,808	5,444	2,936	4,859	239,574
1913	53,317	1,857	155,910	7,738	20,689	4,247	4,070	9,453	257,281

NON-TEXTILE TRADES.

Year.	Boot and shoe.	Hat and cap.	Tailoring and other clothing.	Printing.	Pottery, etc.	Tobacco.	Shop assistants.	Other Trades.	General labour.	Employees of public authorities.	Total non-textile trades.	Grand total in all trades.
1904	1,037	2,290	876	895	451	2,423	3,747	796	1,369	1,485	15,369	129,084
1905	987	2,253	1,059	819	447	2,380	4,311	809	653	2,145	15,863	139,630
1906	893	2,265	1,381	977	530	2,447	4,920	1,799	2,674	2,966	20,852	166,658
1907	997	3,302	1,746	1,749	1,290	2,447	5,076	3,208	4,056	5,836†	29,707	204,418
1908	1,375	3,313	2,077	3,376	1,118	2,295	5,120	3,080	3,687	5,215	30,656	207,390
1909	1,512	3,305	1,797	2,162	1,119	2,094	5,727	2,770	4,212	6,871	31,569	209,477
1910	1,401	3,333	3,164	2,725	414	2,098	6,021	3,460	7,220	8,644	38,480	221,915
1911	4,868	3,534	4,671	3,257	1,856	1,917	7,047	5,792	16,225	10,617	59,784	275,045
1912	8,725	3,820	6,145	3,075	1,867	1,970	20,758	7,972	15,231	9,510	79,073	318,647
1913	9,282	3,750	9,798	5,893	2,600	2,060	24,255	8,742*	23,677	9,625	99,682	356,963

* Consists of 1,784 clerks, etc., 170 hotel, etc., workers, 163 domestic workers, 1,037 theatrical, etc., employees, 1,159 in metal, etc., trades, 1,793 asylum workers, 600 agricultural workers, 300 midwives, 573 workers in furnishing trades, and 1,253 in other occupations.

† The large increase in this group in 1907 is due to the inclusion of the Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association (2,016 female members in 1907). For previous years the number of female members of this Association cannot be stated, but up to 1903 the female membership is reported to have been very small.

WOMEN IN TRADE UNIONS.

The total number of women in Trade Unions, according to the Board of Trade returns for 1913, is thus seen in Table VIII. to be 356,963, or between 6 and 7 per cent. of the total number of women wage-earners, as compared with 30 per cent. in the case of men. The greater proportion of women Trade Unionists are in the textile trades—cotton weavers alone account for over 43 per cent. of the whole—while the proportion of organised to unorganised women is also greatest in the cotton trade. (Compare Table I. under "Occupations of Women.") The number of women in the non-textile unions is, however, rapidly increasing. Between 1910 and 1913 the rate of increase was 156 per cent., as compared with 41 per cent. in the textile unions. The total number of women in Trade Unions was 123,047 in 1900, 137,882 in 1905, 221,283 in 1910, and is probably not far from 400,000 in 1915. The oldest existing Trade Unions admitting women to membership are the Padiham and District Weavers, Winders, and Warpers and the Radcliffe and District Weavers and Winders, both established in 1850.

In all the important Trade Unions admitting women to membership (following in this the example set in the cotton trade) men and women are organised, either together or else in closely allied societies. If we except the National Federation of Women Workers, which stands in a class by itself, no independent women's society has yet achieved any considerable size or importance, while in the specifically women's trades, viz., domestic service, laundry work, and dressmaking, Trade Unionism is still in its infancy. The usual plan is for the women to be admitted to membership on equal terms with the men but on a lower scale of contributions and benefits; although among cotton weavers men and women pay about the same. The part played by women on the committees of management is, however, relatively small, notwithstanding that many societies have established women's branches, women's sections, reserved places for women on committees, and other means of inducement to women to come forward. Whether due to diffidence or indifference on the part of the women, to a feminine trust in a superior masculine wisdom, to tradition, or to the unsympathetic attitude of the men, the fact remains that comparatively few women take office.

The table opposite shows the part played by women in 13 of the principal unions admitting women to membership:

The Women's Trade Union League (X.).—Outside the cotton trade the modern movement of women in Trade Unions owes its greatest inspiration to the Women's Trade Union League, which, founded by Mrs. Paterson in 1874, shows a 40-year record of continuous activity under a series of brilliant women leaders. The League is not a Trade Union, but a centre of propaganda and education for the promotion of Trade Unionism among women. A staff of women organisers is employed, women's societies or women's branches are established or assisted, while any Trade Union admitting women to membership may become affiliated, and acquires in this way a claim on its services. The league has now some 150 affiliated societies, of which few have not received assistance at one time or another. The Manchester and Salford Women's Trade Union Council and the Manchester and Salford Women's Trades and Labour Council are also centres of propaganda and education, the latter being also remarkable as the only Women's Trades Council.

TABLE II. (IX.).

	Women members.	Total membership.	President.	Secretary.	Women on E.C.	Branches.	Women Councils.*	Women organisers.
Weavers' Amalgamation	130,000	200,000	M.	M.	None	Mixed	None	None
Amal. Association of Card and Blowing - Room Operatives	50,000	56,000	M.	M.	None	Mixed	None	None
Bradford Machine Wool-combers	2,274	4,420	M.	M.	None	Mixed	None	None
General Union of Textile Workers	5,600	17,000	M.	M.	One	Mixed	None	One
Dundee and District Jute and Flax Workers	3,625	4,929	M.	M.	Five	Mixed	None	None
Dundee and District Mill and Factory Operatives	7,480	9,611	M.	F.	75 %	Mixed	None	One
Amal. Association of Bleachers, Dyers, and Finishers	2,742	16,215	M.	M.	None	Mixed	None	None
National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives..	9,000	54,000	M.	M.	One	One women's and mixed	None	One
United Garment Workers	9,118	18,639	M.	M.	None	One women's and mixed	One	One
National Union of Paper Workers	7,850	20,350	M.	M.	Two	W'm'n's and mixed	None	Three
National Amal. Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks..	22,910	83,822	M.	M.	One	Mixed	Six	One
Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees	8,000	48,000	M.	M.	None	Mixed	None	One
Postal and Telegraph Clerks' Association ..	6 500	22,000	M.	M.	Two	Mixed	None	|| None

* Women's councils, as here understood, are women's committees, having no executive powers, but which act as centres of propaganda and education.

† Women are elected to the committees of many local associations of weavers, but are seldom more than in a small minority, excepting in the Wigan, Stockport, Oldham, and Manchester districts, where the membership is composed almost entirely of women. In no case is the president or secretary a woman, although a woman has held office as president in Oldham and Wigan.

‡ Two places are reserved for women.

§ M = Male; F = Female.

|| Twenty honorary women assistant-organisers.

The National Federation of Women Workers.—The policy of the Women's Trade Union League has long been to organise women in close connection with or in the same societies as men. In many women's trades, however, men's unions either do not exist or are unwilling to afford assistance to women. The National Federation of Women Workers was thus formed in 1906 for the purpose of organising women in miscellaneous trades not already organised. The Federation has a present membership of 20,000 women organised in local branches and as far as possible according to trades, the factory being taken as the unit. The members include ammunition, tin-box and confectionery workers, shirt makers, silk and thread weavers, bolt and lock, hollowware and chainmakers, as well as laundry workers, charwomen, and dressmakers. The policy of the League is, however, adhered to, and branches of the Federation are transferred to the men's societies as occasion arises.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF ORGANISATION.

The difficulties of organising women in Trade Unions may be stated as follows :—

1. **Opposition from the Men's Societies.**—This difficulty is mainly historic. The men have now come to realise that the competition of female labour is less to be feared in proportion as women are more organised, and the more progressive of the men's societies have made strenuous efforts to organise the women in their own trades. The policy of equal pay for men and women (sometimes insisted upon by the men as a condition of membership, notwithstanding certain technical readjustments of process by which the value of the woman's labour is reduced to the employer) has, however, the practical effect of excluding women from not a few of the men's unions, the women being left to enter the trade, if not in the same in another district, under non-union conditions against their own interests as well as against those of the men. The fixing of a rate for men and women, which shall be in equitable proportion to any less degree of physical endurance, skill, or responsibility exacted from the woman or to any additional strain thrown on the man, and which shall neither exclude women on the one side nor blackleg men on the other, is one of the most delicate problems with which the Trade Unions are faced. Nor is the problem one confined to the period of the war, although made more acute by the pressure of work and the shortage of men and requiring to be met by special measures in the case of women employed on war munitions or taking the places of men enlisted for service. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers and other powerful societies have already relaxed temporarily their rules with regard to the employment of female labour, under certain conditions, in order to meet the war emergency.

2. **Instability of Status.**—The uncertainty of a woman's industrial future is generally admitted to be one of the standing obstacles to the organisation of female labour. Most women look forward to leaving their trade on marriage, and the expectation has inevitably a disturbing effect on a girl's outlook and prospects. The married woman, on the other hand, is often a casual worker or jobber, while her energies are also absorbed by home duties. Moreover, about 50 per cent. of women wage-earners are under 25 years of age, and the young person of either sex is invariably difficult to organise.

3. The Character of Women's Trades.—A large proportion of women workers are in unskilled or semi-skilled trades which are notoriously difficult to organise owing to open competition and absence of professional pride, as well as the lack of funds, while in other women's trades—domestic service, the hotel and restaurant trade, shops, dressmaking—the living-in system, the long hours of work, and isolation of the workers, the close association with the traditions of another class, are against the development of strong Trade Unionism.

4. Political Disability.—The docility of female labour and the low value set by women on their own abilities are the not unnatural corollaries of a state of social and political tutelage. The enfranchisement of women will bring a new sense of personal worth and independence. Meanwhile, every effort made by women, or encouragement given them by men, to take an active and responsible part in the management of Trade Union affairs is a step in the right direction. The same spirit of dependency which leads women to trust entirely to man for guidance allows them also to acquiesce in the dominance of the employer.

5. Low Wages.—On the good authority of Miss Mary Macarthur this difficulty is said to be the greatest of all. Whilst women are badly paid because they are unorganised, they are unorganised because they are badly paid. The Trade Boards Act, with its securing of a minimum wage, has already proved itself a powerful ally in the organisation of women in sweated trades.

OUTWORKERS.

The number of outworkers (persons who habitually work in their own homes upon materials given out by an employer) (X.) in the United Kingdom is officially estimated as 102,147, of whom 74,867 are women. The principal trades concerned are given below:—

Groups of trades.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Metal trades	4,443	2,454	6,897
Textile (including hosiery, lace, and linen embroidery workers)	1,157	12,991	14,148
Clothing trades	20,804	53,773	74,577
Match trades	1	116	117
Paper trades, printing, and allied trades (mainly card-board box-makers)	9	1,606	1,615
Leather, canvas, and india-rubber trades	184	932	1,116
Timber trades (including french polishers, upholsteresses, and brush drawers) ..	378	2,428	2,806
Miscellaneous trades	304	567	871
	27,280	74,867	102,147

Few statistics are available as to the earnings and hours of home-workers, but from evidence before the Select Committee on Home Work, 1908, and collected by the Women's Industrial Council, the Anti-Sweating League from other sources, wages are shown to vary considerably and to be lower on the whole than those of factory workers. Adult women earn as little as 6s. a week, or 1d. an hour (e.g., in brushmaking, carding, netmaking, shirtmaking, and other needlework trades), while the hours of work are sometimes as much as twelve and 14 a day. Home-workers are commonly divided into three groups: (XI.) (1) Single women, widows, and deserted wives, who, having children or other helpless dependents, are unable to leave home, but are self-supporting and in regular employment; (2) wives of casual labourers, who supplement their husbands' earnings when trade is slack and are not in regular employment; (3) wives of well-to-do artisans who desire to add to their personal income, and who generally select the better class and better paid kind of work. The low wages in groups (1) and (2) are attributed to (a) the small amount of skill required, the work being to a great extent simple needlework, so that any woman may undertake it; (b) the urgent need of many women and their great desire to obtain work which can be done at home; (c) the isolation of the home-worker and her ignorance of the rates paid to other women; (d) the action of the middleman, who cuts down wages in order to make a profit himself; (e) the competition of the factory, by which the hand-worker is compelled to accept a reduction of wages or else be displaced by power-driven or other superior machinery. In many industries the home-worker is, in fact, tending slowly to disappear and her work to be transferred to the factory, a process which is now being hastened by the Trade Boards Act, under which the home-worker is required to be paid at the same minimum wage rate as the factory worker.

MARRIED WOMEN.

TABLE I. (I.).—Numbers of unmarried, married, and widowed women in gainful occupations in England and Wales :—

	Unmarried.	Married.	Widows.	Total.
Occupied ..	3,739,532	680,191	411,011	4,830,734
Unoccupied	3,122,493	5,950,093	953,793	10,026,379
	<u>6,862,025</u>	<u>6,630,284</u>	<u>1,364,804</u>	<u>14,857,113</u>

TABLE II. (I.).—Six principal trades in which the proportion of occupied married women is highest (commercial occupations and dealers not included) :—

(a)	Trade.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widows.
	Wool sorting, combing, carding....	55.67	35.50	8.80
	Charwomen	21.30	29.70	48.96
	Laundry workers	51.79	28.55	19.69
	Cotton manufacture	71.48	25.40	3.07
	Lace manufacture	65.18	24.26	10.55
	Boot, shoe, slipper, pattern-makers.	73.88	22.06	4.00

(b) Six principal trades in which the proportion of occupied married women is lowest :—

	Trade.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widows.
	Commercial clerks.....	97.75	1.48	0.76
	Domestic service.....	92.17	2.07	2.97
	Chemical workers	94.05	4.00	1.9
	Milliners.....	92.96	5.2	1.77
	Printers	92.4	5.6	1.9
	Barmaids	91.6	5.55	2.8

TABLE III. (XII.).—Average wages of married and unmarried women in certain selected trades in Birmingham :—

	Unmarried women over 18 years of age.		Married women.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
Metal trades (press work)	11	0	11	0
Needlework (pinafors).....	10	0	10	8
Tailoring (trousers)	12	6	13	0
Food trade (mineral waters)	9	0	9	0
Jewellery (press work)	10	5	10	9
Printing trades (laying-on)	9	7	10	0
Furniture trades (french polishers)....	13	0	14	3
Miscellaneous (laundry work)	7	4	12	0

TABLE IV. (XIII.).—Number of occupied married and widowed women per 1,000 females of 10 years of age and upwards in 40 selected counties of England and Wales, arranged in order according to the number of deaths per 1,000 infants born in a year. The infantile

mortality rate is shown in brackets below the figures for occupied married and widowed women :—

Counties of highest infantile mortality.

31 26 31 38 54 65 57 85 48 47
(154), (151), (147), (140), (140), (132), (132), (131), (127), (127).

Counties of medium infantile mortality.

51 53 48 54 65 68 55 78 57 67
(106), (106), (103), (103), (103), (102), (100), (99), (95), (94).

Counties of lowest infantile mortality.

75 58 55 63 57 54 60 70 67 68
(80), (80), (79), (79), (79), (78), (78), (77), (76), (73).

Little may be inferred from Tables I., II., and III., except that the industrial employment of married women has no directly traceable bad effects on trades in which comparative figures are available. The average wage for married women is higher than that for unmarried women over 18 years of age. In the cotton and other textile trades a high proportion of married women is found, together with a comparatively high average wage and a high standard of trade organisation. (Compare Wages and Women in Trade Unions.) Nor is the industrial employment of married women a principal cause of infantile mortality. (Table IV.) Family income, the industrial occupation of the father (mining and pottery districts have the highest infantile mortality), and housing are other and more important factors. "It is reasonable to believe," writes the Chief Medical Officer of the Local Government Board, "that the industrial occupation of women, in so far as it exposes the pregnant mother to laborious work and strain, and, in so far as it separates the infant from its mother, thus not only preventing suckling, but also diminishing the individual care which the mother can devote to her infant, must tend to increase infantile sicknesses and mortality."

In Staffordshire the Medical Officer of Health shows a relationship between the industrial occupations of women and infantile mortality, and gives as a direct cause the large proportion of wholly artificially fed to entirely or partly breast fed infants.

TABLE V. (XIV.).—Towns in which the proportion of occupied married women and widows to the female population between 18 and 50 years is :—

	No. of towns.	Total population.	Infantile mortality, 1901-1908.
(a) 12 per cent. and over	5 ..	132,299	.. 187
(b) 6 per cent. to 12 per cent. ..	13 ..	363,868	.. 153
(c) Under 6 per cent.	8 ..	131,508	.. 140

In Lancashire, Burnley shows a high infantile mortality (176.5), together with a large proportion of women in industrial employment (41.4 per cent. of married women and 32.3 per cent. of widows). On the other hand, Widnes, with a high infantile mortality (139.6), has little industrial employment of its married women, viz., 4.3 per cent. of married women and 18.7 per cent. of widows, while Nelson, with a low infantile mortality (87.2), has a comparatively large proportion,

viz., 37.1 of married women and 24 per cent. of widows. (XV.) Attention is also drawn to the specially cleanly homes found in Nelson, a high standard of "house-pride" among working married women and mothers, which is witnessed as well by other and independent investigators.

In conclusion, married women in industrial employment may be divided into three classes :—

CLASS I.—Wives of well-to-do artisans who work for preference. These women can afford to spare themselves before and after confinement, and are also able, if necessary, to make suitable arrangements for the care of the children during absence from home. There is no evidence to show that either they or the family suffer as a result of their non-domestic employment. On the contrary, the greater contentment, broader outlook, and more independence of many women in this class is said to re-act favourably on the husband and children.

CLASS II.—Wives of casual, underpaid, or unemployed workmen, who work in order to supplement their husband's earnings. These women have often to work, notwithstanding their condition is unfit, or their children already demand the whole of their time and energies. Their health before and after confinement almost certainly suffers in consequence, which reacts on the infant, while they are less able than in Class I. to make suitable arrangements during absence from home, so that the children are more often neglected. On the other hand, these ill-effects are probably more than outweighed by the addition to the deficient family income, which, in itself, is a principal factor in child mortality and sickness. In the case of the man's total unemployment the woman has often indeed no alternative but to get work herself. The real sources of the evil are the low or irregular earnings of the man, together with the present inadequate provision for motherhood and childhood.

CLASS III.—Deserted wives or wives having invalid or otherwise incapable husbands (with whom may be classed widows having dependents, and unmarried mothers) who support the family, or work in order to supplement an inadequate allowance of Poor Law or other relief. These women are affected in the same way as in Class II., but to an aggravated extent.

In an inquiry made by the Women's Industrial Council (XVI.), and covering nearly 600 married working women, only 9.2 per cent. were not self-supporting, 64 per cent. were contributing to the support of the family, and 16.8 per cent. were the sole support of the family. It is probable that Class II. forms by far the largest class of working married women, while Class I. is comparatively small.

SPECIAL LEGISLATION AFFECTING WOMEN.*

Dangerous Trades (XVII.).—No woman may be employed underground or in moving railway wagons.

No woman may be employed in brass casting or in white beds, rollers, stoves, or other places exposed to white lead dust; and in various other processes, for example, dipping, ware-cleaning, majolica

* Since the beginning of the European war, in order to increase output, a great many suspensions of factory regulations have been granted to employers by the Home Office.

painting in earthenware and china works, they are subject to monthly medical examination and suspension, or exclusion, if showing liability to industrial poisoning.

The list of dangerous trades in which women are employed includes brass and white lead work, vitreous enamelling of metal and glass, hollowware, file cutting, vulcanising of indiarubber by carbon bisulphide, aerated water bottling, chemical works, drying hides and skins, felt hats, flax and tow, hemp and jute, and wool-sorting.

Child-birth.—An occupier of a factory or workshop may not knowingly employ a woman within four weeks of the birth of her child.

Seats.—In all shops where women shop assistants are employed the employer must provide at least one seat to every three assistants.

Safety.—No woman may work between certain parts of a self-acting machine in motion, or clean parts of the machinery, such as "mill-gearing," while the machinery is in motion for the purpose of propelling any part of the manufacturing machinery.

Holidays.—No woman may be employed in any factory or workshop on Sundays except (1) that Saturday may be substituted for Sunday in factories and workshops if the employer and employees are of the Jewish religion; (2) that women may be employed in creameries, but not for longer than three hours, and provided the weekly maximum of hours is not exceeded.

No woman may be employed on Christmas Day, Good Friday, and the four Bank Holidays, unless notice is given in the first week in January and one whole or two half-holidays are substituted. In Scotland and Ireland six days' holidays must be given, to include, in Scotland, the two days set apart for the Sacramental Fast, or two days chosen by the Town Council, and, in Ireland, Christmas Day and two of the following: March 17th (St. Patrick's Day) unless a Sunday, Good Friday, Easter Monday, and Easter Tuesday. Two half-holidays in Scotland may be given for any of the other four days, and in Ireland for any of the other three days.

Hours of Work.—No woman may be employed in any factory or workshop on night work, night work being taken to mean between 9 p.m. and 6 a.m. (See exceptions below.) No woman may be employed in a textile factory, except between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m., or 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. on an ordinary workday, with two hours for meals, one of which shall be taken before 3 p.m.; or longer than for five and a-half hours on Saturdays, or continuously for longer than four and a-half hours without a break of at least half-an-hour for meals.

No woman may be employed in a non-textile factory or workshop except between 6, 7, and 8 a.m. and 6, 7, or 8 p.m., with one and a-half hours for meals, one of which shall be taken before 3 p.m., or for longer than seven and a-half hours on Saturday, provided that if no young persons or children are employed women may be employed for a specified period of twelve hours between 6 a.m. and 10 p.m.

Domestic factories and workshops are exempted, but no woman may be employed on Sundays.

Overtime is forbidden in textile factories, but in certain specified non-textile factories and workshops, e.g., perishable goods, cleaning and packing department, two hours of overtime are allowed on not

more than three days of the week (Saturday excepted), and on not more than 30 days in the year (extended to 50 days if no young persons or children are employed). Exemptions, subject to conditions, may be made by Special Order of the Home Secretary under Section 150 of the Factory Act, 1901, as at present in war munition and other factories working on Government contracts. The fish-curing and fruit trades are exempted in June, July, August, and September, subject in the same way to conditions laid down by the Home Secretary.

In laundries the three ordinary periods—6 to 6, 7 to 7, and 8 to 8—may be fixed for different hours of the week; and, in addition, an extra hour may be worked on three fixed days in the week (Saturday excepted) if the total number of hours per week, including intervals for meals, is not more than 68, or on four days of the week for not more than 60 days in the year.

In shops no regulations obtain for adults as to hours of work (except in the hotel and restaurant trades under the Shop Hours (Amended) Act, 1913), but meal times and holidays are regulated in the same way as for men, i.e., one hour for dinner, or three-quarters of an hour if the meal is taken on the premises, and half-an-hour for tea, and one half-holiday a week.

Other Special Provisions.—These include separate rooms for meals, separate sanitary accommodation, and the covering of plaits of hair in certain dangerous occupations.

CONCLUSIONS.

It has been sometimes objected that the Factory Acts and other special legislation with regard to women place women at a disadvantage in competition with men. But the usual effect, if men and women are employed together, is to force the men into line with the women. Women in the printing and other trades are sometimes exceptions owing to the necessity for night work, and the lower piecework rates paid to women operatives are in part attributed to this cause. Nevertheless, the advantage to health from regulation is generally admitted to more than outweigh any disadvantage, and no serious proposal is made at present to relax the law with regard to women, but rather to regulate the employment of men in the same way. It is significant that the two latest measures, the Shop Hours Act, 1912, which regulates holidays and meal times, and the Shop Hours (Amendment) Act, 1913, which, if adopted, limits the hours of work to 65 a week, affect men and women alike.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY ABROAD.

TABLE I. (XVIII.).

	Total occupied women.	Percentage of total occupied population.	Percentage of total females occupied.
France*.....	6,804,403	.. 34.52	.. 35.62
Germany†.....	9,492,881	.. 33.79	.. 28.92
Austria	5,684,997	.. 42.18	.. —
Hungary	2,560,861	.. 29.58	.. —
Italy	5,284,064	.. 31.85	.. —
Belgium	931,334	.. 29.19	.. —
U.S.A.	8,075,772	.. 18.2	.. 12.08

* Total under factory inspection, 1,200,792.

† Total under factory inspection, 1,379,546 (over 16 years).

TABLE II.

(a) Women in Trade Unions in France :—

Syndicats Patronaux	8,379
Syndicats Ouvriers	92,335
Syndicats Mixtes	7,242
Syndicats Agricoles	16,178
	<hr/>
	124,134
	<hr/>

(b) Women in Trade Unions in Germany :—

Free (Social Democratic) Unions	222,809
Christian Unions	28,008
Hirsch Duncker Unions	4,950
Independent Unions	1,253
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	257,020
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CHILD AND JUVENILE LABOUR, AND APPRENTICESHIP.

The Industrial Revolution, by the creation of the large industry, emphasised the old problems in relation to child labour, and at the same time brought into being many entirely new ones. Apprenticeship, which had been steadily declining throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, received its greatest discouragement under the influence of the enormously increased demand for cheap and unskilled labour which accompanied the Revolution, and under the economic doctrines of the laissez-faire philosophers. The last century's answers by the community to the needs and claims of the child and the young person are embodied in the monumental Factory and Workshop Acts, Mines Acts, and Education Acts, and in the endeavours to revive apprenticeship, especially on the part of Trade Unions. In these ways a compulsory minimum of education has been provided, and the more flagrant and obvious of the abuses of child labour have been checked. But the fact that the 20th century has been called "the century of the child" affirms an immense deepening of the sense of responsibility of the modern age towards children, while the cautious spirit of investigation into particular problems, which arise in the transition from school to workshop, and the amount of conscious social experiment, aiming at the re-discovery for our time of the industrial and moral values peculiar to mediæval apprenticeship, make the outlook a most hopeful one. It is the purpose of this article to show the position of the child and the young person in this country from the point of view of industry and of the application of the principles of apprenticeship.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND JUVENILES EMPLOYED.

In view of the large number of school children wholly or partially exempted for the purpose of employment for wages, and of the amount of work for wages performed by school children out of school hours, it will be of use in the following statistics to show separately the details of children in employment under the age of 14 years and those between the ages of 14 and 18 years.

CHILDREN UNDER 14 YEARS OF AGE.

Unfortunately, reliable statistics relating to children under 14 years of age are not easy to obtain. One of the most instructive estimates is to be found in Mr. Frederic Keeling's book, "Child Labour in the United Kingdom," from which the following table is taken.

SUMMARY OF THE POSITION OF THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN UNDER 14 IN THE UNITED KINGDOM (1912).

Class of employed children	Minimum age limit	Hours—Normal daily maximum.	Hours, Wkly. maxim.	Estimated No. of children.
1. Children employed full time under Factory Act.	13	Textile 10 Non-textile 10½	Textile .. 55½ Non-textile 60	England and Wales 55,000 Scotland..... 1,500 Ireland 3,500 — 60,000
2. Children employed part time under Factory Act.	12	6½ or 10 on alternate days..	30—34	England and Wales 31,140 Scotland..... 200 Ireland 3,195 — 34,535
3. Children employed under Mines Acts.	12, 13, or 14.	10	54	England and Wales 4,740 Scotland..... 84 Ireland — — 4,824
4. Children employed full time outside Factory and Mines Acts.	12; 11 in Ireland.	6 a.m.—9 p.m., or as fixed by bye-laws under Employment of Children Act.	As fixed by bye-laws under Employment of Children Act.	England and Wales 136,424 Scotland..... 1,666 Ireland 26,500 — 164,590
5. Children employed part time outside Factory Acts.	12; 11 in English agricultural districts and in Ireland	Ditto.	Ditto.	England and Wales 8,961 Scotland..... — Ireland 411 — 9,372
6. Children attending school full time employed out of school hours.	As fixed by bye-laws under Employment of Children Act.	Ditto in England, Wales and Ireland; in Scotland, 6 a.m.—9 p.m. from April 1 to Oct. 1; 6 a.m. to 7 p.m. Oct. 1 to April 1; or as fixed by bye-laws under Employment of Children Act.	Ditto.	England and Wales 240,000 Scotland..... 34,000 Ireland 30,000 — 304,000
				Grand total.....557,321

It must be observed that the ages of the 304,000 children indicated in section 6 of the table vary from 14 to as low as 7 or 8 years. An investigation conducted by an educational sub-committee of the City Council of Manchester so late as March of 1915 furnishes a picture of the employment of school children out of school hours which, with one or two exceptions, may be regarded as typical of what takes place in all the large towns and cities of the United Kingdom. It showed that 1 child out of every 14.7 children over 7 years of age attending the public elementary schools of Manchester was employed out of school hours for wages.

AGES OF CHILDREN EMPLOYED.

	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
At 7 years	10	24	34
" 8 ..	52	70	122
" 9 ..	166	116	282
" 10 ..	410	208	618
" 11 ..	753	319	1,072
" 12 ..	1,533	446	1,979
" 13 .. and over	1,595	399	1,974
Total	<u>4,519</u>	<u>1,562</u>	<u>6,081</u>

OCCUPATION OF CHILDREN EMPLOYED.

	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Delivering milk	620	30	650
" papers	1,209	80	1,289
Errands for shops	1,616	435	2,051
In barbers' shops	319	—	319
Coal yards	166	—	166
Pawnbrokers	30	—	30
Parents' business	231	48	279
Places of amusement	51	4	55
Domestic service	32	823	855
Nurse girls	—	91	91
Miscellaneous	245	51	296
Total	<u>4,519</u>	<u>1,562</u>	<u>6,081</u>

HOURS OF EMPLOYMENT.

	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Under 20 hours per week	2,375	1,382	3,757
Between 20 and 30 hours per week	1,378	112	1,490
" 30 " 40 " ..	640	50	690
" 40 " 50 " ..	112	15	127
50 hours and over per week	14	3	17
Total	<u>4,519</u>	<u>1,562</u>	<u>6,081</u>

JUVENILES FROM 14-18 YEARS OF AGE IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

The following tables are taken from Mr. Keeling's pamphlet on "The Present Position of the Juvenile Labour Problem."

OCCUPATIONS OF BOYS IN ENGLAND AND WALES, ACCORDING TO CENSUS OF 1911.

	14 Years.		15 Years.		16 Years.		17 Years.		18 Years.	
	Employed.	Per cent.	Employed.	Per cent.	Employed.	Per cent.	Employed.	Per cent.	Employed.	Per cent.
Trades.										
Manufacture :										
Engineering	21,600	6.3	33,700	10.1	41,700	12.4	43,600	13.2	46,100	13.9
Building	5,000	1.5	9,000	2.7	12,100	3.6	13,900	4.2	14,800	4.4
Textiles (with bleaching and dyeing)	18,600	5.4	18,000	5.4	17,800	5.4	17,000	5.2	16,600	5.0
Dress	5,800	1.7	8,100	2.4	9,000	2.7	9,200	2.8	8,700	2.6
Other manufactures	20,100	5.9	29,700	8.9	33,100	9.9	34,100	10.3	33,900	10.2
Mines	23,700	6.9	28,600	8.6	30,900	9.3	31,800	9.6	32,500	9.8
Agriculture	25,800	7.5	32,500	9.7	35,200	10.5	34,600	10.5	32,900	9.9
Domestic :										
Hotel and restaurant service	7,500	2.1	10,500	3.1	12,400	3.7	13,100	3.9	14,100	4.3
Transport :										
Messengers and van boys..	56,200	16.4	44,800	13.4	26,800	8.0	14,800	4.3	7,500	2.3
Other transport.....	4,700	1.4	9,500	2.8	13,300	4.0	18,900	5.7	22,400	6.7
Commerce	23,900	7.0	39,000	11.7	52,400	15.4	55,400	17.1	56,100	16.8
Other:										
Government, Fishery, Professional	9,900	2.9	14,900	4.4	18,400	5.4	23,400	7.1	31,800	9.5
Total occupied	222,800	65.0	278,300	83.2	303,100	90.3	309,000	93.9	317,400	95.4
Total unoccupied	120,100	35.0	56,000	16.8	32,400	9.7	20,600	6.1	15,200	4.6
Grand total	342,900	100	334,300	100	335,500	100	329,600	100	332,600	100

OCCUPATIONS OF GIRLS IN ENGLAND AND WALES, ACCORDING TO CENSUS OF 1911.

Trades.	14 years.		15 years.		16 years.		17 years.		18 years.	
	Employed.	Per cent.	Employed.	Per cent.	Employed.	Per cent.	Employed.	Per cent.	Employed.	Per cent.
Manufacture:										
Textile.....	31,200	9.1	34,300	10.3	35,200	10.4	35,700	10.6	35,600	10.5
Dress	25,100	7.3	38,300	11.5	42,500	12.6	41,400	12.3	40,500	11.9
Other	23,400	6.7	32,800	9.7	36,600	10.7	38,100	11.2	38,600	11.3
Domestic, hotel, and restaurant service:										
Private indoor and other domestic.....	36,700	10.7	59,800	17.8	73,300	21.8	81,000	24.1	85,500	25.1
Hotel and restaurant, etc., service.....	1,600	.5	3,500	1	5,700	1.7	7,600	2.3	9,300	2.7
Commercial	8,900	2.6	16,800	5	22,500	6.7	25,700	7.7	27,500	8.1
Other	6,300	1.8	7,800	2.3	9,500	2.8	12,500	3.7	16,000	4.7
Total occupied	133,200	38.7	193,300	57.6	225,300	66.7	242,000	71.9	253,000	74.3
Total unoccupied	211,100	61.3	142,400	42.4	112,100	33.3	94,600	28.1	87,400	25.7
Total	344,300	100	335,700	100	337,400	100	336,600	100	340,400	100

PROPORTION OF JUVENILE WORKERS IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN CERTAIN GROUPS OF OCCUPATIONS ACORD-ING TO 1911 CENSUS.

Class of workers.	Number of workers aged under 18.	Percentage aged under 18 of all male workers.	Number of girl workers aged under 18.	Percentage aged under 18 of all female workers.
All Manufacture	424,514	9.9	446,140	23.1
Building	40,788	4.3	1	—
Engineering, shipbuilding, vehicle making, and metal trades	144,780	10.1	27,426	28.8
Textiles and dyeing	94,817	20.2	165,427	25.2
Clothing and boots	34,155	10.3	152,375	21.3
Timber trades	20,934	9.6	5,082	21.0
Laundries	1,013	8.1	17,060	10.2
Printing and paper trades	25,020	14.2	29,385	30.0
Food, drink, and tobacco manu- facture	19,702	10.3	21,010	28.5
Brick and pottery trades	18,804	14.7	9,462	27.0
Chemicals, oils, soap, etc.	10,908	8.8	10,147	28.7
Leather and saddlery	5,900	8.9	4,826	27.0
Miscellaneous.....	7,693	5.5	3,939	25.1
Mines	123,328	12.2	1,013	28.1
Agriculture (including commer- cial gardening and forestry) ..	137,945	12.1	13,953	14.7
All Domestic Service	45,592	7.6	274,789	15.4
Indoor	7,111	16.8	239,841	18.8
Hotel	11,398	4.8	17,566	6.0
Outdoor	17,137	7.5	7	6.7
Day girls and charwomen	—	—	13,995	9.3
Other	9,946	10.5	3,380	4.1
All Transport	215,169	15.4	9,824	40.7
Railways	20,101	5.0	152	5.7
Van boys.....	14,295	84.9	—	—
Others on roads.....	16,775	3.6	164	5.8
On the seas, rivers, and canals.	5,112	3.9	58	5.6
On docks, harbours, etc.....	2,672	2.2	2	8.7
Messengers, porters, etc.....	152,717	68.5	7,835	89.6
Others in transport	3,497	6.8	1,613	17.5
Commercial occupations	156,953	9.7	65,528	13.3
Others and miscellaneous	107,040	6.5	31,807	5.7
Total	1,210,541	10.6	843,053	17.7

CLASSIFICATION OF JUVENILE WORKERS IN SCOTLAND, ACCORDING TO AGE.

(Extracted from A. Greenwood's article in the "School Child and Juvenile Worker," October, 1913.)

Age.	Number employed.		Percentage of total employed at all ages.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Under 14	1,016	590	.07	.10
Over 14	25,319	16,490	1.72	2.78
„ 15	38,395	27,356	2.61	4.61
„ 16	43,178	31,428	2.93	5.30
„ 17	43,867	33,432	2.98	5.64
Totals....	151,775	109,296	10.30	18.42

CLASSIFICATION OF JUVENILE WORKERS IN SCOTLAND, ACCORDING TO INDUSTRIES.

Industry or group of industries.	Number of boys employed (under 18).	Total number of males employed.	Percentage of boys to total males employed.
Agriculture	19,797	165,689	12.0
Engineering and machine making.....	12,720	132,921	9.6
Manufacture of ships and boats.....	4,522	50,856	8.9
On the roads (transports)*	4,399	56,758	9.4
Manufacture of metals.....	2,423	29,651	8.2
Manufacture of vehicles	1,023	10,463	9.8
House building, etc.	6,703	96,087	7.0
Other works of construction	225	10,303	2.2
On railways.....	3,014	49,456	6.1
On seas, rivers, and canals	745	21,645	3.4
Gas, water, electricity supply, and sanitary service	169	11,040	1.5
Messengers, porters, watchmen (not railway or Government)	15,054	20,760	72.5
Commercial and business clerks.....	6,859	40,337	17.0
Textiles (excluding dealers)†	9,327	56,256	16.6
Grocers	4,857	24,548	19.8
Butchers	2,395	13,198	18.1
Drapers	1,573	11,566	13.6
Ironmongers, etc.	652	4,491	14.5
Chemists and druggists	568	3,782	15.0
Hemp and jute	2,585	12,618	20.5
Woollen and worsted	1,742	10,138	17.2
Flax and linen	1,154	5,503	21.0
Glass bottle manufacture.....	475	2,010	23.6
Bolt, nut, rivet, screw, and staple makers	199	857	23.2
Cycle makers†	171	947	18.1
Nail manufacture	52	294	17.7
Soap : boilers and makers	74	420	17.6
Wigmakers and hairdressers	849	4,834	17.6
Domestic coachmen and grooms	268	4,886	5.5
Domestic motor car drivers and attendants	52	2,564	2.0
Motor car, cab, and van divers (not domestic)	60	1,283	4.7
Fishermen	1,297	24,163	5.4
Manufacturing chemists	134	3,849	3.5

* This includes 6,504 tramway workers (drivers, conductors, etc.), of whom only 130 are juveniles.

† This includes 21,347 workers in the flax, linen, hemp, and jute industries, of whom 4,357 or 20.4 per cent. are juveniles.

† Also included in " Manufacture of vehicles " above.

OCCUPATION OF BOYS IN LONDON ONLY, ACCORDING TO CENSUS OF 1911.

Occupation	14 years.	15 years.	16 years.	17 years.	18 years.	19 years.
Manufactures	3,805	6,838	7,837	8,817	8,947	8,810
Engineering	1,042	2,049	2,885	3,013	3,141	3,217
Building	290	540	889	1,283	1,446	1,514
Railway, docks, etc.	297	572	851	1,090	1,393	1,702
Carmen	17	82	197	479	774	1,049
Van-boys	1,458	2,137	2,042	1,378	832	421
Messengers	8,906	8,812	5,958	3,874	2,490	2,031
Domestic, hotel, etc.	824	1,468	1,993	2,334	3,190	3,494
Shop assistants	1,850	3,429	4,524	5,119	5,345	5,557
Commercial and professional	1,753	4,006	5,463	6,311	6,710	6,573
Government	929	1,464	1,271	979	967	917
Army and Navy	65	160	182	465	909	1,092
Unoccupied	16,586	7,081	3,941	2,601	2,232	2,127
Totals	37,822	38,638	38,033	37,743	38,376	38,504

OCCUPATION OF GIRLS IN LONDON ONLY, ACCORDING TO CENSUS OF 1911.

Occupation.	14 years.	15 years.	16 years.	17 years.	18 years.	19 years.
Manufactures	2,875	4,609	5,000	5,084	5,096	4,678
Printing.....	1,387	2,229	2,259	2,339	2,305	2,152
Dress	4,372	7,351	8,219	8,007	8,201	8,003
Domestic—Private.....	2,532	5,152	7,065	8,516	9,840	9,825
“ Daily.....	421	685	615	503	440	386
“ Hotel, etc.	193	513	955	1,394	2,011	2,368
“ Institutions	48	116	194	283	410	489
“ Laundry	374	791	1,104	1,194	1,396	1,308
Conveyance of goods.....	626	621	460	377	284	276
Shop assistants	879	1,711	2,126	2,377	2,588	2,606
Professional	88	165	338	518	862	938
Government	394	1,150	1,897	2,681	3,117	3,095
Unoccupied	24,770	15,078	10,811	8,625	7,958	8,389
Totals	38,959	40,171	41,043	41,898	44,508	44,513

The foregoing figures show that about 2,250,000 young people under 18 years of age are, at any given moment, employed for wages in the United Kingdom, and a study of the tables shows approximately into which of the main currents of industry the majority are absorbed. We shall now inquire how this transition from a predominantly play-and-education-life to a predominantly work-life is effected. Plenty of scope for dissatisfaction will be discovered, and suggestions will be made on the lines of present methods as to how the transition might be effected so as to be more in harmony with human welfare.

APPRENTICESHIP.

Almost all historical students have eulogised the effectiveness of the system of apprenticeship, and regretted its disappearance with the rise of large scale production. For what characterised the Industrial Revolution was not only the lapse of the system of apprenticeship, but also the ideas upon which that system rested. Social welfare was expressed in new terms by the Manchester School, which saw in the entirely unrestrained activity of the individual the issue of the best possible world. At the opening of the 19th century the policy of the State was one of non-interference, while combination among workmen or any effort to apply the principles of apprenticeship by the organisation of the supply of labour was implicitly, and often explicitly, regarded as inimical to social welfare. But the history of the 19th century, in spite of the laissez-faire philosophers, is one of increasing interference on the part of the State, of organisation on the part of the workers, and of the revival of the desire to reintroduce into modern life what was best in the mediæval system of apprenticeship. What should be the essential features of apprenticeship have been well stated by Mr. Reginald Bray in his book, "Child Labour and Apprenticeship":—

"(1) It must provide for the adequate supervision of boys until they reach at least the age of 18.

"(2) It must offer full opportunities of training, both general and special—the training of the citizen and the training of the worker.

"(3) It must lead forward to some opening in the ranks of adult labour for which definite preparation has been made, and in which good character may find reasonable prospect of permanent employment."

We shall accept these features of apprenticeship as being basic, and shall now proceed to investigate the methods of to-day by which it is being sought to realise these ends. It is obvious that the State does recognise its responsibility for the training of the child until, generally speaking, it reaches the age of 14 years. But the defences which have been erected to secure the good training of children up to the age of 14 contain many breaches which allow the young to escape by thousands into the open world, where they are exposed to all the misuse and ill-training typical of a former age. It is to emphasise these existing defects in the responsibility which the State has assumed for children under 14 years of age that we have quoted separately the statistics relating to the use of the labour of children below this age.

We shall now see to what extent the ideas underlying apprenticeship are being realised. The analysis may be arranged as follows :—

- (1) The Contribution of the State, as expressed by legal enactment.
- (2) The Contribution of Industrial Organisations.
- (3) The Contribution of Individuals, the Home, and Voluntary Associations.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE STATE.

GENERAL LEGISLATION.

(I.) THE EDUCATION ACTS.

Main provisions :—

1. Compulsory education (of any elementary standard) for all children.
2. Full employment of children under 12 years of age prohibited.
3. Employment of children between 12 and 14 years of age made to depend either upon the number of school attendances or the passing of a particular standard, or both, according to local bye-laws.
4. Permissive clauses *re* Feeding of School Children, establishment of School Clinics, Evening Continuation Classes, etc.

(II.) THE COAL MINES REGULATION ACT, 1887, AS AMENDED BY AN ACT TO PROHIBIT CHILD LABOUR UNDERGROUND, 1900 AND 1911.

Main provisions :—

1. No child under 14 years of age permitted to work underground. Hours limited to eight per day and 48 per week, up to 16 years of age.
2. No child under 13 years of age permitted to work above ground. Hours limited to ten per day and 54 per week, up to 16 years of age.

(III.) THE METALLIFEROUS MINES ACT, 1894.

Main provisions :—

1. No child under 13 years of age permitted to work underground.
2. Hours of boys employed full time limited to ten per day and 54 per week.

(IV.) THE FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACT, 1901.

Main provisions :—

1. A child, for the purposes of this Act, means a person under the age of 14, not having, at 13 years of age, obtained a certificate of proficiency or attendance at school.
2. A "young person" means a person between the ages of 14 and 18.
3. A child under 12 years of age must not be employed in a factory or workshop.
4. An elaborate Code defining the hours when a child may work under the "half-time" system. Maximum hours, 34 or 33 and 32½ in alternate weeks.
5. A child employed half-time must make one school attendance on every work-day preceding each day of employment.

6. The occupier of a factory or workshop in which a child is employed must, week by week, obtain from the teacher a certificate that the child has made the required number of attendances, keep it for two months, and produce it to an inspector, if required.

7. An elaborate Code defining the hours of young persons.

8. Sunday work for children and young persons not permitted in factory or workshop, except in certain specified cases.

9. The occupier of a factory must not employ a child or young person under the age of 16 years without having obtained a certificate of fitness from the certifying surgeon of the district; and such a certificate having been obtained in respect of a child must be renewed when the child becomes a young person. (For fuller details, see pages 4 and 5, Labour Industrial.)

(V.) THE SHOP HOURS ACTS, 1892-1904.

Main provisions :—

1. Employment of "young persons," i.e., a person under 18 years of age, for more than 74 hours per week in any one week, including meal times, prohibited.

2. It is an offence for an employer to employ knowingly a young person who has already on the same day been employed in a factory or workshop, if such employment makes the total number of hours worked more than the full time during which a young person is permitted to work in a factory or workshop.

3. Inspectors under these Acts may be appointed by any County or Borough Council.

4. Local authorities may pass bye-laws regulating the closing hours of shops.

(VI.) THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN ACT, 1903.

Main provisions :—

The Act requires **absolutely** that—

1. A child shall not be employed between the hours of 9 in the evening and 6 in the morning, unless the local authority shall have varied these hours by bye-law, which it is empowered to do, either generally or for any specified occupation.

2. No child under the age of 11 shall be employed in street trading, and no child employed half-time under the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, shall be employed in any other occupation.

3. A child shall not be employed to lift, carry, or move anything so heavy as to be likely to cause injury to the child.

4. A child shall not be employed in any occupation likely to be injurious to life, limb, health, or education, regard being had to his physical condition.

5. Local authorities shall be empowered to raise the minimum age of children in general employment to 14 years.

The Act permits local authorities to make bye-laws—

1. Prescribing for all children, or for boys and girls separately, and with respect to all occupations, or to any specified occupation.

(a) The age below which employment is illegal; and

(b) the hours between which employment is illegal; and

(c) the number of daily and weekly hours beyond which employment is illegal.

2. Prohibiting absolutely, or permitting subject to conditions, the employment of children in any specified occupation.

Bye-laws may be also made with respect to street trading under 16 years of age to—

(a) Prohibit such street trading, except subject to such conditions as to age, sex, or otherwise, as may be specified in the bye-law, or subject to the holding of a licence to trade to be granted by the local authorities.

(b) Regulate the conditions on which such licences may be granted, suspended, or revoked.

(c) Determine the days and hours during which, and the places at which, such street trading may be carried on.

The weakness of this Act is undoubtedly its permissive nature, which has been retained in spite of the well-informed efforts of the Committee on Wage-earning Children. Up to the year 1913 only 98 out of 329 local authorities had made bye-laws restricting the general employment of children, and only 131 in the case of street trading. The figures quoted above in relation to the employment of school children out of school hours in Manchester are specially interesting as showing how inadequate and incomplete is the operation of the permissive clauses of this Act.

(VII.) THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN ACT, 1904.

Main provisions :—

1. It is penal to procure or allow a boy under 14, or a girl under 16, to beg or procure alms, whether under the pretence of singing, playing, performing, offering anything for sale, or otherwise, or to be in any street or premises licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquor (other than premises licensed for public entertainments) for the purpose of singing, playing, or performing, or being exhibited for profit, or offering anything for sale, between 9 p.m. and 6 a.m.

2. It is penal to procure any child under the age of 11 to sing, etc., in any street, licensed premises, place of public entertainment, circus, or place of amusement to which the public are admitted by payment.

3. It is penal to procure or allow any child under 16 to be trained as an acrobat, contortionist, circus performer, or for any exhibition or performance of a dangerous nature.

4. Discretionary powers are, however, given to local authorities and petty sessional courts, which may allow children over 10 years of age to take part in public entertainments.

(VIII.) ROBSON'S ACT (AGRICULTURE), 1899.

Main provision :—

When this Act is incorporated in their bye-laws local authorities may grant partial exemption of children from school attendance for the purpose of employment in agriculture at so early an age as 11 years.

LEGISLATION IN RESPECT OF DANGEROUS TRADES.

In certain occupations which are regarded as dangerous it is prohibited to employ young persons of either sex at an earlier age than 18. Under this heading come, for example :—

Manipulating lead colour in manufacture of paints and colours ; working between fixed and traversing parts of spinning mule in

motion; in rooms where bisulphide of carbon is used in vulcanising rubber; white-lead making, etc.

In other cases the minimum age in dangerous occupations is fixed at 16, e.g., vitreous enamelling of metal or glass; heading yarn dyed by means of lead compound; tinning of metal hollow-ware, etc.

THE LABOUR EXCHANGE ACT, 1910.

This Act, in view of the unexpected development of the Juvenile Exchange Department and its importance for our present purpose, is treated of in a separate section.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATIONS.

"The recurring note," writes Mr. Charles Booth, "throughout the whole of the industrial volumes of the present inquiry* is that the system of apprenticeship is either dead or dying." This method of apprenticeship, as a means of improving the quality and limiting the supply of labour, was well recognised by Trade Unions, and, as Mr. and Mrs. Webb have shown in their "History of Trade Unionism," it is a method which occupied an important place in the tactics of Trade Unionism during last century. But, in face of the conditions created by the Industrial Revolution, all attempts to preserve the system of indentured apprenticeship, and especially when the period was for five or seven years, were doomed to failure, except in the case of a few unusually conditioned industries. Thus the system of indentured apprenticeship as a means of determining the conditions of employment of young persons has tended to be less and less used by Trade Unions. On the other hand, in those unions especially which cover industries in which the transition from juvenile to adult labour is comparatively easy and assured, the conditions relating to the labour of young persons are laid down in the collective agreements of the unions, while in some industries where high skill is demanded indentured apprenticeship of some kind is still an effective instrument of the unions. Where this takes place the work of the unions may be classified under three heads:—

- (1) Regulation of conditions under which apprentices and learners are accepted and taught.
- (2) Care and control during the process.
- (3) Work in connection with the provision or improvement of technical instruction.

REGULATION OF CONDITIONS.

The regulation covers three sets of facts: the proportion of apprentices to journeymen, the period of service and the age at which it starts, and the position of the apprentice who has served his time. In regard to the proportion of apprentices,

(1) SOME UNIONS INSIST UPON A FIXED PROPORTION, e.g., the unions covering the printing trades. The usual limit with them is one apprentice to three journeymen, as in the case of the London Society of Compositors, the United Machine Managers'

Society, and the Consolidated Society of Journeymen Bookbinders. The Federated Electrotypers allow one to two, while the Amalgamated Lithographers fix the scale at one to five, with a maximum of six in any establishment. Other societies under this heading are the London and Provincial Society of Copper-smiths and Metal Workers (one to three), the Silver and Electro-Plate Operatives' Society, London Branch (one to four), the United Pattern Makers (one to five), and the Amalgamated Brushmakers.

(2) OTHER UNIONS ADOPT VARYING PROPORTIONS, ACCORDING TO LOCAL CONDITIONS.

The chief examples are to be found in the engineering trade, and particularly in the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. The Friendly Society of Ironfounders also leaves the proportion to be regulated by its branches according to local needs.

(3) A LARGE NUMBER OF UNIONS CANNOT OR DO NOT ENFORCE ANY PROPORTION AT ALL,

e.g., the unions covering the building trades, and some of the unions in the precious metal, instrument, and electrical industries.

So far as the period of service and the age at which apprenticeship begins are concerned, a seven years' apprenticeship is as a rule strictly observed in the printing trades. Five or six years is accepted, however, by the Amalgamated Lithographers, who also permit a verbal agreement in place of an indenture. The Stereotypers fix an age limit of 17 for starting, the Amalgamated Lithographers 15, and the Compositors try to get 16 enforced. In the metal trade five years is more usual, and sometimes a definite start must be made before the age of 16. An alternative of three years' work, with a previous period of four years in the engineering department of a technical institute, is permitted by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. In the building trades, with one possible exception, where the period is five years and the starting age 15, no rules appear to be enforced, at all events in London, and the same is true of the art metal and instrument trades.

When an apprentice has completed his time the Amalgamated Society of Engineers provides that he must get the full rate within two years, or if a lower rate be paid it must be with the approval of the district committee. According to the rules of the Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders, an apprentice must receive the journeymen's rate one year after the service period has expired. In the printing trades the full rate must be paid to apprentices immediately they have served the recognised time. In many trades no regulation in this respect is attempted.

CARE AND CONTROL DURING APPRENTICESHIP.

Generally speaking :—

(1) Wages are arranged by the employer and the apprentice.

(2) Hours and overtime are fixed by the working rules of a district, apprentices working the same time as the men.

Sometimes special provisions are made to safeguard the interests of apprentices. The London Society of Compositors, for example, have recently created committees to supervise the instruction of apprentices and watch their interests generally. The Amalgamated Society of

Engineers, the Boilermakers' Society, and societies in the printing trades are also taking steps in this direction.

WORK IN CONNECTION WITH THE PROVISION OR IMPROVEMENT OF TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION.

As a general rule, the schools providing technical instruction receive the support and encouragement of the unions, although here and there objections are made on the ground of the danger of over-stocking particular trades or the fear that the schools may become a source for providing blacklegs. The union encourage apprentices, wherever possible, to attend the schools, but anything in the nature of compulsion is out of the question, since apprentices do not generally become members of a union until their time has nearly expired. Perhaps the most practical step in recent times to co-ordinate the technical schools in a general scheme of apprenticeship is that already mentioned of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, which substitutes a three-year period of apprenticeship in place of a five-year in the case of those who have spent at least four years previously in the engineering department of a technical institute. A few unions also approach employers with a view to getting time off for apprentices for attendance at classes.

For further information see "Industrial Training," by N. B. Dearle.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUALS, THE HOME, AND OF VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS.

INDIVIDUALS.

It is impossible, of course, to estimate the value of the contribution of individuals in helping youths within the sphere of their influence, a contribution which fulfils the spirit and aim of apprenticeship. In this connection, perhaps, the voluntary efforts of teachers, schoolmasters, and ministers of religion, owing to the positions they hold, by connecting up the school and industry through the "placing" of boys under their control, are specially worthy of mention. It is scarcely necessary to point out that the result of their efforts, as indeed of the great mass of individual effort, is to place in good positions boys who show special ability or general ability far above the average.

THE HOME.

The careful investigations which have been carried out in recent years, particularly in the homes of the poorer sections of the community, in order to discover the effect of home life as a force making for the training and discipline of character on the one hand, and as a force which encourages the "industrial virtues" on the other, have been gravely disquieting in the revelations they have made. The recognition of the inadequacy of the poor home to promote even the health of the children, a pre-requisite in any scheme of apprenticeship, inspired the pioneer work of Miss Margaret McMillan, and has led to the gradual development of a school clinic and camp-life system throughout the country. The defectiveness of the home life in promoting health has become in recent years a matter of national concern, as the School Feeding Act and other permissive legislation for the supply of dental and school clinics by local authorities show.

One valuable result of this development of the national care of health has been to bring a weight of medical evidence of the evil result of excessive hours of labour on the health of children, as recorded, for example, in the Medical Reports of the Board of Education. If the contribution of home life is defective during the years of the children's attendance at school it is still more defective in the period between 14 and 18 years of age. Not only has the education received in the schools opened a wide gulf between children and parents, but the fact of becoming a wage-earner does in itself produce a large measure of independence which results in virtually a democratisation of the family. Thus, of the children proceeding from a very large number of families in this country, and upon whom the problem of apprenticeship presses in its most acute form, the general conclusion of Mr. R. A. Bray, in his book, "Boy Labour and Apprenticeship," is probably true: "At the age of 14 the control of school and home end together. The lad goes to bed a boy; he wakes as a man. There should, therefore, be little cause for surprise if the habits of the school and home are rapidly sloughed off in the new life of irresponsible freedom."

VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS.

A variety of institutions have grown up whose worth in the main consists in finding places for children, either by means of apprenticeship or otherwise, when they leave school, or in exercising supervision during the period of transition. Such bodies are the Apprenticeship Societies and Apprenticeship Charities, the Skilled Employment Association, Boys and Girls' Homes, Boys and Girls' Clubs, Boys' Brigades, and the Boy Scouts' movement, as well as the Sunday School movement and religious organisations of various kinds for young people. The aims of these organisations are well indicated by their names, and the work they accomplish is too well known to need description here. Whilst each of these bodies does exceedingly useful work in its particular sphere, they all fall short of a comprehensive policy, and all have suffered in their utility in the past because they have been attempting to solve the same problem without reference to each other. Indeed, the disorganised nature, not only of the voluntary organisations here mentioned, but of all the forces operating to supply the essentials of apprenticeship is characteristic, and it was not until the passing of the Labour Exchange Act, the operation of which we shall now briefly consider, that the basis of an organisation was laid which has in it the possibility of co-ordinating the whole of these forces in a systematic effort to grapple with the tremendous problems which the hitherto largely unregulated transition of children from school to the world of labour has created.

A good analysis of the voluntary associations at work is given in Mr. A. Greenwood's book, "Juvenile Labour Exchange and After Care," from which the following summary is extracted :—

RELIGIOUS—

Sunday schools, institutes, P.S.A. meetings and classes of all denominations, and the devotional societies connected with them (Christian Endeavours, International Bible Reading Association, Confirmation and Teachers' Classes, etc.), Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A.,

Ragged School Union, London Diocesan Council for the Welfare of Lads, etc.

PHYSICAL—

(a) The National League for Physical Education and Improvement, and similar bodies.

(b) Boys' Brigade, Church Lads' Brigade, Boys' Life Brigade, Catholic Boys' Brigade, Jewish Lads' Brigade, Boy Scouts, National Peace Scouts, Girls' Life Brigade, Girl Guides, etc., London Playing Fields Society, Athletic Clubs, etc.

SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL—

(a) Lads and Girls' Clubs and Institutes, Homes for Working Boys and Girls, Federation of London Working Boys' Club, National League of Workers with Boys.

(b) Literary, Debating, and Mutual Improvement Societies, Reading Circles, National Home Reading Union, etc.

INDUSTRIAL—

(a) Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Committees, Lads' Employment Association, Mansion House Advisory Committee for Associations for Boys, National Industrial Education League, National Institution of Apprenticeship, Boys' Country Work Society, etc.

(b) Industrial Homes for Working Boys.

JUVENILE LABOUR EXCHANGES, AFTER-CARE COMMITTEES, AND JUVENILE ADVISORY COMMITTEES.

The Juvenile Labour Exchanges, which received a great impetus as a secondary result of the Labour Exchange Act of 1910, are at present of three kinds: the Board of Trade Exchanges, those organised by local Education Authorities, and a few organised by voluntary institutions, which are now becoming of minor importance. Much discussion at first arose as to whether the Education Authority in virtue of powers under the Education Act (Feeding of School Children) and the Education (Choice of Employment) Act, 1910, or the Board of Trade was best qualified to administer, but the practical solution which has been found in Birmingham and one or two other cities seems likely to be generally accepted.

In these latter instances the Choice of Employment Committees, formed under the 1910 Education Act, have succeeded in satisfactorily co-ordinating their work with that of the Juvenile Labour Exchange. The work of these Committees and of the Juvenile Advisory Committees is of the greatest value in the assistance it affords to young persons about to enter employment, and should be carefully studied as one of the most promising efforts in this difficult field.

In Appendix F of Mr. A. Greenwood's book, "Juvenile Labour Exchanges and After-Care," a summary is given of the results of the first year's working of the Labour Exchanges, 1910-1911. The number of Exchanges increased from 93 in February, 1910, to 161 in January, 1911, and Juvenile Advisory Committees were appointed in 27 districts in the course of the year.

NUMBER OF VACANCIES NOTIFIED AND FILLED DURING
TWELVE MONTHS ENDING JANUARY, 1911.

	Vacancies notified. Boys.	Vacancies notified. Girls.	Vacancies filled. Boys.	Vacancies filled. Girls.
1910.				
February	2,427	1,520	1,715	680
March	3,597	1,897	2,397	1,069
April	3,945	1,791	2,973	1,202
May	3,552	1,783	2,695	1,275
June (5 weeks)	5,810	2,777	4,454	2,068
July	3,920	2,152	3,149	1,758
August	4,197	2,183	3,458	1,752
September (5 weeks)	6,473	3,270	5,184	2,752
October	5,514	3,034	4,295	2,502
November	5,473	2,920	4,374	2,412
December (5 weeks)	5,010	2,691	3,954	2,086
1911.				
January	5,775	3,315	4,406	2,723
	55,693	29,333	43,054	22,279
	85,026		65,333	

The following information and tables as to the working of the Juvenile Labour Exchanges for the years 1913 and 1914 are taken from the "Board of Trade Gazette" for February, 1915 (p. 45).

In certain districts the work of placing juvenile applicants is carried on in co-operation either with special advisory committees for juvenile employment, of which some 54 have been appointed under the Labour Exchanges Act, 1909, or with committees appointed under the Education (Choice of Employment) Act, 1910, under which about 66 schemes have been approved. The London Advisory Committee for Juvenile Employment has, in addition, appointed local advisory committees in connection with 19 London Exchanges; while the Surrey Advisory Committee has also appointed a number of district advisory committees. The duty of the committees is to give advice with regard to the management of any Labour Exchanges in their districts in relation to juvenile applicants for employment; and they may take steps, either by themselves or in co-operation with any other bodies or persons, to

give information, advice, and assistance to boys and girls and their parents with respect to the choice of employment and other matters bearing thereon.

NUMBER OF VACANCIES FILLED BY BOYS AND BY GIRLS
IN 1913 AND 1914.

Groups of trades.	Number of vacancies filled.			
	Boys.		Girls.	
	1913.	1914.	1913.	1914.
Insured trades :—				
Building and construction of works.....	1,638	1,593	—	—
Engineering, shipbuilding construction of vehicles, sawmilling, and related insured occupations....	8,370	8,809	362	398
Uninsured trades :—				
Conveyance of men, goods, and messages	30,167	31,659	2,942	4,175
Domestic	2,744	3,682	20,181	23,717
Dress	2,105	1,851	7,793	10,004
Textiles	3,188	3,036	6,165	5,506
Food, tobacco, drink, and lodging	3,341	3,258	5,324	4,074
Commercial	8,549	9,948	3,154	3,129
All other trades	30,285	39,444	20,000	23,233
Total	90,387	103,280	65,921	74,236

The increase of 12,893 in the number of vacancies filled by boys compares with 2,301 in the previous year; and the increase of 8,315 in the number filled by girls with 7,981 in 1913.

Of the boys' vacancies filled in 1914, 25,007, or 24.2 per cent., and of the girls' vacancies filled 20,823, or 28 per cent., were filled by applicants who obtained their first situations since leaving school.

**NUMBER OF BOYS AND GIRLS (INDIVIDUALS) PLACED IN
THE YEARS 1913 AND 1914.**

Groups of trades.	Number of individuals placed.			
	Boys.		Girls.	
	1913.	1914.	1913.	1914.
Insured trades:—				
Building and construction of works.....	1,579	1,534	—	—
Engineering, shipbuilding, construction of vehicles, sawmilling, and related insured occupations	8,068	8,411	343	387
Uninsured trades:—				
Conveyance of men, goods, and messages	27,224	28,558	2,765	3,938
Domestic	2,590	3,486	17,334	20,623
Dress	1,994	1,758	7,400	9,601
Textiles	2,977	2,870	5,847	5,277
Food, tobacco, drink, and lodging	3,257	3,147	5,166	3,977
Commercial	8,019	9,233	2,880	2,931
All other trades	29,105	37,602	18,957	22,020
Total	84,813	96,599	60,692	68,754
Deduct for placings of individuals in more than one occupation.....	10,278	11,531	6,486	7,434
Net total	74,535	85,068	54,206	61,320

The five years' working of this Act have been rich in experience, in suggestion and criticism, and in better comprehension of the difficulties to be overcome. The Labour Exchanges cannot, of course, render their full contribution to the problem of child labour and apprenticeship until, either by compulsion or otherwise, they are definitely recognised by the whole body of employers on the one hand, and by the whole of the children seeking entrance into industry on the other. By the development of an intelligence department they will then be in a position to cope with the demand and supply of juvenile labour throughout the country. The gradual extension at the same time of the work of After-Care and Juvenile Advisory Committees, so as to co-ordinate the activities of individuals and voluntary associations in this sphere, as indicated in the last paragraph, would then achieve something like a national effort to secure the survival of what was precious in mediæval apprenticeship, and at

the same time the logical continuation of the work of the great education and child-protective measures of last century.

SUMMARY AND INDICATION OF DEFECTS AND TENDENCIES.

The attempted revival of a system of indentured apprenticeship by societies like the Skilled Employment Associations and Apprenticeship Societies can only be effective within certain narrow limits, but within those limits they may be very useful. These limits are conditioned by the broad fact that the modern industrial system has, by the division of labour, made it necessary that two-thirds of the children leaving elementary schools must enter a form of occupation which leads only to unskilled labour, and that among these occupations a very considerable percentage are limited, under existing conditions of business organisation, to boys. It is indeed the enormous demand for boy labour of an uneducative sort, involving to such an extent the "blind alley" issues, which is a prime cause of the irreparable waste which accompanies the transition from the school to the world of labour. The reorganisation of the Post Office* during the last few years has shown to what extent the demand for juvenile labour can be reduced, and to what extent juveniles can be absorbed into adult forms of labour, when a deliberate attempt is made to shoulder the responsibilities. There can be no doubt that a deeper sense of the value of young persons to the community would be able to effect similar reorganisation in other industries, and with corresponding benefits to the community. In this way the evil of "blind alley" employment would be considerably mitigated, while the increasing effectiveness of the Labour Exchanges, in combination with Juvenile Advisory and After-Care Committees, as well as other forms of voluntary organisation, would secure either that the period of unemployment of young persons was reduced to a minimum, or that such time, as well as leisure time, should be put to educative and socially profitable uses.

The multiplication of tasks for which boys may conveniently be used in modern industry, and which offer little prospect of permanence when manhood is reached, has given rise to a problem most complicated and far-reaching in its ramifications, and one of the urgent needs of Labour is to evolve a reasonable policy in the solution of it.

We have shown to what extent the State has assumed responsibility for young people until they reach the age of 18 years. We have shown where that responsibility, as tested by the production of efficient workers and good citizens, breaks down. We may, in conclusion, indicate what seem to be the main lines of progress upon which practically all who have investigated this most important aspect of social life are agreed :—

PROHIBITION OF CHILD LABOUR DURING THE YEARS OF ATTENDANCE AT SCHOOL.

The fact that nearly 600,000 children under the age of 14 years are employed for wages, of whom 300,000 are school children employed out of school hours, represents the gravest defect in that responsibility which the State undertook in the beneficent measures of last century.

* See Appendix V., "Industrial Training," by N. B. Dearle.

INCREASING NATIONAL CARE FOR THE HEALTH OF SCHOOL CHILDREN AND JUVENILES.

Health as an asset in apprenticeship has attracted great attention during the last 20 years. The Feeding of School Children Act and the dental and school clinic developments represent the beginnings of a national policy of health in this sphere.

RAISING OF THE SCHOOL-LEAVING AGE TO 15 OR 16.

Apart from the educative value of such a step, the withdrawal of the supply of boy labour during the years 13 and 14 to 15 or 16 would introduce a form of economy into industry and give a fillip to reorganisation which would, in the long run, be to the economic advantage of the State.

A HALF-TIME SYSTEM AND COMPULSORY CONTINUATION SCHOOLS FOR JUVENILES FROM 15 OR 16 TO 18 YEARS OF AGE.

Much discrepancy of opinion exists as to the most effective method of working such a system, but on the fundamental idea there is agreement that such a system ought to provide on the one hand sound general training, and on the other sound industrial training so as to secure a high level of civic qualities among the large numbers who are at present destined to be engaged in labour which is classed as unskilled.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE JUVENILE LABOUR EXCHANGES.

The extension of the work of the Exchanges should continue until they cover the whole field of juvenile employment. This hardly seems possible until compulsion is applied in some form or other by the State. With this would come the full correlation of the demand and supply of juvenile labour, and hence the possibility of reducing waste to a minimum. Organisation in anticipation of future need would then also be possible. In co-operation with the variety of voluntary organisations already at work for the welfare of the young, a national system of beneficent supervision in this transitional period, to bring within its scope the great majority of boys and girls of the country, would be obtained.

It may be that the great crisis through which we are now passing will retard some, if not all, of these tendencies. But the war, on the other hand, is making unparalleled demands for industrial efficiency and for a high level of civic attainment, demands which should not be withdrawn when peace is secured.

PART III.

THE POLITICAL LABOUR MOVEMENT.

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HISTORICAL.

THE FIRST LABOUR MEMBERS.

The collapse of the Chartist Movement in the late forties was succeeded by a period of inactivity, and there was little indication of any national political organisation on the part of the working classes until the passing of the Reform Act in 1868, which enfranchised workmen in the boroughs. In the same year the first Trades Union Congress was held at Manchester, the movement originating with the demand that an end should be put to the legal grievances which Trade Unionists then suffered. No records of that gathering are now available. At the second Congress, held at Birmingham in the following year, a paper was read on "Direct Labour Representation in Parliament," and about this time a Labour Representation League was formed for the purpose of securing the return of Trade Unionist Members to the House of Commons. The League failed in its effort to get its candidates recognised by either of the political parties and was forced into three-cornered contests. A bye-election in Southwark

in 1870 was fought by George Odger, who obtained 4,382 votes against his Conservative opponent's 4,686, the Liberal securing 2,951. At the General Election of 1874, 14 of the League's candidates went to the poll, and of these only four were allowed a straight fight, viz., Alexander Macdonald, Stafford; T. Burt, Morpeth; S. Mottershead, Preston, and W. R. Cremer, Warwick. The following were opposed by candidates of both the other parties: Ben Pickard, Wigan; George Howell, Aylesbury; Henry Broadhurst, Wickham; George Potter, Peterborough; T. Halliday, Merthyr Tydvil; John Kane, Middlesbrough; George Odger, Southwark; W. Morris, Cricklade; B. Lucraft, Finsbury; and A. A. Walton, Stoke-on-Trent. Only Alexander Macdonald and Thomas Burt (now a Privy Councillor and "Father of the House of Commons") secured election. In the 1880 election Henry Broadhurst was also returned for Stoke-on-Trent. In the 1885 election eleven Labour Members were returned to the House of Commons. (See table on page 308.)

THE COMING OF THE SOCIALISTS.

The year 1881 witnessed the beginning of definitely Socialist organisation in this country when the Democratic Federation was formed. This subsequently split into the Socialist League, centring around the personality of William Morris, and the Social Democratic Federation, of which H. M. Hyndman was the leader. In 1884 the Fabian Society also came into existence. The propaganda carried on by these various bodies found reflection to some extent in the Trades Union Congress, and was all the more intensified owing to the disappearance of the Labour Representation League. At the Congress held in Hull in 1886, of which Fred Maddison was the president, the various pious resolutions on Labour representation passed in previous years found concrete expression in a proposal to form an Electoral Labour Committee to act in conjunction with the Congress, the Labour representatives in the House, and the friends of Labour representation throughout the country. The first Electoral Committee was formed at the Hull Congress, and T. R. Threlfall, who had been responsible for putting forward the resolution, was appointed secretary. This new association failed to fulfil expectations, and by its inability to free itself from the hindering influences of the Liberal Party led to the inception of independent Labour politics. The Swansea Trades Union Congress in 1887 witnessed the opening of a new campaign, when J. Keir Hardie, as a representative of the Ayrshire Miners, laid down in the opening sentences of his first Trades Union Congress speech the principles of political independence for Labour to the propagation of which he afterwards devoted the whole of his career.

In the April of 1888 a vacancy occurred in Mid-Lanark, and Keir Hardie stood as Independent Labour candidate against an official Liberal and an official Tory. Attempts were made to secure Hardie's withdrawal by an offer of £300 per year, a safe Liberal seat, and the payment of his election expenses. These offers were rejected, and Hardie was handsomely defeated, receiving only 619 votes. This experience, however, led to the formation of the Scottish Labour Party, with R. Cunninghame Graham, M.P., as chairman, and Keir Hardie as secretary.

THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

The Dock Strike of 1889, in addition to stimulating Trade Unionism on the industrial side by the creation of the "New Unionism," was also responsible for a great awakening of the political aspirations of sections of the working classes throughout the country. Economic study also received considerable impetus from the visit of the late Henry George to this country, his lecture tour, in which he dealt exhaustively with his Land Reform and Single Tax proposals, leading many of the more enlightened artisans to a wider economic knowledge. The result of these various incentives was the springing up in many of the industrial centres of independent groups of working people who had failed to find any satisfaction in the theories or practice of the orthodox parties. In 1893 a conference, representing over 50 of these local organisations, together with delegates from other Socialist and industrial bodies, was held in Bradford under the chairmanship of J. Keir Hardie, who had been returned for South-West Ham at the General Election in the previous year, together with John Burns, J. Havelock Wilson, and twelve other Trade Union representatives. The outcome of this conference was the formation of the Independent Labour Party, into which the Scottish Labour Party was formally merged.

The next five years were notable for the strenuous propaganda of the I.L.P. and the gradual development of Socialist opinion in the ranks of many of the Trade Unions. Numerous bye-elections were unsuccessfully fought. In 1895 28 I.L.P. candidates went to the poll, but none was returned, and Keir Hardie lost his seat at South-West Ham. Other losses reduced the number of Labour representatives in the 1895-1900 Parliament to twelve.

THE LABOUR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE.

The time had come for a broader movement. In 1899 the following resolution was moved at the Trades Union Congress at Plymouth on behalf of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants:—

"That this Congress, having regard to the decisions of former years, and with a view of securing a better representation of the interests of Labour in the House of Commons, hereby instructs the Parliamentary Committee to invite the co-operation of all the Co-operative, Socialistic, Trade Union, and other working-class organisations to jointly co-operate on lines mutually agreed upon in convening a Special Congress of representatives from such of the above-named organisations as may be willing to take part to devise ways and means for the securing an increased number of Labour Members to the next Parliament."

The resolution was carried by 546 to 434 votes. A conference of delegates, two each from the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, the I.L.P., the S.D.F., and the Fabian Society, was responsible for the drafting of a party constitution, which formed the agenda of a Special Congress held at the Memorial Hall on February 27th, 1900, when the Labour Representation Committee was formally inaugurated. The conference was attended by 129 delegates, representing 568,127 members. A composite executive of twelve members was appointed, representing the various sections forming the Federation, and J. Ramsay MacDonald was appointed secretary.

The resolutions adopted included the following :—

“That this conference is in favour of working-class opinion being represented in the House of Commons by men sympathetic with the aims and demands of the Labour Movement, and whose candidatures are promoted by one or other of the organised movements.”

“That this conference is in favour of establishing a distinct Labour Group in Parliament, who shall have their own Whips, and agree upon their policy, which must embrace a readiness to co-operate with any Party which for the time being may be engaged in promoting legislation in the direct interest of Labour, and be equally ready to associate themselves with any Party in opposing measures having an opposite tendency; and, further, members of the Labour Group shall not oppose any candidate whose candidature is being promoted in terms of Resolution 1.”

From the outset the L.R.C. sought to include in its affiliated membership the Trades Councils throughout the country, which after many years' inclusion at the Trades Union Congress had been excluded on the ground of being merely a duplication of membership. The financial basis was an affiliation fee from Trade Unions and Socialist Societies of 10s. per annum for every 1,000 members or fraction thereof, each organisation being responsible for the expenses of its own candidates. Trades Council fees were fixed at £5 per year, but were reduced in the following year to £1.

It will be noted that the early years of the L.R.C. coincided with the period of the South African War, and when the appeal was made to the country by the Conservatives in 1900 the Committee were unprepared for any serious widespread campaign. Fifteen candidates were run under the auspices of the Committee, of whom two were returned, Keir Hardie re-entering Parliament for Merthyr Tydvil and Richard Bell being returned for Derby.

In 1902 the L.R.C. put forward Philip Snowden at a bye-election at Wakefield, when he polled 1,979 votes against 2,960 for his Tory opponent. Later in the same year D. J. Shackleton (Lancashire Weavers) was returned unopposed for Clitheroe, and in 1903 Will Crooks won Woolwich and Arthur Henderson Barnard Castle, under the Committee's auspices, unsuccessful bye-elections being fought by John Hodge at Preston and G. H. Roberts at Norwich.

POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE.

The constitution of the L.R.C. was the subject of much discussion at the third annual conference held in Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1903, and many of the dangers that had beset the earlier attempts to initiate independent Labour political movements were avoided by the definite adoption of the independent political principle in the following resolution :—

“In view of the fact that the L.R.C. is recruiting adherents from all outside political forces, and also, taking into consideration the basis upon which the Committee was inaugurated, this conference regards it as being absolutely necessary that the members of the Executive Committee should strictly abstain from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any section of the

Liberal or Conservative parties, inasmuch as if we are to secure the social and economic requirements of the industrial classes, Labour representatives in and out of Parliament will have to shape their own policy and act upon it regardless of other sections in the political world; and that the E.C. report to the affiliated association or bodies any such official acting contrary to the spirit of the constitution as hereby amended."

The Newcastle Conference was also notable for the initiation of a Parliamentary Fund for the maintenance of Labour Members and for assisting in paying election charges. Contributions were fixed upon the basis of 1d. per member per year from all affiliated organisations, except Trades Councils. After £2,500 had been accumulated, 25 per cent. of returning officers' fees at elections was paid to candidates approved by the Committee, and maintenance at the rate of £200 per year to elected Members.

Upon Payment of Members becoming law this fund was abolished and affiliation fees from the unions and Socialist societies reduced to 1d. per member per year for all purposes.

The years 1903, 1904, and 1905 witnessed the most carefully planned and enthusiastic period of political organisation in the history of the British Labour Movement, the result being that when the General Election took place in 1906 50 candidates were run under the auspices of the Committee, 29 of whom were returned and formed a compact and coherent Labour Group, with its own officers and Whips, acting independently of all other parties in Parliament. At the same time the name of the organisation was changed to that of "The Labour Party." The appearance of the Labour Party as a definite element in British politics and as an unmistakable indication of the democratic tendencies of the time, resulting in the definite establishment of a Parliamentary Labour Party in the House of Commons, made a great stir in the political world, and the "Condition of the People" question at last secured attention.

PARLIAMENTARY LABOUR REPRESENTATION, 1874-1915.

The following table is a complete record of Labour Members who have been returned to the House of Commons since 1874.

R indicates Returned to Parliament, and **R** indicates Returned under the auspices of the Labour Representation Committee or the Labour Party.

D and **D** indicate Defeat.

When a Member was returned at a bye-election the year is given in the last column, Labour Party candidatures being indicated in heavy type.

Members marked † are dead ; those marked * form the present Parliamentary Labour Party.

Members.	1874.	1880.	1885.	1886.	1892.	1895.	1900.	1906.	1910. Jan.	1910. Dec.	Bye- elec- tion.
Abraham, W.*	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	..
Adamson, W.*	R	..
Austin, M.	R	R	R	..	..	..	..
Anderson, W. C.*	1915
Arch, J.†	R	D	R	R	..	..	..	..	..
Barnes, G. N.*	R	R	R	..
Bell, R.	R	R	..	..	..
Bowerman, C. W.*	R	R	R	..
Brace, W.*	R	R	R	..
Broadhurst, H.†	R	R	R	D	R	R	..	..	..	1894
Burns, John	R	R	R	R	R	R	..
Burt, T.	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	..
Clynes, J. R.*	R	R	R	..
Crawford, W.†	R	R	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cremer, W. R.†	R	R	R	D	R	R	..	..	..
Crean, E.†	R	R	..	..	..	..	..
Crooks, Will*	R	D	R	1903
Curran, Pete†	D	..	1907
Duncan, C.*	R	R	R	..
Edwards, E.†	R	R	R	..
Fenwick, C.	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	..
Gill, A. H.†	R	R	R	..
Glover, T.†	R	R	D	..
Goldstone, F. W.*	R	..
Graham, Cunningham	R	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Grayson, V.	D	..	1908
Hall, Fred*	R	R	R	..
Hancock, J. G.	R	R	1909
Hardie, J. Keir†	R	D	R	R	R	R	..
Harvey, W. E.†	R	R	..

Members.	1874.	1880.	1885.	1886.	1892.	1895.	1900.	1906.	1910. Jan.	1910. Dec.	Bye- elec- tion.
Haslam, J.†.....	R	R	R	..
Henderson, A.*.....	R	R	R	1903
Hodge, John*.....	R	R	R	..
Howell, G.†.....	R	R	R	R	D	..	..	..	..
Hudson, W.*.....	R	R	R	..
Jenkins, J. H.....	R	D	..	..
Johnson, John†.....	R	D	..	..
Johnson, W.....	R	D	R	..
Jowett, F. W.*.....	R	R	R	..
Kelley, Geo. D.†.....	R	..	..	..
Kenyon, B.....	1914
Lansbury, Geo.....	R	..
Leicester, J.†.....	R	D	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Macdonald, A.†.....	R	R	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
MacDonald, J. R.*..	R	R	R	..
Macpherson, J. T...	R	D	..	..
Maddison, F.....	D	R	D	..	1897
Nichols, G.....	R	D	..	..
O'Grady, J.*.....	R	R	R	..
Parker, J.*.....	R	R	R	..
Pickard, Ben†.....	R	R	R	R	R	..	..	..	..
Pointer, J.†.....	R	R	1909
Richards, T.*.....	R	R	R	1904
Richards, T. F.....	R	D	..	..
Richardson, T.*.....	R	..
Roberts, G. H.*.....	R	R	R	..
Rowlands, J.....	R	R	D	..	R	D	R	..
Seddon, J. A.....	R	R	D	..
Shackleton, D. J.	R	R	..	1902
Smith, Albert*.....	R	..
Snowden, P.*.....	R	R	R	..
Stanley, A.*.....	R	R	..
Steadman, W. C.†.....	D	R	..	..	1898
Summerbell, T.†.....	R	D	..	..
Sutton, J. E.*.....	R	R	..
Taylor, J. W.*.....	R	R	R	..
Thomas, J. H.*.....	R	R	..
Thorne, Will*.....	R	R	R	..
Tootill, R.*.....	1915
Twist, H.....	R	D	..
Vivian, H.....	R	R	D	..
Wadsworth, J.*.....	R	R	R	..
Walsh, S.*.....	R	R	R	..
Ward, John.....	R	R	R	..
Wardle, G. J.*.....	R	R	R	..
Wilkie, A.*.....	R	R	R	..
Williams, John*.....	R	R	R	..
Wilson, John†.....	R	D	R	R	R	R	R	R	..
Wilson, J. Havelock	R	R	D	R	..	..	..
Wilson, W. Tyson*.....	R	R	R	..
Woods, Sam.†.....	R	D	D	..	..	..	1897

THE LABOUR PARTY.

(FORMERLY LABOUR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE).

CONSTITUTION.

The Labour Party is a federation consisting of Trade Unions, the Independent Labour Party, the Fabian Society, and a large number of Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties. The Women's Labour League and one Co-operative Society are also affiliated. From the inception of the Party Co-operative Societies have been eligible for affiliation, but there has been, so far, but little disposition on their part to associate with the political Labour Movement.

The Party is financed by affiliation fees from the Trade Unions, Socialist, and Co-operative Societies at the rate of 1d. per member per year, in the case of the Trade Unions the recognised membership being that contributing to the unions' political funds under the Trade Union Act (1913). Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties, together with the Women's Labour League, now contribute on a basis of 15s. per year when their respective memberships are under 5,000, and 30s. when their memberships exceed that number.

The following table indicates the growth of the Party :—

	Trade Unions.		Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties.		Socialist Societies.		Total.
	No.	Membership.	No.		No.	Membership.	
1900-1 ..	41 ..	353,070	.. 7 ..	3 ..	22,861	..	375,931
1901-2 ..	65 ..	455,450	.. 21 ..	2 ..	13,861	..	469,311
1902-3 ..	127 ..	847,315	.. 49 ..	2 ..	13,835	..	861,150
1903-4 ..	165 ..	956,025	.. 76 ..	2 ..	13,775	..	969,800
1904-5 ..	158 ..	855,270	.. 73 ..	2 ..	14,730	..	900,000
1905-6 ..	158 ..	904,496	.. 73 ..	2 ..	16,784	..	921,280
1906-7 ..	176 ..	975,182	.. 83 ..	2 ..	20,885	..	998,338*
1907 ..	181 ..	1,049,673	.. 92 ..	2 ..	22,267	..	1,072,413†
1908 ..	176 ..	1,127,035	.. 133 ..	2 ..	27,465	..	1,158,565‡
1909 ..	172 ..	1,450,648	.. 155 ..	2 ..	30,982	..	1,486,308§
1910 ..	151 ..	1,394,402	.. 148 ..	2 ..	31,377	..	1,430,539||
1911 ..	141 ..	1,501,783	.. 149 ..	2 ..	31,404	..	1,539,092¶
1912 ..	130 ..	1,858,178	.. 153 ..	2 ..	31,237	..	1,895,498**
1913 ..	†† ..	††	.. 143 ..	2 ..	33,304	..	††

* This total includes 2,271 co-operators.

† Includes 472 co-operators.

‡ Includes 565 co-operators and 3,500 members of the Women's Labour League.

§ Includes 678 co-operators and 4,000 members of the Women's Labour League.

|| Includes 760 co-operators and 4,000 members of the Women's Labour League.

¶ Includes 911 co-operators and 5,000 members of the Women's Labour League.

** Includes 1,073 co-operators and 5,000 members of the Women's Labour League.

†† Owing to the effect of the Osborne Judgment, it was impossible to compile accurate statistics of membership for 1913 and 1914.

The Party holds an Annual Conference of delegates each year, the next being convened for Bristol in January, 1916. Delegates attend on behalf of affiliated societies in the proportion of one delegate to 1,000 members; Trades Councils and local Labour Parties, one or two delegates according to whether the membership is under 5,000 or over. It has been the practice for the Chairman of the Party Executive for

the preceding year to preside over the Conference. Owing to the war the Conference in 1914 was postponed, but the number of delegates in 1913 was 551, who represented 149 organisations.

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE, ETC.

The National Executive consists of 16 members: eleven represent the Trades Unions, one the Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties and Women's Labour League; three the Socialist Societies, who are elected by ballot at the Annual Conference by their respective sections, and the treasurer, who is elected by the Conference as a whole. The secretary, who is a paid official, is also elected by the Annual Conference.

The Executive Committee elected at the Glasgow Conference on January 29th, 1914, is as follows: Chairman, W. C. Anderson (I.L.P.); Vice-Chairman, A. G. Cameron (Carpenters and Joiners); Treasurer, J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P. (I.L.P.); J. R. Clynes, M.P. (Gasworkers), Tom Fox (British Labour Amalgamation), John Hodge, M.P. (British Steel Smelters), W. H. Hutchinson (A.S. Engineers), W. F. Purdy (Shipwrights), George H. Roberts, M.P. (Typographical Association), W. C. Robinson, J.P. (United Textile Factory Workers), W. Stephen Sanders (Fabian Society), Ben Turner, J.P. (General Union of Textile Workers), H. Twist (Miners' Federation), Egerton P. Wake (Trades Councils, Local Labour Parties, and Women's Labour League), and G. J. Wardle, M.P. (Railwaymen).

The late Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M.P., was also a member of the Committee.

Secretary: Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., 1, Victoria Street, London, S.W. (Telegraphic address: "Labrepcom, Vic., London." Telephone: Victoria 1213.)

Assistant Secretary: J. S. Middleton.

National Agent: Arthur Peters, J.P.

Scottish Secretary: Ben Shaw, 102, Holm Street (City), Glasgow. (Telephone: Central 1847.)

Organisers: S. Higenbottam and W. Holmes.

Secretary of Information Bureau: W. Gillies.

Standing Counsel: Henry H. Slesser.

The National Executive elects its own chairman and vice-chairman, controls the Party organisation, approves candidates and sanctions candidatures, issues Party literature, and in a general way is responsible for the work of the Party outside the House of Commons. It co-operates with the Parliamentary Party in considering the legislative programme of each Session, and on important matters of Party policy arising joint meetings between the two bodies are arranged.

The important decision that the Party should co-operate in the formation of the Coalition Government was the subject of a joint meeting before the proposal was finally adopted.

The National Executive is also represented by five of its members upon the British Section of the International Socialist Bureau, and the secretary to the Party is, *ex officio*, secretary to the section (see Part V.). It is also represented by three of its members and the secretary upon the Joint Board (see page 353), and when important Parliamentary proposals, such as the Trade Disputes Bill, the Trade Union Bill, and the Insurance Bill, were before the country the National

Executive met in joint session with the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress and the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions.

The National Executive is represented by invitation at the Trades Union Congress, the Annual Council Meeting of the General Federation of Trade Unions, and congresses of various kindred parties abroad, in addition to conferences dealing with matters generally appertaining to Labour at home.

The activities of the Party have grown steadily during the last nine years. A national agent was appointed in 1907 to improve the Party organisation throughout the country, generally to advise upon electoral and registration work, and when necessary to act as Party agent at bye-elections. Early in 1914 two national organisers were appointed in order that more frequent visitation of constituencies could be conducted, and to secure closer attention to Scottish Labour organisation a proposal to form a Scottish Advisory Council of the Party was adopted. A Scottish secretary was appointed, and the inaugural conference to form the Council, which was to have been held in August, 1914, did not meet until August, 1915, when the Council was definitely constituted.

An information and statistical bureau has been set up, and a library of Blue Books, Parliamentary Reports, and other works of reference, etc., is being instituted in order to perfect Party propaganda, and to act as a general centre for reference on all subjects of industrial, social, and political interest.

The National Executive is considering the publication of a periodical for official and propaganda purposes.

In order to encourage the appointment of full-time agents in Labour constituencies the Executive has adopted a scheme by which 25 per cent. of the salary of approved agents is contributed from Party funds, and during the last two years special contributions have been made to assist local Labour organisations undertaking specific schemes of registration and organisation work.

Owing to the Party Conference being postponed in 1914 no financial statement was issued, but the statement of accounts for 1913 showed a balance of £9,300. A considerable amount of expenditure and income is occasioned by the printing and sale of leaflets, pamphlets, and miscellaneous publications of a Party character.

SCOTTISH ADVISORY COUNCIL.

The Inaugural Conference was held in Glasgow on Saturday, August 21st, 1915, and was attended by 92 delegates, representing eight Scottish and 22 British Trade Unions, twelve Trades Councils, four local Labour Parties, 100 branches and 15 Federations of the I.L.P., three local Fabian Societies, and twelve branches and one Council of the Women's Labour League.

The chief business of the Conference was the election of the Executive Committee, and general discussion upon the political organisation of the Scottish Labour movement.

The Executive Committee, which was elected in accordance with a scheme approved by the Annual Conference of the Labour Party in 1914, is as follows:—

Robert Smillie, J.P. (President); W. Westwood, J.P., Councillor James Walker, Neil Beaton, Hugh Murdoch, J. Campbell, representing

the Trade Unions; James Maxton, M.A., and William Stewart, the Scottish I.L.P. Council; Councillor J. S. Taylor and Cecil Mitchell, the Trades Councils and local Labour Parties; Councillor Miss McNab, the Women's Labour League; and William Twaddle, the Fabian Society.

Ben Shaw, J.P., 102, Holm Street (City), Glasgow, is the Secretary and Treasurer of the Council.

CANDIDATURES.

Candidates before receiving official sanction by the Labour Party must first receive the endorsement of an affiliated organisation. Candidates of Trade Unions are usually selected by ballot of their members, while I.L.P. candidates are either selected by District Conferences or put forward by the National Administrative Council.

The election expenses of candidates must be guaranteed by the organisation responsible for the candidature. It is competent for a number of societies to combine for this purpose, and on occasion even Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties have accepted this responsibility.

The names of endorsed candidates are then sent forward to the head office of the Party, and after receiving the approval of the National Executive are placed on what is known as the list of approved candidates. When the local organisation in a constituency desires to put forward a Labour candidate communications must be entered into with the National Executive, and, if in their opinion it is advisable to proceed, the local and national organisations co-operate in convening a conference of all branches of societies affiliated to the national party in the constituency. It may happen that branches of societies unaffiliated to the national Party are affiliated to the local organisation, and in that case the local party is at liberty to invite such branches to appoint delegates to local conferences. At the initial conference the general proposal that the constituency should be contested is discussed, and if agreed upon local branches are invited to send forward nominations for the candidature, such nominations to be accompanied by undertakings respecting finance. Upon these nominations being forthcoming they are submitted to the various local branches, who are invited to instruct their delegates as to whom their support is to be given, and at a subsequent conference, at which the National Executive must be represented, the nominations are considered and a definite selection is made. The representative of the National Executive at the conference reports upon the general character of the conference, and, providing the society accepting the financial responsibility for the candidate in the first instance endorses his selection for the particular constituency, the National Executive then gives its final sanction. Circumstances may arise in the course of this procedure which may lead the Party Executive to withhold its final sanction, but, generally speaking, the course adopted is as described.

In the case of bye-elections the procedure may be expedited, but the candidate must receive the endorsement of a conference held in the constituency, otherwise the National Executive has power to withhold its sanction.

Candidates must appear before their constituencies under the title of "Labour Candidates" only; they must abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any other

party, and accept the responsibilities established by Parliamentary practice. Prior to 1911 they had to sign the Constitution of the Party as an expression of their loyalty to its principles. As a result of the Osborne Judgment, however, this formal pledge was abolished, as it was held by certain of the judges, who delivered that judgment, that the extraction of a party pledge from political candidates was against public policy.

The following are the constituencies for which Labour candidates have been sanctioned; and the affiliated organisations which have accepted responsibility for the election finances are appended :—

Accrington.—J. BELL, Weavers' Offices, Bartlam Place, Oldham. (United Textile Factory Workers' Association.)

Ayrshire, South.—JAMES BROWN, 56, Annabank-by-Ayr, Scotland. (Miners' Federation of Great Britain.)

Bermondsey.—Dr. ALFRED SALTER, J.P., 5, Storks Road, Bermondsey, London, S.E. (I.L.P.)

Birmingham, East.—Councillor GEORGE SHANN, Chellowdene, Linton Road, Bournville. (Birmingham L.R.C.)

Birmingham, West.—Councillor J. W. KNEESHAW, 285, Shenstone Road, Birmingham. (I.L.P.)

Bishop Auckland.—Councillor BEN SPOOR, 4, Westfield Road, Bishop Auckland. (I.L.P.)

Bristol, East.—Councillor W. H. AYLES, The Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street, Bristol. (I.L.P.)

Camlachie.—Bailie ALSTON, Annandale, St. John's, Cathcart, Glasgow. (I.L.P.)

Chester-le-Street.—J. GILLILAND, Birtley, co. Durham. (Miners' Federation of Great Britain.)

Coventry.—R. C. WALLHEAD, 21, East Avenue, Garden Village, Burnage, Manchester. (I.L.P.)

Doncaster.—S. ROEBUCK, Clifton House, Huddersfield Road, Barnsley. (Miners' Federation of Great Britain.)

Durham, N.W.—G. H. STUART, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, London, S.W. (Postmen's Federation.)

Eccles.—J. H. HUDSON, M.A., Oaklands, Flixton, Lancs. (I.L.P.)

Glamorgan, East.—A. ONIONS, J.P., Miners' Agent, Tredegar, Mon. (Miners' Federation of Great Britain.)

Holmfirth.—W. LUNN, Carlton Lane, Rothwell, Leeds. (Miners' Federation of Great Britain.)

Houghton-le-Spring.—W. P. RICHARDSON, Manor View, New Washington, Co. Durham. (Miners' Federation of Great Britain.)

Lanark, N.E.—J. ROBERTSON, Miners' Office, Hamilton, Scotland. (Miners' Federation of Great Britain.)

Leigh.—T. GREENALL, J.P., 94, Leigh Road, Boothstown, Manchester. (Miners' Federation of Great Britain.)

Leith.—J. N. BELL, J.P., 4, Higham Place, Newcastle-on-Tyne. (National Amalgamated Union of Labour.)

Merthyr Tydvil.—JAMES WINSTONE, Snowden House, Freehold Land, Pontnewynydd, Pontypool (Mon.).

- Midlothian.**—ROBERT BROWN, J.P., Miners' Office, Dalkeith, Scotland. (Miners' Federation of Great Britain.)
- Morpeth.**—J. CAIRNS, Burt Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne. (Miners' Federation of Great Britain.)
- Newton.**—J. A. SEDDON, Laurel Dene, St. Helens.
- Oldham.**—W. C. ROBINSON, J.P., Briar House, Bury Old Road, Heywood. (United Textile Factory Workers' Association.)
- Portsmouth.**—J. MAC TAVISH, 68, Cuthbert Road, Kingstown, Portsmouth. (Portsmouth Labour Party.)
- Preston.**—TOM SHAW, J.P., Weavers' Office, Colne, Lancs. (United Textile Factory Workers' Association.)
- Rotherham.**—JAMES WALKER, 49, Jamaica Street, Glasgow. (British Steel Smelters' Association.)
- St. Helens.**—Councillor JAMES SEXTON, J.P., 17, Norton Street, Liverpool. (National Union of Dock Labourers.)
- Sowerby.**—J. W. OGDEN, 2, Grosvenor Street, Heywood, Lancs. (United Textile Factory Workers' Association.)
- Wigan.**—H. TWIST, J.P., The Laburnums, 296, Bolton Road, Ashton-in-Makerfield. (Miners' Federation of Great Britain.)
- Wolverhampton, West.**—A. G. WALKDEN, 337, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C. (Railway Clerks' Association.)
- York.**—H. H. SLESSER, 11, King's Bench Walk, Temple, London, E.C. (York Labour Party.)

The following candidates have received the official endorsement of the Party Executive and are available for selection by constituencies. The various organisations indicated have assumed financial responsibility for their candidatures provided that such meet with their approval and receive the official sanction of the Party :—

- J. H. JENKINS, J.P., 101, Romily Road, Cardiff.
(Shipconstructors and Shipwrights' Association.)
- BEN TILLET, 425, Mile End Road, London, E.
- W. PUGH, Siddall Buildings, Alexandra Road, Swansea.
(Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union.)
- TOM GRIFFITHS, 7, Queen Street, Neath.
(British Steel Smelters' Association.)
- J. BRUCE GLASIER, 2, Bedford Road, Liscard, Cheshire.
- J. BURGESS, 278, New Hey Road, Bradford.
- T. RUSSELL WILLIAMS, Kildwick, near Keighley.
- H. SNELL, 3, Leighton Crescent, London, N.W.
- T. MCKERRELL, Mary Villa, Riccarton, Kilmarnock.
- M. T. SIMM, 15, Oakfield Terrace, Gosforth, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- J. H. PALIN, 121, Lower Rushton Road, Bradford.
- GEORGE BANTON, 19, St. Margaret's Street, Leicester.
- H. WITARD, 75, St. Margaret's Street, Norwich.
- DR. E. H. STANCOMB, Westbourne, College Place, Southampton.
- DAVID WILLIAMS, 25, Windmill Terrace, St. Thomas, Swansea.
- LEONARD H. VERITY, 38, County Arcade, Leeds.
(Independent Labour Party.)

- W. H. CARR, J.P., Delamere Street, Ashton-under-Lyne.
(Amal. Association of Card and Blowing-Room Operatives.)
- T. F. RICHARDS, 94, Uppingham Road, Leicester.
- FRANK SHEPPARD, 190, Cheltenham Road, Bristol.
- J. GRIBBLE, Clare Street, Northampton.
(Boot and Shoe Operatives' Union.)
- W. S. SANDERS, 172, Boundaries Road, Balham, London, S.W.
(Fabian Society.)
- HARRY GOSLING, 31, Great Prescott Street, London, E.
(Amal. Society of Watermen, Lightermen, and Bargemen.)
- W. MARSLAND, J.P., 3, Blossom Street, Manchester.
(United Textile Factory Workers' Association.)
- ALBERT BELLAMY, 93, Fox Street, Edgeley, Stockport.
- THOMAS LOWTH, Unity House, Euston Road, London, N.W.
(National Union of Railwaymen.)
- ALFRED GOULD, 1, Laurel Grove, Park Road, Hull.
(Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.)

PARTY AGENTS.

The following is a list of full or part-time agents in constituencies for which Labour Members have been elected (*) or where Labour candidates have been adopted:—

- Accrington.**—J. T. ABBOTT, 83a, Whalley Road, Accrington.
- Ayrshire, South.**—DUNCAN GRAHAM, Stanley Cottage, Low Waters, Hamilton.
- ***Barnard Castle.**—T. W. DOWSON, Greta House, Crook, R.S.O., Co. Durham.
- Birmingham, East.**—D. H. THOMAS, 216, Sladefield Road, Ward End, Birmingham.
- ***Blackburn.**—G. R. SHEPHERD, 69, Azalea Road, Blackburn.
- ***Bolton.**—H. WHITTAKER, 38, Glen Avenue, Deane, Bolton.
- ***Bradford, West.**—Councillor A. T. SUTTON, I.L.P. Office, Church Bank, Bradford.
- ***Clitheroe.**—F. CONSTANTINE, 45, Rhoda Street, Nelson.
- Coventry.**—R. BARTON, 3, Alfred Road, Coventry.
- ***Deptford.**—W. H. TAYLOR, c/o Co-operative Printing Society Limited, Tudor Street, London, E.C.
- ***Derby.**—Councillor J. BENNETT, 42, Full Street, Derby.
- ***Dundee.**—W. WESTWOOD, J.P., 25, Battlefield Avenue, Langside, Glasgow.
- Durham, N.W.**—B. J. BURRIDGE, Front Street, Stanley S.O., Co. Durham.
- ***Fife, West.**—W. M. WATSON, Weston Cottages, Cowdenbeath, Fife.
- ***Glamorgan, Gower.**—METH JONES, Albany Road, Pontycymmer, Glam.
- Glamorgan, East.**—T. I. MARDY JONES, 16, Llantwit Road, Treforest, Glam.
- ***Gorton.**—Councillor S. HAGUE, 3, Hyde Road, Gorton.
- ***Halifax.**—JOHN LAW, Friendly and Trade Club, St. James's Road, Halifax.

- ***Hallamshire.**—T. SMITH, 26, Ribston Road, Darnall, Sheffield.
- Houghton-le-Spring.**—H. BAINBRIDGE, 44, Farnham Terrace, Sunderland.
- ***Ince.**—R. T. PHILLIPS, 27, First Avenue, Hindley, near Wigan.
- Lanark, N.E.**—DUNCAN GRAHAM, Stanley Cottage, Low Waters, Hamilton.
- ***Leeds, East.**—J. W. LAKE, 84, Upper Accommodation Road, Leeds.
- ***Leicester.**—Councillor A. H. REYNOLDS, 38, Colton Street, Leicester.
- Leigh.**—J. PRESCOTT, 112, Windermere Road, Leigh, Lancs.
- Leith Burghs.**—A. MCQUATER, Labour Hall, 1, Smith Place, Leith Walk, Leith.
- ***Manchester, East.**—J. MCQUEENY, 395, Manchester Road, Droylsden, Manchester.
- ***Manchester, N.E.**—A. JAMES, 2a, Enoch Street, Miles Platting, Manchester.
- ***Merthyr Boroughs.**—T. I. MARDY JONES, 16, Llantwit Road, Treforest, Glam.
- Midlothian.**—W. M. WATSON, Weston Cottages, Cowdenbeath, Fife.
- ***Monmouth, North, South, and West.**—W. HARRIS, "Arfryn," Bryn Road, Pontllanfraith, Newport (Mon.).
- ***Newcastle-on-Tyne.**—Councillor E. GIBBIN, 9, Regent Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- Newton.**—R. LEWIS, 178, Cansfield Grove, Ashton-in-Makerfield.
- ***Norwich.**—Councillor W. R. SMITH, J.P., 26, St. John's, Madders Market, Norwich.
- Oldham.**—I. CRABTREE, 12, Clegg Street, Oldham.
- Portsmouth.**—J. M. MCTAVISH, 68, Cuthbert Road, Kingston, Portsmouth.
- Preston.**—J. WOOLLEY, J.P., Weavers' Institute, Preston.
- ***Rhondda.**—T. I. MARDY JONES, 16, Llantwit Road, Treforest, Glam.
- Sowerby.**—MARK CROSSLEY, Commercial Buildings, Sowerby Bridge.
- St. Helens.**—Councillor R. WARING, Windle Labour Club, Duke Street, St. Helens.
- ***Stockport.**—Councillor F. PLANT, 97, Petersburg Road, Edgeley, Stockport.
- ***Sunderland.**—T. S. DALE, J.P., 83, Forster Street, Sunderland.
- Wansbeck and Morpeth.**—E. E. HUNTER, c/o Northumberland Miners' Association, Burt Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- ***West Ham, S.**—Alderman D. J. DAVIS, J.P., 2, Custom Street, Custom House, London, E.
- ***Whitehaven.**—D. PLEWS, 2, West View, Bransty, Whitehaven.
- Wigan.**—Councillor J. R. HOLLAND, 21, Sovereign Road, Wigan.
- Wolverhampton.**—J. WHITTAKER, J.P., 39, Owan Road, Wolverhampton.
- ***Woolwich.**—Councillor W. BAREFOOT, J.P., 3, New Road, Woolwich, London, S.E.

THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOUR PARTY.

Of the 29 Labour Members returned under the auspices of the Labour Representation Committee in 1906 only four had had any previous Parliamentary experience, but Party procedure was immediately put upon a regular business basis. J. Keir Hardie, M.P., was elected Chairman of the Party, and a Vice-Chairman, Secretary, and Whips were also appointed. A separate room was secured in the House of Commons for the Party's exclusive use, and a Parliamentary Assistant was engaged.

It was arranged that the officers should meet each day prior to the opening of the House, and it was agreed that the Party should meet at least once each week to discuss Parliamentary business, to select its official speakers in the more important debates, and to consider the reports of the various Party Committees which were appointed to deal systematically with various phases of Parliamentary and Party activity. This practice has continued throughout the nine years of the Party's existence in Parliament.

The present Chairman of the Party is the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., President of the Board of Education, but during the continuance of the Coalition Government Mr. John Hodge, M.P., is Acting Chairman. Mr. George H. Roberts, M.P., represents the Party in the Whips' Department of the Coalition Government, but the regular Party Whips are Messrs. F. W. Goldstone, M.P., James Parker, M.P., and W. Tyson Wilson, M.P.

Mr. Charles Duncan, M.P., acts as Secretary, with Mr. H. S. Lindsay as Parliamentary Assistant. (Telegraphic address: "Labour Party, Commons, London." Telephone No.: 6240 Victoria, Extension 151.)

Prior to the outbreak of war in 1914 the Party had special Committees on the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Electoral Reform, Unemployment, Party Policy, Municipal Affairs, Workmen's Compensation, Railway and Transit, Government Workers' Conditions, Finance, Education, and Truck. These Committees are still in existence, and deal with matters that arise from time to time.

THE PARTY'S SESSIONAL PROGRAMME.

At the opening of each Session it has been the practice of the Parliamentary Party to review the various resolutions of the Labour Party Conferences, which are accepted as general guidance upon Parliamentary matters. The National Executive of the Party sits with the Parliamentary Party in joint meeting at the opening of each Session for the purpose of compiling a list of Party bills and subjects for motions. Members agree if successful in the ballot for bills to put forward the Party bills in the order of priority decided upon by the Joint Committee, but Members are free to select the subject of any motion on the Party list that they prefer. The following are the subjects of bills and motions as agreed upon at the opening of the last normal Parliamentary Session in 1914, and indicate the wide scope of Party action on industrial politics.

LIST OF BILLS.

Prevention of Unemployment.
 Education (Administrative Provisions).
 Representation of the People.
 Education (Provision of Meals) Act Amendment.
 Nationalisation of Mines.
 Agricultural Labourers (Wages and Hours).
 Agricultural Labourers (Scotland) Half-Holiday.
 Prevention and Cure of Sickness and Destitution.
 Provision for Minimum Wages and Maximum Hours of Labour.
 Minister of Labour.
 Prevention of Sickness and Destitution amongst Children.
 Old Age Pensions (Amendment).
 Compulsory Weighing.
 Railway (Eight Hours).
 Local Authorities (Enabling).
 Abolition of Fines.
 Saturday to Monday Stop.
 State Aid for the Blind.
 Abolition of Artificial Humidity.
 48-Hour Week in Cotton Trade.
 Enginemens' Certificate.
 Factory and Workshop (Underground).
 Hairdressers' Sunday Closing (Wales).

LIST OF SUBJECTS FOR MOTIONS.

General 3os. Minimum Wage.
 Eviction of Workmen during Trade Disputes.
 Atmosphere and Dust in Textile Factories.
 System of Fines in Textile and other Trades.
 Inclusion of Clerks in Factory Acts.
 Eight-Hour Day.
 Truck.
 Hours in Bakehouses.
 Maladministration of Fair Wages Clause
 Factory Inspection.
 Poor Law Reform.
 Railway and Mining Accidents.
 Labour Exchanges Administration.
 Extension of Particulars Clause to Docks, etc.
 Workmen's Compensation Act Amendment.
 Railway and Canal Nationalisation.
 Nationalisation of Hospitals.
 National Factory for Municipal Clothing.
 Land Nationalisation.
 Socialism.
 House of Commons Procedure.
 Day Training Classes.
 School Clinics.
 Commission of Inquiry into older Universities.
 Inquiry into Industrial Assurance.
 Payment of Jurors.
 Militarism.
 Abolition of the Right of Capture of Private Property at Sea.

MEMBERS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOUR PARTY.**(September, 1915.)**

Right Hon. W. ABRAHAM (Rhondda Valley), Pentre, Rhondda,
Glam.

Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

W. ADAMSON (West Fife), Miners' Office, Dunfermline.

Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

W. C. ANDERSON (Attercliffe), 1, Caroline Place, London, W.C.

Independent Labour Party.

G. N. BARNES (Glasgow, Blackfriars), 2, Alderbrook Road,
Balham, London, S.W.

Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

C. W. BOWERMAN (Deptford), 4, Battledean Road, Highbury,
London, N.

London Society of Compositors.

W. BRACE (South Glamorganshire), Miners' Office, Newport, Mon.

Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

J. R. CLYNES (N.E. Manchester), 174, Union Street, Oldham.

Gasworkers and General Labourers.

WILL CROOKS (Woolwich), 81, Gough Street, Poplar, London, E.

Mutual Association of Journeymen Coopers.

CHARLES DUNCAN (Barrow-in-Furness), 16, Agincourt Road,
Hampstead, London, N.W.

Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

F. W. GOLDSTONE (Sunderland), 82, Ulleswater Road, Southgate,
London, N.

National Union of Teachers.

F. HALL (Normanton), Miners' Office, Barnsley.

Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

Right Hon. A. HENDERSON (Barnard Castle), Teesdale, 13,
Rodenhurst Road, Clapham Park, London, S.W.

Friendly Society of Ironfounders.

J. HODGE (Gorton), Ormond Mansions, 66-68, Lambs Conduit
Street, London, W.C.

British Steel Smelters' Amalgamated Association.

W. HUDSON (Newcastle-on-Tyne), 22, Atherfold Road, Stockwell,
London, S.W.

National Union of Railwaymen.

F. W. JOWETT (Bradford, W.), 10, Grantham Terrace, Bradford.

Independent Labour Party.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD (Leicester), 3, Lincoln's Inn Fields,
London, W.C.

Independent Labour Party.

JAMES O'GRADY (Leeds, E.), 74, Manchuria Road, West Side,
Clapham Common, London, S.W.

National Furnishing Trades Association.

JAMES PARKER (Halifax), 22, Salisbury Place, Halifax.

Independent Labour Party.

T. RICHARDS (Monmouthshire, W.), 31, Ninian Road, Cardiff.

Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

T. RICHARDSON (Whitehaven), 29, Lancaster Park, Richmond,
Surrey.

Independent Labour Party.

G. H. ROBERTS (Norwich), 42, Whitehall Road, Norwich.

Typographical Association.

A. SMITH (Clitheroe), Spring Cottage Lodge, Nelson, Lancs.

United Textile Factory Workers' Association.

P. SNOWDEN (Blackburn), Woodstock Road, Golders Green,
London, N.W.

Independent Labour Party.

A. STANLEY (Staffordshire, N.W.), West Hill, Hednesford, Staffs.

Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

J. E. SUTTON (Manchester, E.), 109, North Road, Clayton,
Manchester.

Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

J. W. TAYLOR (Chester-le-Street), The Avenue, Durham.

Durham Colliery Mechanics' Association.

J. H. THOMAS (Derby), Unity House, Euston Road, London, N.W.

National Union of Railwaymen.

W. THORNE (S. West Ham), 268, Pentonville Road, London, N.

Gasworkers and General Labourers.

R. TOOTHILL (Bolton), Westward House, Tonge, Bolton.

Carters, Lorrymen, and Motor Men's Union.

J. WADSWORTH (Hallamshire), Miners' Office, Barnsley.

Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

S. WALSH (Ince), 8, Swinley Road, Wigan.

Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

G. J. WARDLE (Stockport), 312, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.

National Union of Railwaymen.

A. WILKIE (Dundee), Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Ship Constructors' and Shipwrights' Association.

J. WILLIAMS (Gower), Godrer Bryn, Sketty, Swansea.

Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

W. T. WILSON (Westhoughton), 98, Mornington Road, Bolton.

Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.

PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW, 1906-1915.

1906.

The Parliamentary Labour Party, which had elected J. Keir Hardie, M.P., as its first Chairman, was more fortunate in the ballot for bills in 1906 than in any subsequent year.

One of the leading features of the Party campaign prior to the election was the reversal of the Taff Vale judgment, which for many years had hindered Trade Union activity and had laid Trade Union funds open to attachment by the employers in times of trade disputes. The Liberal Government, most of the members of whom had supported Labour bills reaffirming Trade Union claims in the previous Parliament, introduced a bill embodying a partial restitution of Trade Union rights. An early date was secured by the Labour Party in the ballot for bills, however, and opportunity was taken to promote the measure which had been backed by the whole Labour movement. The result was that the Government were compelled to honour the pledges given by the majority of their supporters in the constituencies, and before the Session ended the bill was passed into law.

From the table on page 308 it will be noted that a number of Trade Unionists, including representatives of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, had been returned to Parliament in 1906. They had formed themselves into a distinct Trade Union Group and joint meetings with the Labour Party were held, the combination being largely responsible for the concentration of the Parliamentary campaign on the Trades Disputes Bill. Co-operation on these lines continued for several years, but came to an end with the affiliation of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain with the Labour Party and the adoption of miners' candidates under Party auspices in 1910.

The other measure for which the Party was largely responsible was the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, by which educational authorities were given power to provide meals for necessitous school children.

The Labour Party also achieved many improvements in the Workmen's Compensation and Merchant Shipping Bills introduced by the Government. Resolutions on Old Age Pensions, the Enfranchisement of Women, the Payment of Trade Union Rates to all Government Employees, and the Eviction of Workmen on Strike were brought forward on behalf of the Party. A bill to class imported foreign strike-breakers as "undesirable aliens" passed the House of Commons, but was destroyed by the House of Lords. Members of the Party also served on Committees dealing with Reform of Income Tax, House of Commons Procedure, Electric Supply, Taxation of Land Values, Nationalisation of Canals, and the Postal Service. The Party's agitation on the Unemployed question was followed by the voting of £200,000 to finance distress schemes under the Unemployed Workmen Act of the previous year.

Scores of questions affecting Government service and Government contracts, in addition to innumerable other industrial matters, were dealt with by Members of the Party, and, altogether, probably this was the most fortunate and fruitful year of the Party's existence.

1907.

Owing to the illness of J. Keir Hardie, M.P., Mr. D. J. Shackleton, M.P., acted as Chairman during this Session.

The demand for Old Age Pensions was vigorously pressed by the Party, and formed the chief feature of the bye-election campaign when the late Pete Curran won Jarrow for Labour.

Bills dealing with the compulsory provision of meals for necessitous school children and the setting up of Wages Boards for Sweated Industries were put forward by the Party. The Government resolutely opposed the first proposal, and appointed a Select Committee to deal with the second. Among other industrial matters dealt with by the Party were Shop Hours, Railway Hours, and Factory Law administration. The administration of the Fair Wages Clause in Government contracts was the subject of constant pressure upon the Government, which eventually appointed a Committee, composed entirely of departmental officials, to consider the administration of the Clause. The Government's proposal to reduce taxation of incomes up to a maximum of £2,000 was opposed, the Party seeking to limit the reduction to incomes of £1,000 or under.

The year witnessed the opening of acute controversy with the House of Lords, the Government introducing the following resolution:—

“That in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject bills passed by this House should be so restricted by law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail.”

The following was the Party's amendment, which received the support of only 102 Members as against 317:—

“That the Upper House, being an irresponsible part of the legislature and of necessity representative only of interests opposed to the general well-being, is a hindrance to national progress and ought to be abolished.”

1908.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., was elected Chairman of the Party.

Early in 1908 the Party had held special conferences on Unemployment and Old Age Pensions, which gave a clear mandate to the Party on these subjects. The King's Speech at the opening of the Session which followed referred to Pensions proposals, but as there was no suggestion of Unemployment being dealt with the Party moved an amendment to the Address on this subject, and in the subsequent division the Government's majority fell to 49, the lowest it had experienced since it took office in 1905. A further amendment recommended the formation of a Ministry of Labour co-ordinating the duties respecting industry then devolving upon the Home Office, the Board of Trade, and the Local Government Board. The Government's promise to inquire into the whole proposal was never fulfilled.

The acute industrial distress then prevalent found expression in continual pressure upon the Government by Labour Members and the promotion of the Right to Work Bill.

The Miners' Eight Hours Bill, after being introduced on behalf of the miners over a course of 20 years, found a place in the Government

programme. After being weakened by numerous concessions to the coalowners in the course of its passage through Committee and the House of Lords, the bill was ultimately accepted by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, with whom the Party was in constant communication throughout.

A motion referring to factory accidents and the administration of factory law by the Home Office led to the setting up of a Committee on the whole subject.

A discussion on the use of the military in trade disputes, occasioned by the experience of the strikes in Belfast during the previous year, also led to the formation of a Special Committee.

The Government's proposals on Old Age Pensions were the subject of Party amendments, with the result that the scope of the bill was considerably widened.

General support was given to the Government's Licensing Bill, amendments being moved to bring its provisions into harmony with the following decisions passed by the Party Conference at Belfast:—

TEMPERANCE REFORM.

"Any measure of temperance reform should confer upon localities full and unfettered power for dealing with the licensing question in accordance with local opinion. By this means localities should be enabled to—

"(a) Prohibit the sale of liquor within their boundaries;

"(b) reduce the number of licences and regulate the conditions under which they may be held; and

"(c) if a locality decides that licences are to be granted, to determine whether such licences shall be under private or any form of public control."

Owing to the ineffectiveness of the permissive powers of the Education (Provision of Meals) Act the Party introduced an amending bill providing for medical inspection of school children, rendering the previous powers to provide meals compulsory, abolishing the limitation of the $\frac{1}{2}$ d. rate imposed by the previous Act, and providing that medical inspectors should present annual reports on the physical condition of school children in their area. The bill made no immediate progress, but served as propaganda for useful legislation in later years.

1909.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., was re-elected Chairman of the Party.

Only one allotted day was secured in the ballot for bills; the Unemployed Workman Bill was again introduced and again defeated by 228 to 115 votes. The Government's proposal to furnish a Development Grant in the Budget, announced on the previous day, had considerable effect upon the voting.

The Education (Administrative Provisions) Bill put forward in 1908 was reintroduced by a friendly Liberal Member, but defeated on the Second Reading by 206 to 82 votes.

The Government introduced a Trade Boards Bill to deal with sweated sections of the tailoring, cardboard box, lace and curtain, and chainmaking industries, thus bringing to fruition the proposals made by the Party in 1906.

The most important motion brought forward by the Party dealt with the administration of the Fair Wages Clause, and as a result of negotiation with the Government across the floor of the House the following new Clause was agreed to :—

FAIR WAGES CLAUSE.

“ The contractor shall, under the penalty of a fine or otherwise, pay rates of wages and observe hours of labour not less favourable than those commonly recognised by employers and trade societies (or, in the absence of such recognised wages and hours, those which in practice prevail amongst good employers) in the trade in the district where the work is carried out. Where there are no such wages and hours recognised or prevailing in the district, those recognised or prevailing in the nearest district in which the general industrial circumstances are similar shall be adopted. Further, the conditions of employment generally accepted in the district in the trade concerned shall be taken into account in considering how far the terms of the fair wages clauses are being observed. The contractor shall be prohibited from transferring or assigning directly or indirectly, to any person or persons whatever, any portion of his contract without the written permission of the department. Sub-letting, other than that which may be customary in the trade concerned, shall be prohibited. The contractor shall be responsible for the observance of the Fair Wages Clauses by the sub-contractor.”

Mr. Sydney Buxton outlined the Government's policy in the following terms, which are worthy of being placed on record :—

“ The Fair Wages Resolution applies, as a legal obligation, only to workers engaged on the Government contract in question. It would, however, not be the practice of Government departments to keep on their lists of contractors firms who obeyed the letter of the Clause by paying recognised rates on Government contracts, but who were proved to be notoriously bad employers in other directions. Still less would a department give work to a firm who took advantage of the fair wages paid in Government work, to employ those same workers at a rate even below the normal in the output of non-Government articles—a practice that had been known to exist in sweating trades. The real security in regard to this matter is that contracts are renewable from time to time, and that we have the power and the opportunity to review the conditions of labour under any contract.”

(See also page 633 *seq.*)

A Party resolution on the Taxation of Land Values was “ talked out,” and a similar fate overtook a motion dealing with the Immunity of Merchant Vessels during time of War.

A resolution in favour of Payment of Members and Returning Officers' Expenses was moved on behalf of the Party, and carried by 242 to 92 votes.

The Labour Exchanges Bill, promoted by the Government, was supported on the ground that reliable data for effective unemployed legislation would be secured as a result of its operations.

The South African Government Bill was supported and an unsuccessful attempt made to abolish the colour bar in connection with the franchise and election of representatives.

Special conferences upon Unemployment and the Incidence of Taxation had been held in Portsmouth prior to the opening of Parliament, and the Finance Bill of this Session was generally supported in view of the following principles of finance laid down for the guidance of the Parliamentary Party:—

TAXATION.

1. Taxation should be in proportion to ability to pay and to the protection and benefit conferred on the individual by the State.

2. No taxation should be imposed which encroaches on the individual's means to satisfy his physical and primary needs.

3. Taxation should aim at securing for the communal benefit all unearned increment of wealth.

4. Therefore taxation should be levied on unearned incomes and should aim deliberately at preventing the retention of great fortunes in private hands.

The practical and immediate application of these general principles was indicated in the Conference resolution, which was in the following terms:—

“That this Conference calls for a drastic reform of the system of National Taxation so as to secure that it is derived from those best able to pay it and who receive the most protection and benefit from the State.

“This Conference, therefore, expresses its determination to resist all proposals to increase the taxation of the masses now being advocated as Tariff Reform and ‘broadening the basis of taxation.’ It declares that the present indirect taxes fall oppressively on the industrial classes and should be repealed; and being of opinion that the cost of social reform should be borne by socially created wealth now appropriated by the rich in the form of rent, interest, and profit, calls for the following reforms in the next Budget, namely, a super-tax on large incomes, special taxation of State-conferred monopolies, increased estate and legacy duties, and a really substantial beginning with the taxation of land values.”

The Budget included several of the financial reforms demanded by the Labour movement, and its rejection by the House of Lords led to the dissolution of Parliament and a new election.

1910.

At the election in January, 1910, the Party's nominees included the candidates adopted by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, and altogether 78 constituencies were contested. The Party came back 40 strong, having suffered eight losses (Chatham, South-West Manchester, Preston, Sunderland, Gateshead, Jarrow, Woolwich, and West Wolverhampton) and three gains (Derby, East Manchester, and Wigan).

In the previous Parliament the Party had taken up its position on the Opposition Benches, partly to demonstrate its independence and also for the practical reason that the overwhelming majority enjoyed by the Liberals left no room on the Government side of the House. The Parliament returned in 1910, however, somewhat redressed the

balance between the two main parties, and at the request of the Speaker the Labour Party, with Mr. George N. Barnes, M.P., as Chairman, took up its position on the Benches below the gangway on the Government side.

The controversy between the Commons and the Lords dominated the political activities of the year, and the death of King Edward VII. led to further complications and postponed the drastic measures that the situation demanded. The resolutions on the Veto of the House of Lords, which foreshadowed the provisions of the Parliament Act necessitated by subsequent events, were met by Party amendments reiterating the demand for the abolition of the Upper House and others which were calculated to strengthen the powers of the Commons. Owing to the guillotine, however, no opportunity arose to test the views of Members on these proposals. The King's death led to the Conference between four Members of the Government and four of the Unionist Opposition. The Party protested against this novel method of conducting national affairs and dissociated itself entirely from the Conference, the proceedings of which concluded without any agreement between the parties being reached. The Government then declared their intention again to appeal to the country.

The Government took up most of the time of the Session allotted to private Members, and as the Party was again unsuccessful in the ballot for bills no opportunity arose of achieving any direct and effective legislation.

A bill amending the Trade Union law was introduced with a view to reversing the Osborne Judgment, pronounced in 1909. This decision rendered it illegal for Trade Unions to engage in political action, a right which had been exercised by certain unions consistently from 1874 onward. A motion dealing with the same subject was moved, but was "talked out."

The appalling mining accidents at West Stanley, Senghynydd, and Whitehaven, all happening within a year or two, gave tragic emphasis to the Party's reiterated demands for the appointment of more mining inspectors. After considerable pressure the Government was prevailed upon to increase the Home Office staff in this direction and to institute rescue stations on the various coalfields.

On the Army Estimates the Party discussed the condition of service of Government employees, urging that these should be in every respect equal to those observed by the best private employers or by local public authorities doing similar work, and that the interpretation of the Fair Wages Clause should be conducted in a fairer spirit than had previously prevailed. The Government undertook to apply the provisions of the Fair Wages Clause to their own employees, and promised an investigation of the prevailing conditions. The Party accepted this concession, and, following the usual Parliamentary practice, sought to withdraw their motion. The opportunity was seized by the Conservatives, however, to seek to turn the issue to party advantage. A futile division was forced by the Opposition, the Labour Party and the Government opposing, after direct consultation with representatives of the Government workers, who were in attendance during the debate and whose organisation afterwards expressed their approval of the Party's action.

The accession of King George V. occasioned the provision of a New Civil List, and the Party was represented by two of its Members

on the Committee appointed for the purpose. The general proposals of the Government were opposed, and several amendments, including one seeking to nationalise the revenues from the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, were drafted, but with no effective result.

The view originally put forward by the Party that the receipt of Poor Law relief should not debar persons otherwise qualified from receiving Old Age Pensions was conceded by the Government during this Session, but the Government's further proposal that the Exchequer should be recouped from the Poor Law authorities was defeated by the sudden ending of the Parliamentary Session.

During the year several Members of the Party visited a number of German towns to secure first-hand information as to the industrial conditions prevailing in certain staple trades. Their report was subsequently issued under the title of "Life and Labour in Germany," the facts and figures it contained forming a most compact and accurate record.

The Government went to the country again in December, when the Party contested 56 constituencies. Three losses were suffered (Newton, St. Helens, and Wigan), against five gains (Bow and Bromley, Sunderland, Whitehaven, West Fife, and Woolwich), the Party returning with 42 Members, a net gain of two.

1911.

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., was appointed Chairman, and relinquished the Secretaryship of the Party organisation at the end of the year.

An amendment to the Address dealing with the Right to Work or Maintenance for the Unemployed was defeated by 225 to 39 votes.

The Government appropriated most of the Parliamentary time, and the Party's ill-fortune in the ballot persisting, no opportunity arose to secure even Second Readings for their leading proposals. Under the Ten Minutes Rule, however, a short bill to legalise the feeding of necessitous school children during holidays was introduced, but the hopes that it might be passed as an unopposed measure were falsified. One or two Members who had opposed the principle of similar measures were successful in blocking its passage, while the Government repeatedly refused to grant the time necessary to secure its progress.

The Government introduced a bill dealing with the effects of the Osborne Judgment, which in reality gave a legal status to the voluntary principle instituted by a number of Trade Unions, as it gave power to individual members of unions to claim exemption from political contributions. Owing to the opposition expressed by a special conference of the Labour movement the bill was dropped.

A motion favouring the institution of a General Minimum Wage of 30s. per week for every adult worker and urging the Government to adopt this standard in its own workshops was "talked out," the Speaker refusing the closure. Another motion condemning the administration of the Poor Law and demanding its reform was defeated by 107 to 48 votes.

The introduction of the Parliament Bill, which was practically in the same terms as the Veto Resolutions carried the previous year, afforded further opportunity for the Party to state its case for the abolition of the House of Lords. Failing to secure its own proposal, the Party rendered general support to the Government's measure.

The Shops Bill, which as originally introduced contained many reforms demanded by the Shop Assistants' Union, was shorn of many of its chief provisions at the close of the Session. In accordance with the wishes of the Union, however, the Party accepted the remnants of the bill, which provided for regular meal times and weekly half-holidays, leaving untouched the more important question of the limitation of hours.

This Session witnessed the passing into law of Payment of Members, a demand which had figured as one of the six points of the Charter formulated nearly 80 years previously. Salaries of £400 per year, from which income tax is deducted, were provided, and, although a campaign against the proposal was conducted by Conservative Members and the Conservative Press, very few Members returned the quarterly drafts by which the salaries are paid.

The chief legislative event of the Session was the National Insurance Act, which is dealt with in extenso in Part VIII. The Party was not altogether united on the fundamental principles of the bill, a small minority strongly opposing its provisions on the ground that the contributory principle upon which it was based was unfair to the working classes. The measure received almost unanimous support from the Trade Unions, although numerous amendments upon the details of its administration were carried through.

The summer of 1911 was specially notable for the extraordinary wave of industrial unrest that swept through the country, following the strikes of carters, transport workers, and dockers at Manchester, Liverpool, and London.

On the eve of Parliament adjourning in August until the autumn the continuous friction between the railwaymen and the company directors, occasioned by the refusal of the latter to meet the unions' representatives to negotiate matters in dispute arising under the 1907 Conciliation Agreement, became so threatening that the Prime Minister conferred with the Executive Committees of the several railway unions, who were working in co-operation to remedy their grievances.

Mr. Asquith quite misinterpreted the militant temper of the men, offered to set up a Royal Commission to inquire into the merits of the dispute, and hinted at the use of the military should a strike ensue. Immediately the conference closed telegrams were issued to the branches of the railway societies throughout the country calling the strike for that same night. During the following three days the main trunk lines ceased working, transit and travel were practically brought to a standstill, and at the instigation of Mr. Winston Churchill, then Home Secretary, the military were placed in charge of stations, railway lines, etc.

The Government were ceaseless in their activity to settle the strike they had so easily provoked, and Messrs. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., and Arthur Henderson, M.P., representing the Parliamentary Labour Party, were associated with the men's representatives in negotiations at the Board of Trade.

On Saturday, August 19th, Mr. Lloyd George succeeded in persuading the responsible company directors to meet representatives of the unions, and both sides accepted the Government's demand that the men's grievances should be submitted forthwith to a Royal Commission.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., was appointed a member of the Royal Commission, and was largely responsible for the principle of Trade Union recognition being recommended in the Report. The representatives of the companies, however, would not meet the officials of the unions to discuss the Commission's Report, and a debate was initiated by the Labour Party in the House of Commons, the result being that a resolution expressing the opinion that a meeting of the conflicting parties should be held was carried without a division. Thus by the combination of industrial and political action the principle of Trade Union recognition, long denied to railwaymen, was at last conceded.

1912.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., was re-elected Chairman of the Party, and the opening of the Session found the industrial world in a ferment in anticipation of the miners' national strike. This was a united movement by all sections of the Miners' Federation to secure a general minimum wage, applicable to all workers underground, but varying from district to district. It was agreed that an amendment to the King's Speech raising the whole principle of the minimum wage should be moved, but as negotiations between several sections of the Miners' Federation and the coalowners were still pending, all reality was taken out of the debate, as no reference was made to the dispute. The amendment was defeated, the Government spokesman ridiculing the proposal to institute minimum wages. Events quickly brought the whole issue immediately before Parliament in a more practical way. The coalowners proved obdurate to all demands, and a national strike over all the coalfields was declared. Throughout the varying course of the dispute the Parliamentary Party was in constant touch with the officials of the Miners' Federation, and all actions taken on the floor of the House were the subject of joint consultation.

When the strike had continued beyond three weeks and the restricted supply of coal was beginning to have its effect on industry, the Government introduced the Coal Mines Minimum Wage Bill, which conceded in part certain of the miners' demands. While not establishing any specific rate of wages in any district, or for any grade of workers, the bill empowered the setting up of District Boards, composed of coalowners and miners' representatives and independent chairmen, whose awards would have the force of law. The Party endeavoured to secure first the embodying of the miners' list of minimum wage rates included as a schedule to the bill, and being defeated by the united opposition of the Government and the Unionists, they then sought to secure the inclusion of the general minimum demand of 5s. per day for adult workers and 2s. per day for boys employed in the pits. In this, however, they were also unsuccessful, and, after consultation with the Miners' Federation representatives, they opposed the Third Reading of the bill, which, however, was passed and became law.

Again, in connection with the Port of London dispute, the Party was brought into consultation with the Transport Workers' Committee, and was represented thereon by one of its Members. On various occasions different phases of the dispute were discussed in Parliament on the initiative of the Party, and pressure was brought to bear upon

the Board of Trade. Unfortunately, the Government ranged itself alongside the Port of London Authority and the strike ultimately collapsed.

During the Session the Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment Bills were brought forward, and the Party rendered general support throughout the Government's proposals.

The chief bill of the Session, from the Party's own special point of view, was the Trade Union (No. 2) Bill. This measure did not seek to reverse the Osborne Judgment, but gave the unions power to add political objects to their rules, provided a majority of the members by ballot had so decided. It also gave members who objected to political contributions the right to withhold payment. After the bill went through Committee a meeting of the three National Executives (the Labour Party Executive, the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, and the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions) was held to consider future action in view of the bill falling short of the Trade Union demand for complete reversal. The three Committees decided that the question was of such import that a National Conference alone should pronounce a decision. Early in the following year the Conference was held, and it was decided that the bill should be accepted as an instalment of reform, the Party being urged to secure its passage under the terms of the Parliament Act.

On the Army Estimates the Party again seized the opportunity of strengthening the administration of the Fair Wages Clause and improving the conditions of service of Government employees. This was occasioned by constant complaints on the part of Government workers respecting their own conditions, and also of the Trade Unions whose members were engaged on Government work in private establishments. The motion was forced to a division, opposed by the Government, and defeated by 129 to 99 votes.

The Party appointed a deputation, who waited upon the Prime Minister to urge the necessity for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the endowments and other sources of income enjoyed by the older Universities. The subject had been before Annual Conferences of the Party on several occasions, but the Government took no direct action on the lines indicated.

In fulfilment of a promise given to the railway companies when the national railway strike was settled the previous year, the Government introduced a bill empowering the companies to increase their rates and charges to an extent sufficient to cover the extra cost entailed by the improved conditions of service of their employees. This bill threw on any aggrieved person the onus of proof that an increased rate so charged was out of proportion to the cost incurred by the company, and this, together with other objectionable provisions, led to its withdrawal. Another bill was substituted which, though not so objectionable as the original measure, the Party decided to oppose on the grounds that the railway companies had already largely recouped themselves for the concessions they had made, and on the general principle that monopolies should not be given further powers when Trade Union action had resulted in securing improved conditions of service.

The Government introduced a franchise measure conferring practically Manhood Suffrage, and considerable controversy arose

both inside and outside the Parliamentary Party respecting the demand for Women's Suffrage. The bill was given a Second Reading and sent to Committee, but upon the Prime Minister asking the Speaker as to whether Parliamentary procedure would permit amendments admitting any form of Women's Suffrage a clear indication was given that the importation of such a new principle would necessitate another bill. The Franchise Bill was then withdrawn.

One outcome of the controversy in the Party was the resignation of Mr. George Lansbury, who sought to secure a mandate from his constituents in Bow and Bromley on the single issue of Women's Enfranchisement. Mr. Lansbury ran as an independent candidate and was opposed by a Unionist candidate only, but failed to secure endorsement of his policy.

1913.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., was again appointed Chairman for the Session. In the ballot for bills not a single Member secured a place, and no opportunity arose for a Second Reading of the Right to Work Bill, which had been chosen as the leading bill on the Party's programme. The following bills were introduced officially during the Session :—

- Agricultural Labourers (Wages and Hours).
- Education (Administrative Provisions).
- Education (Provision of Meals).
- Labour (Minimum Conditions).
- Nationalisation of Coal Mines and Minerals.
- Prevention of Unemployment.

Of these measures the Nationalisation of Coal Mines and Minerals had been drafted by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, and the Prevention of Unemployment was practically the Right to Work Bill elaborated after the "War against Poverty" campaign. The Education Bills had been promoted in previous Sessions, and the Labour (Minimum Conditions) provided for the extension of the principle of Trade Boards, for the fixing of minimum rates of wages, and maximum hours of labour. The Agricultural Labourers (Wages and Hours) Bill was the outcome of consideration by a Special Committee of the Party which, in the course of the year, had visited Ireland to collect data respecting rural housing, and had investigated the co-operative development of agriculture and the methods of agricultural education adopted in Denmark. A special report was published by the Committee, and extracts, together with the recommendations, will be found on page 340.

Another Committee of the Party was engaged on the consideration of educational reform, and the memorandum they prepared appears on page 338.

The Government, in response to a Party amendment to the King's Speech, again raising the minimum wage question, announced that they proposed extending the Trade Boards Act to shirt-making, linen embroidery, sheet steel and iron hollowware, and sugar confectionery and fruit-preserving industries. Later in the Session the Provisional Order Bill extending the provisions of the Trade Boards Act to these trades was introduced. A Party motion later in the Session, urging the extension of the Trade Boards Act so as to provide for the

establishing of a minimum wage of at least 30s. per week for adult workers in urban areas, a minimum wage that would secure an approximately equal standard of life for adult workers in rural areas, and the adoption of a minimum wage of 30s. per week in Government workshops was "talked out."

On the Second Reading of the Finance Bill the Party opposed the continuance of food taxes, and urged increased taxation on unearned incomes and large estates. This issue was raised in so clear a fashion that, much to the surprise of many supporters of the Liberal Government, the Prime Minister threw over the old Liberal demand for "a free breakfast table." The Party's amendment was defeated by an overwhelming vote, composed of both Liberals and Conservatives, but the debate raised considerable interest throughout the country, and the speeches of Labour Members, issued in pamphlet form, secured a wide circulation.

The Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment Bills again passed their various stages in the Commons and were rejected for the second time by the Lords, demonstrating very clearly the cumbersome character of the Parliament Act.

A small bill to abolish Plural Voting at General Elections, the remnant of the Franchise Bill introduced in the previous year, was brought forward by the Government and passed by the Commons, only to meet the usual fate of reform measures at the hands of the House of Lords.

A bill promoted by the Co-operative Union, amending the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, received the strong backing of the Party, who succeeded in securing its passage before the Session closed. The Party also took a very active part in the consideration of the National Insurance Act (Amendment) Bill. The bill, as introduced, contained eleven clauses, but when it left Committee it contained 41 clauses, many of the greater changes involved being secured by Labour Party amendments.

1914.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was again elected Chairman. The Party's first amendment to the Address in answer to the King's Speech was in relation to the deportation of the South African Trade Union leaders in January, and was in the following terms:—

"And humbly pray your Majesty that instructions be given to the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa that the Indemnity Bill, now under discussion in the Parliament of the Union in South Africa, shall be reserved under Section 64 of the South Africa Act, 1909, until a judicial inquiry be instituted into the circumstances of the proclamation of martial law within the Union and into the scope of the Indemnity Bill, particularly the provision relating to the deportation of Trade Union leaders."

The Government, in reply, sought to justify the actions of the South Africa Government, and the Party felt compelled to take the amendment to a division, but only 50 votes were given in its favour and 214 against. Later in the Session the Party moved a motion on British citizens' rights with the express purpose of again raising the action of the South African Parliament in deporting Trade Union leaders without trial. At the suggestion of the Government the motion

as originally moved was amended, but the amendments were merely verbal and did not alter the meaning of the motion, which finally read as follows :—

“That, in the opinion of this House, the rights of British citizens set forth in Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, and the Habeas Corpus Act, as representing the freedom of the subject, are those which this House desires to see applied to British subjects throughout the Empire.”

In the ballot for bills only one place was secured, and this was given to the Education (Administrative Provisions) Bill. It received a Second Reading, but the Government was not prepared to accept all its provisions, which sought to make the feeding of necessitous school children compulsory, removed the limit of the halfpenny rate, and legalised feeding during holidays. As the Session proceeded the work of the Parliamentary Committees became congested, and, in common with other measures, there was grave doubts of the bill proceeding further. Members of both the Liberal and Conservative Benches were opposed to the compulsory powers given in the bill, and it was only after that clause was withdrawn under protest that the bill passed and received the Royal Assent. A small bill applying the 1906 Act to Ireland was also passed, in addition to one legalising feeding on holidays in Scotland.

The Party introduced an Old Age Pensions Amendment Bill, which sought (1) to reduce the pensionable age to 65 years; (2) that any income by way of pension or superannuation should not be taken into account; and (3) that the annual value of any property should be one-thirtieth of the capital value instead of one-twentieth as at present. The bill was introduced under the ‘Ten Minutes’ Rule, but the Speaker held that it could not be printed as its purpose was to make a charge on the Treasury, a motion that could only be made on behalf of the Government and not by a private Member.

The Party also moved an amendment dealing with the increasing number of accidents in mines and on railways, with the result that the Home Secretary repeated a former pledge to bring in and endeavour to pass a small bill dealing with specific points of mining administration and the promise of a Committee to inquire thoroughly into railway accidents. The Mines Bill was subsequently passed, and the Committee on Railway Accidents was appointed and commenced its work during the Session. A further amendment drew attention to the action of the police in connection with the Dublin strike and the unrepresentative character of the Commission appointed to inquire into the matter, but, upon being pressed to a division, was defeated by 233 votes to 45.

The Party put forward a motion dealing with Unemployment Insurance, urging its extension to other trades and the removal of existing anomalies, additional financial assistance to workmen's associations, and asking that an inquiry should be held into the general administration of Part II. of the Act, particularly of the provision disqualifying from benefit workmen thrown out of employment by reason of a trade dispute. The motion was accepted without a division, and later in the Session an amending bill was introduced by the Government. Various endeavours were made to improve its provisions, some of which were successful, one providing that a

workman might receive benefit even though he had a subsidiary employment bringing him not more than £1 a week instead of 15s. as proposed. Additional financial assistance to the workmen's unions was also secured. A further motion on the general question of Unemployment, though not moved by the Party, was supported by them. In the course of the debate the President of the Local Government Board stated that the Road Board and the Development Commission were preparing or causing to be prepared schemes of work to be taken in hand during the next trade depression. In addition, the Government was going to appoint a Committee to consider whether any, and if so, what steps might be taken with a view to regularising the total demand for labour in different seasons from year to year by adjusting the distribution of public works conducted or given out by public departments or by local authorities with reference to the state of employment in particular trades. This Committee has been appointed and the Party is represented upon it.

The Party also raised the anomalies that have arisen in the administration of the Workmen's Compensation Act; the Government accepted the motion, agreed to appoint a Committee which should inquire into the administration of the Act, and also take into account the relationship between the Compensation Act and the National Insurance Act with a view to co-ordination. The outbreak of the war has prevented the Committee being proceeded with.

The Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment Bills again went through all their stages for the third Session in succession as prescribed by the Parliament Act.

Subsequently a Conference, composed of leaders of the Government, the Unionist Party, the Irish Unionist Party, and the Irish Nationalist Party, was called to endeavour to come to an agreement on the Home Rule question. The Party met and carried the following resolution, which was forwarded to the Prime Minister with a request that it be communicated to the King:—

“That the Members of the Labour Party, having heard the Prime Minister's statement that the King had considered it right to summon a Conference of representatives of British and Irish parties to discuss outstanding points on the problem of Irish Government, and having been unable to express their opinions in the House of Commons itself owing to the way in which the statement was made, though strongly wishing for a permanent settlement, protest against such command having been issued regarding any matter of political controversy as being an undue interference on the part of the Crown and calculated to defeat the purposes of the Parliament Act; they further put on record their surprise that two of the representatives are practically rebels under arms against constituted authority and regret this indication that in future an organisation of force is to be officially considered to be most effective in industrial as well as in political disputes.”

In passing the above resolution the Members of the Party felt that they were not only registering their own opinion but the opinion of the whole of the Movement on such a grave interference in a matter wholly within the purview of Parliament. The Conference proved abortive, no settlement being found possible. A bill amending the Home Rule Bill, introduced by the Government in the House of Lords, was altered

beyond recognition and came down to the Commons, but in consequence of the European situation it could not be dealt with, and another bill, postponing the coming into operation of both the Irish and Welsh bills until the end of the war was brought in and passed, the Government promising that an amending bill would be introduced in the meantime.

The Party took a strong line against two private bills, one promoted by the Great Eastern Railway and the other by the Mersey Dock and Harbour Board. Evidence was forthcoming of victimisation in the first instance and continued anti-Trade Union policy in the other, and the Party was successful in defeating both measures.

Attention was also drawn to the unfortunate position that so many capable blind people are placed in owing to their lack of training, with the result that a Committee, upon which the Party is represented, was appointed to inquire into the whole subject.

Great dissatisfaction followed the Report of the Select Committee upon Post Office Conditions, and representations by the Party on behalf of the postal servants secured the appointment of a Committee, representing the department, the Treasury, and the postal employees, for the purpose of examining a number of the Select Committee's recommendations. The Government also announced that a Royal Commission should be appointed to consider the relation between the various Government departments and their employees and methods of adjusting work and wages.

When the outbreak of war became imminent on July 30th the Party passed a resolution expressing their gratification that Sir Edward Grey had taken steps to secure mediation in the dispute between Austria and Servia and regret that his proposal had not been accepted by the Powers concerned. They expressed the hope, however, that Great Britain would be kept out of the European conflict, in which, as the Prime Minister said, the country had no direct interest, and called upon all Labour organisations to watch events vigilantly so as to oppose any action leading to war. On August 3rd, after Sir Edward Grey's speech on the general European situation, Mr. MacDonald, acting on the instructions of the Party meeting, strongly urged that everything should be done to prevent Great Britain being embroiled in the impending conflict.

Upon the declaration of war against Germany various Party meetings were held and the general Government policy was endorsed by large majorities, and upon it being decided that no statement should be made on behalf of the Party when the War Credits were being moved, Mr. MacDonald resigned the Chairmanship, and for the remainder of the Session Mr. Arthur Henderson was requested to act as substitute.

(Other actions taken by the Party in relation to the war are dealt with in the special section, "Labour and the War," Part I.)

1914-1915.

The present Parliamentary Session opened in November, 1914, when it was agreed that Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., should continue to act as Chairman for the Party for the period of the war. Occasion was taken to raise the question of the inadequacy of the military and naval pensions, allowances, etc., on the King's Speech. In the debate the Party pressed for the programme of the War Emergency Workers'

National Committee of £1 per week and 3s. 6d. for each child. So strong was the case made against the existing scales that the Government appointed a Special Committee, upon which the Party was represented, and which reported subsequently in favour of considerably increased pensions and allowances, as set forth in the section, "Imperial and National Government," Part VI.

Attention was drawn to the increasing practice of suspending the Education Act by the employment of juvenile labour in agricultural districts.

A debate was initiated on the cost of food, coal, and other necessities, which, in the opinion of the Party, was not justified by any economic changes in consequence of the war, but was largely caused by the holding up of stocks and by the inadequate provision of transport facilities. The Government was urged to prevent this unjustifiable increase by employing the ship and railway facilities necessary to put the required supplies on the market by fixing maximum prices and by acquiring control of commodities subject to artificial costs. An interesting two days' debate took place, but neither the Prime Minister nor the President of the Board of Trade was prepared to recommend any definite proposals to meet the problem.

The demand of the postal employees that their application for a war bonus should be referred to arbitration was put forward by the Party, and was subsequently conceded by the Postmaster-General.

General support was rendered to the Government throughout the Session, various amendments being sought, and in some cases secured, in both the Defence of the Realm Bill and the Munitions Bill.

The Party, in conjunction with the Executive Committee, re-affirmed the recruiting policy adopted in the previous Session, and urged its continuance until Great Britain and its Allies have attained victory and have concluded the terms of an honourable and abiding peace.

When the charges were made against workmen on Government contracts with respect to lost time through drinking the Party entered strong protests and demanded a Commission to inquire into the allegations made. The demand was acceded to by Mr. Lloyd George, but upon the Liberal Government resigning and the Coalition Ministry taking office nothing further was heard of it.

The Party, in conjunction with the Executive Committee, agreed that the Chairman, Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., should enter the Coalition Government on their behalf, and subsequently Mr. Henderson took rank as President of the Board of Education, Mr. William Brace, M.P., was appointed Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs, and Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P., Junior Lord of the Treasury. It was agreed that Mr. Henderson should retain the Chairmanship of the Party, and Mr. John Hodge, M.P., was appointed Acting Chairman.

When the Military and Naval Pensions Bill, which embodied the findings of the Select Committee referred to above, was introduced the Party endeavoured to secure various amendments chiefly in the direction of securing strong working-class representation on the proposed administrative Committee, and that all military and naval pensions should be met from Government funds and kept apart from charitable associations. The Party's opposition to the suggestion

that a sum approaching £2,000,000 should be taken from the National Relief Fund for this purpose led to the proposal being dropped.

Opinion on the National Registration Bill was so divided that Members of the Party were left a free hand.

The Party moved a series of amendments to the Price of Coal (Limitations) Bill, and as a result of the strong case that they put forward, in common with a number of Members of other parties, several substantial amendments were secured, the chief being the application of the bill to coal contracts entered into prior to the bill being introduced, thus bringing under adjustment most of the municipal and public coal contracts concluded during June and July.

THE LABOUR PARTY AND EDUCATION.

The following resolution was carried at the Birmingham Conference of the Party in 1912 :—

“In view of the fact that the education of the mass of working-class children to-day begins and ends at the elementary school, this Conference is of opinion that there is urgent need for a generous measure of educational reform in the direction of providing facilities for liberal, as distinct from technical, education, thus laying the basis of the national life in an educated democracy. This Conference, therefore, directs the Party in Parliament to appoint a small Committee to consider the general question of educational reform and draw up a report thereon. In this connection the Committee appointed is specially directed to consider—

“(1) A modification of the curriculum in primary schools, in order that in the later years of school life more time may be given to instruction in the duties of citizenship;

“(2) the raising of the school-leaving age to 16 years, and the right of children in primary and secondary schools to maintenance allowances;

“(3) the limiting of the hours of boy and girl labour up to the age of 18 to 30 per week, so as to provide 20 or more hours per week for physical, technological, and general training;

“(4) the establishment of medical treatment centres in connection with each primary school or groups of schools.

“Further, this Conference urges the Party to press the Government to appoint a Royal Commission to consider the matter of University endowments, with a view to their adaptation to the educational requirements of the people.”

The Parliamentary Party instructed its Education Committee to consider the whole subject, and the following memorandum was prepared and subsequently adopted by the Party as a whole :—

It is impossible within the limits of a report of this character to do anything more than indicate the general lines along which it appears most desirable the educational policy of Labour should be

developed. The matters to be dealt with may be conveniently divided under three heads :—

- (1) Those concerning elementary education.
- (2) Those concerning continued and secondary education.
- (3) Those concerning University education.

1. The matters relating to **ELEMENTARY EDUCATION** which appear to be of special importance and most urgent in character are :—

(a) The raising of the school age. The reports of the Poor Law Commission, the Committee on Partial Exemption, and the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, as well as previous decisions of the Conference render it unnecessary to advance arguments for the raising of the school age. The only question is how this can be done with least disturbance of existing arrangements. The best course would appear to be to secure legislative enactment for the immediate abolition of partial exemption and at the same time determine in advance the dates at which the age of full-time attendance is to be further raised in the future. By this means due notice would be given to parents and to local education authorities who will have to provide additional school places. It is proposed that an Act should be passed raising the age of full-time attendance by progressive stages beginning with 14 years as a minimum from the 1st of January following the passing of the Act.

(b) A reduction in the size of classes to allow of more individual attention being given to the particular needs of each pupil.

(c) The appointment in the future of fully qualified teachers only.

(d) The removal of existing restrictions on curriculum and age limit of children in elementary schools with due provision for their further education.

(e) An extension of the powers of local education authorities in the matter of regulating the employment of children and of street trading generally. It is recommended that local authorities should be empowered to make regulations with regard to the employment of children in **any** occupation, and to place the licensing of street traders in the hands of education authorities.

(f) The development of medical inspection and treatment, so as to include the provision of school clinics, school baths, open-air schools, and an extension of the provision of meals for school children. For this purpose the present inadequate grants from the Board of Education should be considerably increased.

2. (a) **CONTINUED EDUCATION.**—At whatever age full-time attendance ceases, it will still be necessary to provide continued education for the vast majority who do not pass to a secondary school. A system of compulsory half-time attendance at a continuation school is required after the age of exemption from full-time attendance has been reached. This compulsory attendance at continuation classes, however, is out of the question unless the hours of labour are reduced.

(b) SECONDARY EDUCATION.—At present the passage of children from elementary to secondary schools is hindered by a variety of causes :—

(i.) Because in some districts only those children are likely to win scholarships from the elementary school who have been prepared for the scholarship examination.

(ii.) Children who win scholarships are constantly prevented from accepting them by the poverty of their parents.

(iii.) The rule as to the provision of 25 per cent. of free places in secondary schools for children from elementary schools is sometimes evaded.

The only satisfactory method of dealing with these difficulties is a gradual extension of the system of providing free places in secondary schools until they are entirely free and maintenance grants made available in cases of necessity.

3. UNIVERSITIES.—What is specially required in connection with the older Universities is—

(a) A reform in the constitutions of the governing bodies which would place popularly elected representatives of the public upon them.

(b) A reduction in the cost of living in colleges, and a change in the award of scholarships so that only those students who require financial assistance may receive advantage from endowments expended in monetary grants.

(c) The extension of the non-collegiate systems in order to facilitate the entrance into Oxford and Cambridge of men who do not desire to reside in college.

THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE AGRICULTURAL PROBLEM.

In the autumn of 1912 the Parliamentary Labour Party appointed a Committee of its members to draft a rural programme. Messrs. G. N. Barnes, M.P., Arthur Henderson, M.P., James Parker, M.P., and George H. Roberts, M.P., formed the Committee. A considerable time was spent in hearing evidence and conducting investigations, and the following are salient extracts from the reports presented to the Parliamentary Party and which received its endorsement :—

Throughout this inquiry we have kept in view the ultimate aim of public ownership, in the belief that proportionately as this is attained will national resources be utilised for national services. The purposes to be achieved are, as we understand them, to appropriate land values to social uses, to develop the highest possible productivity, and to ensure good wages and a full life to all rural workers. Accordingly we would charge both the central and local authorities with the duty of acquiring undeveloped land adjacent to populated centres, as well as land suitable for agriculture, horticulture, and forestry. The powers thus conferred should include compulsory purchase on the basis of the national valuation now proceeding. So far our investigations have mainly centred around the rural aspects of the problem.

We strongly hold that only public ownership and control will secure for the community the best possible use of land and the social values which attach to it.

Whilst recognising that land values are a fitting subject for taxation, we believe that only as the public assume the proprietorship of land will the fullest advantage be gained from the point of view of public utility and revenue.

Thus we declare it to be essential to the development of national resources, and to general well-being, that the nation embark on a deliberate and insistent policy of bringing land into social possession. This involves no new principle. Already the expropriation of landlords is acknowledged as a public necessity. By various Acts of Parliament land has been compulsorily acquired for the purposes of railways, for public buildings and improvements, for the provision of houses for the working classes, and for allotments and small holdings. These Acts constitute Parliamentary assertion of the indisputable fact that the rightful and natural ownership of land abides with the whole community.

Therefore we urge that both central and local authorities be invested with the widest possible powers of bringing land into public ownership by purchase on the basis of the national land valuation. That is to say, the price of land purchased should not exceed the price fixed by such valuation. Further, the death duties might also be adjusted with a view to the transference of land properties to the State.

Great financial difficulties need not be apprehended. The purchase price could be paid either in redeemable land bonds or in terminable annuities. Interest or annuities would be paid out of the annual land revenue. As future increments, and in course of time the entire rent of land, would become available for social purposes, it is clear that ownership by the nation of the nation's lands is a sound and practicable proposition, and one that can be effected without injustice to any citizen.

The evidence taken and the inquiry prosecuted all support the desirability and practicability of a minimum wage for agricultural labourers being legally enacted. Hitherto this class of workers has been unable to maintain continuous and effective Trade Unionism. This fact is both a cause and the result of low wages, and the consequent dependence which so generally characterise rural life. With the establishment of higher wages and the greater security ensuing therefrom it is reasonable to believe that at least the younger generation will be stimulated to organised effort, without which little can be done to improve its lot permanently. Having regard to the wide local variations in average earnings, ranging from 14s. in Dorsetshire to 23s. in Durham, together with the variability of the constituents which make up the earnings, we recommend the setting up of county or district boards appropriately representative of the interests concerned, on the lines of those created under the Trade Boards Act, 1907.

The long and unregulated hours of agricultural employment constitute a further grievance. Not only do these tend to individual weariness and fatigue, but they militate against educational, recreative, and civic development. Thereby physical, mental, and social inefficiency is perpetuated. Thus we feel that wages legislation should

be accompanied by provisions fixing the length of the working day and for establishing a weekly half-holiday, as enjoyed by nearly every group of workers. We suggest that such provisions set forth the working week as consisting of five days of nine hours each, and one of five hours, with the necessary modification to meet the case of men required to tend stock on Sundays and on the statutory half-holiday.

While convinced that the renewed prosperity of agriculture during recent years has made it possible for better wages and shorter hours to be conceded, it is conceivable that the insistence on a living wage for the labourer might expose individual farmers to hardship, when made to bear this standard, coupled with high rent. Proceeding on the assumption that no employment should be permitted which depended on the sweating of the labourer, and that a living wage should be the first charge on all industry, we favour the institution of Fair Rent Courts, before which farmers could urge the necessity of reduced rents in view of the higher wage charge imposed by the aforesaid county or district boards. In Scotland Fair Rent Courts appear to have given considerable satisfaction.

We are also of opinion that a tax upon the capital value of urban land might justly be imposed for the purpose of facilitating the acquisition of land for the community.

With regard to the distinctly rural aspect of the problem, under land ownership the administrative authorities will be able to assure to all State tenants a fair rent, security of tenure, freedom of enterprise, and the value of individually created improvements. Unquestionably, therefore, occupying tenancies are preferable to ownership. Purchase, whether State-aided or otherwise, locks up capital which might be devoted to the acquirement of implements and stock and the general improvement of land. Thus, State tenancies make for efficient cultivation and higher productivity, while preserving the principle that ownership must ultimately rest with the community.

The necessity for improved knowledge of the theory and practice of land cultivation cannot be overlooked. This need would best be met by the extension of the system of agricultural colleges and experimental farms in central and convenient situations. The former should be freely open to prospective and actual landholders and farm workers likely to profit from the courses there provided, while the results of experiments conducted at the latter would be tabulated and brought within the reach of all interested. As in Denmark, the sales of produce raised on the experimental farms would make them largely self-supporting.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

That a Minimum Wage Bill for agricultural labourers be prepared and introduced at an early date.

That Fair Rent Courts be instituted to protect land hirers against harsh rent exactions.

That rural housing be State-aided pending the elevation of wage rates to a standard where the payment of economic rent becomes possible.

That a bill to amend and extend the provisions of the Small Holdings and Allotments Act, 1907, be pressed forward, and that the Government be urged to facilitate the administration thereof.

The setting up of Credit Banks under State authority from which State tenants could raise loans to be devoted to the purposes of land equipment and cultivation.

That co-operative methods be fostered by the Board of Agriculture working in collaboration with the local authorities.

These recommendations do not affect to afford a complete solution of rural problems. They are submitted as practical proposals, capable of immediate application. Endow the agricultural labourer with a living wage, a good house, and a ready means of acquiring and cultivating a small holding; then we believe a substantial contribution will have been made towards arresting the drift to the towns and to foreign lands. Thereby the urban labour struggle will be eased, and the emigration statistics, which now assume alarming proportions, will be diminished. The carrying out of these several proposals would, in our opinion, awaken a new hope and open up a prospect of security and betterment to our agricultural population, which would go far to create that rural revival which is so generally acknowledged as essential to the uplifting of national labour and to the full fruition of national life.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL.

Chairman : F. W. JOWETT, M.P., House of Commons, London, S.W.
 Treasurer : T. D. BENSON, 8, York Street, Manchester.

NATIONAL MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

WILLIAM C. ANDERSON, M.P., 1, Caroline Place, Mecklenburgh Square, London, W.C.

J. BRUCE GLASIER, 2, Bedford Road, Liscard, Cheshire.

Miss MARGARET G. BONDFIELD, 8, Denman Drive, Hendon, London, N.W.

(The late Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M.P., was also a member of the Council.)

DIVISIONAL MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

Division 1 : JAMES MAXTON, Beechwood, Barrhead, Renfrewshire, Scotland.

Division 2 : Rev. W. E. MOLL, St. Philip's Vicarage, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Division 3 : BEN RILEY, 28, Westfield Avenue, Oakes, Huddersfield.

Division 4 : Councillor J. W. KNEESHAW, 285, Shenstone Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.

Division 5 : WILLIAM HOLMES, 128, Churchill Road, Norwich.

Division 6 : HARRY DUBERY, 40, Lavenham Road, Wandsworth, London, S.W.

Division 7 : Councillor WALTER H. AYLES, Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street, Bristol.

Division 8 : IVOR H. THOMAS, 65, Rockingham Terrace, Briton Ferry, Glam., South Wales.

Division 9 : R. C. WALLHEAD, 21, East Avenue, Garden Village, Burnage, Manchester.

General Secretary : FRANCIS JOHNSON, St. Bride's House, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, London, E.C. (Telegrams : "Ilper, Fleet, London." Telephone : City 1302.)

OBJECT.

The object of the party is to establish the Socialist State, when land and capital will be held by the community and used for the well-being of the community, and when the exchange of commodities will be organised also by the community, so as to secure the highest possible standard of life for the individual. In giving effect to this object it shall work as part of the International Socialist Movement.

PROGRAMME.

The true object of industry being the production of the requirements of life, the responsibility should rest with the community collectively, therefore :

The land being the storehouse of all the necessities of life should be declared and treated as public property.

The capital necessary for the industrial operations should be owned and used collectively.

Work, and wealth resulting therefrom, should be equitably distributed over the population.

As a means to this end we demand the enactment of the following measures :—

1. A maximum of 48 hours' working week, with the retention of all existing holidays, and Labour Day, May 1st, secured by law.

2. The provision of work to all capable adult applicants at recognised Trade Union rates, with a statutory minimum of 6d. per hour.

In order to remuneratively employ the applicants, Parish, District, Borough, and County Councils to be invested with powers to—

(a) Organise and undertake such industries as they may consider desirable ;

(b) Compulsorily acquire land ; purchase, erect, or manufacture buildings, stock, or other articles for carrying on such industries ;

(c) Levy rates on the rental values of the district, and borrow money on the security of such rates for any of the above purposes.

3. State pensions for every person over 50 years of age, and adequate provision for all widows, orphans, sick, and disabled workers.

4. Free, secular, moral, primary, secondary, and university education, with free maintenance while at school or university.

5. The raising of the age of child labour, with a view to its ultimate extinction.

6. Municipalisation and public control of the drink traffic.

7. Municipalisation and public control of all hospitals and infirmaries.

8. Abolition of indirect taxation and the gradual transference of all public burdens on to unearned incomes, with a view to their ultimate extinction.

The Independent Labour Party is in favour of adult suffrage, with full political rights and privileges for women, and the immediate extension of the franchise to women on the same terms as granted to men ; also triennial Parliaments and second ballot.

FORMATION OF THE I.L.P.

The I.L.P. (the initials by which the Party is familiarly known) was founded at a Conference held at Bradford on January 13th and 14th, 1893. The Conference consisted of 115 delegates from already existing local Independent Labour Parties, including branches of the Social Democratic Federation, the Labour Church, the Scottish Labour Party, and several Trade Unions. J. Keir Hardie, M.P., presided, and a year later was elected as the first chairman of the Party.

The Conference declared : " That the object of the Independent Labour Party shall be to secure the collective ownership of all the means of production, distribution, and exchange," and its immediate political aims, " independent Labour representation on all legislative, governing, and administrative bodies."

The Party grew rapidly, numerous branches were formed, and in the course of two years it secured the election of over 200 of its members on municipal and other local bodies. Tom Mann, after the first year, succeeded Shaw Maxwell as general secretary, and held

that office for five years, and was succeeded by John Penny, and later by Francis Johnson, the present secretary.

J. Keir Hardie was chairman of the Party for five years, and other succeeding chairmen have been Messrs. Bruce Glasier, Philip Snowden, M.P., J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., W. C. Anderson, M.P., and F. W. Jowett, M.P., who is the present chairman. Mr. T. D. Benson has acted as treasurer to the Party since 1901.

MEMBERSHIP AND ORGANISATION.

There are nearly 800 branches of the I.L.P. throughout the country, with an aggregate membership of 60,000. As a rule the members pay from 1d. to 2d. per week as membership contribution to their branches, which in return are expected to pay 1d. per month for each member to the head office funds. The branches are grouped nationally into nine districts, each returning a member to the National Administrative Council, which includes, in addition, the chairman, treasurer, and four national members, who are all elected by the Annual Conference held at Easter each year. Many of the district federations have paid organisers, and a number of the branches also have paid organising secretaries. A considerable number of the branches have their own halls and club-rooms and conduct Labour Churches and Sunday Schools. In normal times over 100,000 meetings a year are held by the various branches.

There is a Joint Committee with the Fabian Society, which arranges, from time to time, for combined action in matters of common concern. That Committee, for instance, is responsible for educational classes in the winter months dealing with industrial and political history, economics, etc.

The I.L.P. is represented on the Executive Committee of the Labour party by W. C. Anderson, M.P.,* and on the British Section of the International Socialist Bureau by W. C. Anderson, M.P., and J. Bruce Glasier.

FINANCE.

The head office income, exclusive of literature, accounts, and funds raised by branches for their own use, amounted in 1914-15 to £6,816, of which affiliation fees totalled £977, special funds £655, income from Annual Conference £344, and bequests totalling £4,595. A special levy for Parliamentary fund purposes realised £318. The expenditure, which included organising grants amounting to £376, Annual Conference expenditure of £546, and special campaign expenses totalling £396, amounted in all to £2,732, leaving a surplus balance of £4,084.

NATIONAL LABOUR PRESS.

A printing business under this title is conducted in connection with the party, with establishments in London and Manchester, fully equipped with the latest printing machinery. It prints and publishes the weekly party organ (the "Labour Leader") and the quarterly "Socialist Review," in addition to producing a large amount of poster, leaflet, and bookwork for the head office, branches, and various Trade Union and commercial customers. Its turnover in 1914 exceeded £28,000.

* A successor to J. Keir Hardie will be chosen at the Labour Party Conference.

In several districts the I.L.P. has been responsible for initiating local Labour newspapers—the “Huddersfield Worker,” “Leicester Pioneer,” “Sheffield Guardian,” “Merthyr Pioneer,” “Bradford Pioneer,” etc.—in addition to a number of smaller monthly journals.

PARLIAMENTARY AND MUNICIPAL REPRESENTATION.

The I.L.P. has seven Members in the present Parliament, who form part of the Labour Party: Messrs. W. C. Anderson (Attercliffe), J. R. Clynes (N.E. Manchester), F. W. Jowett (West Bradford), J. R. MacDonald (Leicester), James Parker (Halifax), T. Richardson (Whitehaven), and P. Snowden (Blackburn).

Generally speaking, the I.L.P. branches co-operate locally with Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties in municipal affairs, and a large proportion of the candidates put forward at local elections each year are members of the I.L.P.

WAR POLICY.

The I.L.P. has throughout the war been in conflict with the policy of the Labour Party upon the war and declined to associate with the recruiting campaign, upon which the Annual Conference held in Norwich at Easter, 1915, passed a condemnatory resolution. A series of manifestos, the earlier issues of which are referred to on page 18, have been issued during the war period, the last demanding that the Government should state terms of peace. Throughout, the official organ of the party has been highly critical of the diplomacy preceding the war, and has sought to take up the International Socialist attitude without directly demanding the cessation of hostilities. The Annual Conference adopted the following resolution respecting the basis of the terms of peace:—

“That this Conference calls upon the workers to guard against allowing elements to enter the peace settlement which would be a pretext and excuse for further devastating wars. In order that the peace may be just and lasting the Conference demands:—

“(a) That the people concerned shall give consent before there is transfer of territory.

“(b) No future treaty, agreement, or understanding be entered into without the knowledge of the people and the consent of Parliament, and machinery to be created for the democratic control of foreign policy.

“(c) Drastic all-round reduction of armaments by international agreement, together with the nationalisation of the manufacture of armaments, and the national control of the export of armaments by one country to another.

“(d) British foreign policy to be directed in future toward establishing a federation of the nations and the setting up of an International Council, whose decisions shall be public, together with the establishment of courts for the interpretation and enforcement of treaties and international law.

“That this Conference is of opinion that an International Arbitration Court should be established, with power, as an alternative to war, to enforce its decisions by declaring a postal,

commercial, transport, and financial boycott against any dissenting nation."

On August 18th, 1915, the offices of the Party, both at Manchester and London, were raided by the police, large quantities of pamphlets, leaflets, and other publications relating to the war were seized, together with files and supplies of the "Labour Leader" and "Socialist Review," while the current issue of the former was censored before publication.

BRITISH SOCIALIST PARTY.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

W. A. WILKINSON, Marxian Club, 118-119, Court Street, Blaenclydach, Rhondda, South Wales.

ALEX. ANDERSON, M.A., Schoolhouse, Stonehouse, Lanarkshire.

G. MOORE BELL, 229, Eglinton Road, Plumstead, S.E.

E. C. FAIRCHILD, 13, Clifden Road, Clapton, N.E.

Councillor DAN IRVING, St. James's Hall, Burnley.

ALBERT LEES, 31, Langdale Avenue, Levenshulme, Manchester.

Councillor E. LOWTHIAN, 35, Collingwood Street, Carlisle.

BERT KILLIP, 18, Roseneath Place, Wortley, Leeds.

Councillor A. C. BANNINGTON, 97, Nicholls Street, Coventry.

General Secretary: ALBERT INKPIN.

Office: Chandos Hall, 21a, Maiden Lane, Strand, London, W.C.

(Telephone: Central 13877. Telegrams: "Brisparty" London.)

National Organiser: THOMAS KENNEDY.

EARLY DAYS.

The earliest political Socialist organisation in this country was the Democratic Federation, founded in March, 1881, chiefly by the efforts of H. M. Hyndman, Herbert Burrows, Miss Helen Taylor, Joseph Cowan, M.P., and Dr. G. B. Clark. It was not, however, at first a Socialist organisation, but consisted of a federation of various Radical clubs in London, hence its original name. Its first programme was simply a Radical one, the most advanced item being the Nationalisation of the Land, which was placed ninth on the list, but Hyndman, Burrows, and several others of its most active members were Socialists, and by their energetic propaganda carried the organisation with them.

In September, 1883, the body was reorganised under the name of the Social-Democratic Federation with a Socialist programme, and its weekly organ, "Justice," was started early in 1884. In December, 1884, a split took place in the Federation—William Morris, Belfort Bax, Andreas Scheu, Edward Aveling, Eleanor Marx, and several other members of the Executive seceding and forming the Socialist League on revolutionary anti-Parliamentary lines, while Hyndman, Burrows, H. H. Champion, John Burns, and others remained in the Federation. On the break up of the Socialist League several years later, Morris, Bax, and Scheu rejoined the Federation. Jack Williams and the late Harry Quelch were also early members, as were the late Walter Crane

and Edward Carpenter. Subsequently the title of the organisation was changed to the Social-Democratic Party.

In 1911 the Social Democratic Party (S.D.P.), together with several minor and local Socialist organisations, united to form a new body, entitled the British Socialist Party (B.S.P.).

The Social Democratic Federation was originally affiliated to the Labour Representation Committee (see page 305), but withdrew at the conclusion of the first year. By a ballot vote of its members in 1914 the B.S.P. has again agreed to seek affiliation with the larger movement, and the proposal now awaits acceptance by the Annual Conference of the Labour Party to be held in Bristol in January, 1916.

FINANCE, ETC.

The gross receipts and expenditure of the central office during 1913 were £2,485 and £2,461 respectively, while the balance of assets over liabilities amounted to £332.

The Twentieth Century Press, established in 1891, prints and publishes "Justice" and conducts a general printing business; and a co-operative society, under the title of the "Co-operative Supplies Limited," is a source of revenue to the Party.

The Party is represented on the British Section of the International Socialist Bureau by H. Alexander and E. C. Fairchild, while Dan Irving is the representative of the British Section upon the International Socialist Bureau.

WAR POLICY.

The B.S.P. issued a manifesto at the beginning of the war, which has been followed by considerable dissension both on the part of the Executive Committee and among the branches.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Mrs. SIDNEY WEBB, SIDNEY WEBB, Mrs. PEMBER REEVES, W. STEPHEN SANDERS, Miss SUSAN LAWRENCE, EDWARD R. PEASE, Miss MABEL ATKINSON, R. C. K. ENSOR, H. D. HARBEN, F. LAWSON DODD, Professor EDITH MORLEY, EMIL DAVIES, Dr. LETITIA D. FAIRFIELD, ST. JOHN G. ERVINE, HARRY SNELL, JACK C. SQUIRE, CLIFFORD ALLEN, Miss ELLEN SMITH, and JULIUS WEST.

Hon. Secretary : EDWARD R. PEASE.

General Secretary : W. STEPHEN SANDERS.

Offices : 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S.W. (Telephone : Victoria 1915.)

BASIS.

The Fabian Society was founded in January, 1884, by a small group of middle-class "intellectuals," who first began to meet together in London in the autumn of 1883. A number of its founders and first recruits, including George Bernard Shaw, Sidney Webb, Edward R. Pease, and George Standring, are still active members of the Society.

The present "basis" of the Society, to which all members subscribe, is as follows:—

"The Fabian Society consists of Socialists.

"It, therefore, aims at the reorganisation of society by the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people.

"The Society accordingly works for the extinction of private property in land and of the consequent individual appropriation, in the form of rent, of the price paid for permission to use the earth, as well as for the advantages of superior soils and sites.

"The Society, further, works for the transfer to the community of the administration of such industrial capital as can conveniently be managed socially. For, owing to the monopoly of the means of production in the past, industrial inventions and the transformation of surplus income into capital have mainly enriched the proprietary class, the worker being now dependent on that class for leave to earn a living.

"If these measures be carried out, without compensation (though not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community) rent and interest will be added to the reward of labour, the idle class now living on the labour of others will necessarily disappear, and practical equality of opportunity will be maintained by the spontaneous action of economic forces with much less interference with personal liberty than the present system entails.

"For the attainment of these ends the Fabian Society looks to the spread of Socialist opinions, and the social and political changes consequent thereon, including the establishment of equal citizenship for men and women. It seeks to achieve these ends by the general dissemination of knowledge as to the relation between the individual and society in its economic, ethical, and political aspects."

POLICY, ETC.

The Society urges its members to use whatever influence they possess in any circles whatsoever, in order to promote Socialist opinions, and to induce action in the direction of Socialism—a method of action often referred to as the Policy of Permeation. But the Society has also, from its outset, taken the fullest possible part in direct public propaganda and in the building up of an Independent Labour and Socialist Party. The Fabian Society has been affiliated to the Labour Party since its formation, being represented on the Executive of that body by Edward R. Pease, and latterly by W. Stephen Sanders. Mr. Sanders also represents the Society on the British Section of the International Socialist Bureau.

By the publication of "Fabian Essays" and numerous tracts, as well as by its lectures in London and throughout the country, the Fabian Society has exercised an important influence not only on the Socialist Movement, but upon politics and legislation and the local government of the nation.

The Fabian Society has no newspaper of its own. "Fabian News," the monthly official publication, is a mere members' circular. The

weekly "New Statesman," with which a number of prominent Fabians are associated, is the means by which a number of special Fabian inquiries, conducted through the Fabian Research Department and otherwise, have been published.

MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCE.

The original or "London" Fabian Society now has 2,500 members, not only in all parts of the United Kingdom, but also in most other countries. In addition, there are small local Fabian Societies in many provincial towns and at most of the Universities. These (of which the membership is not included in the above figure) enjoy complete local autonomy, but are in frequent contact with the London office, and their delegates meet the London Executive Committee in a Fabian Conference held each July. The 1,200 members residing within the Metropolitan area are also organised in local and "subject" Groups, which often arrange their own series of meetings and carry on activities of their own.

Members are expected to subscribe annually to the funds of the Society in accordance with their means. Any person may become an Associate by signifying that he is in general sympathy with and desirous of promoting the work of the Society. Associates must pay an annual subscription of at least 10s.; are entitled to attend all meetings other than members' business meetings, and receive all the ordinary publications.

The income of the Society from all sources during the year ending March, 1915, totalled £2,916, and the expenditure amounted to £3,155.

WORK.

A large amount of propagandist lecturing is carried on by the members of the Society, usually at meetings held by or under the auspices of other bodies. The Society lends its aid to the political activities of the Labour Party, and, at the same time, renders what assistance it can to Trade Union organisation. It seeks everywhere to influence local governing bodies, on which it has many members, so as to give their administration a Socialist inclination. But the Society's special contribution to the Socialist Movement (apart from its active participation in all sorts of propaganda, and in industrial organisation and political action) has, from the outset, been its work of investigation and discovery in Economics and Political Science, and its detailed application of Socialist principles to the problems of industrial and political organisation. The Society has always been strong in facts and in exact knowledge of economic and industrial conditions; and the co-operation of its widely dispersed members, engaged in almost all occupations, and having access to unsuspected information, has frequently enabled the Society to bring to bear upon any particular question more light than is usually at the command either of the politician or of the Government department. In the supplying of information, in the solving of administrative difficulties, in the suggestion of practical expedients, in helping in the preparation of reports, and in the drafting of Parliamentary bills, amendments, questions, etc.—whether for its own members or others of Socialist and Labour sympathies, or for those who are willing to accept help only on particular subjects—the Society has found a sphere of considerable, though silent, influence.

FABIAN RESEARCH DEPARTMENT.

A large part of this work has lately been more systematically organised and extended by the separate Fabian Research Department (chairman, G. Bernard Shaw; secretary, R. Page Arnot), which, besides answering many inquiries and supplying materials for reports and speeches, is conducting detailed investigations into the various Methods of Organising and Controlling Industry and Public Services, forms of Social Insurance, New Sources of Revenue, the Machinery for International Agreement, the Position of Women in Industry, etc.

The publications so far made by the Research Department include three separate reports of the Control of Industry Committee (on Co-operation Production and Profit-sharing, the Co-operative Movement, and State and Municipal Enterprise respectively, in addition to one on Private versus Public Electricity and another on Industrial Organisation in Germany); two of the Insurance Committee (on the Working of the Health Insurance Act and Industrial Insurance respectively); two of the International Agreement Committee (a Memorandum, by L. S. Woolf, on An International Authority and the Prevention of War, and suggested articles for a Universal International Treaty); and one by Mrs. Sidney Webb on English Teachers and their Professional Organisation.

The Society's publications, from the well-known "Fabian Essays in Socialism" down to the latest of its series of "Fabian Tracts," number altogether about 200, and afford information, statistics, and Socialist doctrine upon an extraordinary variety of subjects.

The Society's own meetings are held, on about 15 Friday evenings throughout the season, at Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand; on other evenings at the Fabian Hall, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster; and, for a course of six public lectures each autumn, usually at King's Hall, King Street, Covent Garden.

The Society has a library of over 5,000 volumes, chiefly on social questions, etc.

Many years ago it began a system of circulating book boxes to local Socialist, Co-operative, Trade Union, and other societies, by means of which, for a small subscription, assorted selections of standard and current publications dealing with social, political, and economic subjects are loaned to groups of students or general readers.

In conjunction with the I.L.P., Socialist educational classes have been conducted on the following subjects: "The Economic Basis of Socialism," "The Industrial History of Britain," "The British Labour Movement," "Democratic Movements of the 19th Century," "English Local Government: its Organisation and Problems," etc.

For several years it has leased commodious residences, first in North Wales, and more recently at Barrow House, Keswick, as summer schools, where throughout the summer months pleasure and propaganda are mingled by the arrangement of organised excursions and series of lectures and discussions by experts of repute in the Labour and Socialist Movement.

The Society has recently taken new offices in conjunction with the Research Department as above, where a Common Room for members has been instituted. One of the most active sections of the Society is the Women's Group, which for the last seven years has concerned itself with social problems specially affecting women. The group has been responsible for a number of tracts. Special lectures on

women's problems are held from time to time, and inquiries are at present being conducted as to the position of women in industry and domestic service.

The Fabian Nursery, which confines its membership to the younger members of the Society, serves a useful educational purpose. The local Fabian Societies conduct similar activities in their respective districts, while the University Fabian Societies aim at bringing undergraduates into the Socialist Movement.

The constitution of the Society allows of the adoption of Parliamentary candidates, and it has been responsible for many Independent Labour candidatures, from that of Mr. Ben Tillett at Bradford in 1892 to that of Mr. Will Crooks, M.P., at Woolwich, in January, 1910.

THE JOINT BOARD.

Chairman: The Right Hon. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.

Secretary: C. W. BOWERMAN, M.P. Trades Union Congress, General Buildings, Aldwych, London, W.C.

The Joint Board is representative of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, and the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions, and is composed of three members and the secretary of each section.

It was formed originally in 1905, when the three Committees met to arrange united action in the electoral campaign prior to the General Election of 1906. The original object was to prevent overlapping between the three organisations, more frequent consultations between the national officials respecting political policy and Parliamentary action, and to arrange for the offices of the three organisations to be in the same building.

The existence of the Board certainly led to more united action on the part of the three organisations, and on practically every important question affecting Labour the Joint Board has either itself sought to focus the opinion of organised Labour or has been responsible for joint meetings of the three National Committees or the summoning of special conferences representative of all affiliated sections.

In 1908 a definite constitution was laid down, when it was agreed that the Board should be a judicial body to determine the bonâ-fides of any Trade Union affiliated or applying for affiliation to either of the constituent organisations. It has also acted as a court of arbitration in disputes between unions.

At the General Election in 1910 it circularised candidates of all parties, soliciting their views on the Osborne Judgment and asking for support to be given to legislation enabling unions to continue the political activities from which the judgment had debarred them. The Board held national conferences on this subject and on the National Insurance Bills. It assisted in the repeated attempts that were made to settle the Dublin transport dispute in 1913, and in 1914 it made itself responsible for the reception and maintenance of the deported South African Trade Unionists, and ultimately secured their return home. At the outbreak of war it issued a special memorandum on the industrial crisis and arranged for the three National Committees

to deputise the Prime Minister on this subject, the outcome being the Government scheme of emergency unemployment grants to the Trade Unions chiefly affected (see page 36).

In 1914, upon representations made by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, a controversy arose as to the composition and status of the Joint Board, and at meetings of the Board held in the summer of 1915 the original constitution was reaffirmed, but proposals were put forward for the reconstitution of the machinery for dealing with internal Trade Union disputes. Briefly, the arrangement suggested is that a panel of representative Trade Unionists should be nominated by the various unions affiliated to the three constituent organisations, and that courts of arbitration, agreeable to the conflicting unions, should be selected therefrom. These proposals have been ratified by the Trades Union Congress and the Annual Council of the General Federation of Trade Unions, but before they become operative the Annual Conference of the Labour Party must also endorse them.

THE WOMEN'S LABOUR LEAGUE.

Founded 1906. Affiliated to the Labour Party.

Office: 3, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.

General Secretary: Miss MARY LONGMAN.

Honorary Treasurer: Mrs. A. SALTER, 5, Storks Road, Bermondsey, London, S.E.

Executive: Mrs. JENNIE BAKER, Dr. ETHEL BENTHAM, Mrs. DONALDSON, Mrs. K. BRUCE GLASIER, Sister EDITH KERRISON, Mrs. E. LOWE, Mrs. M. NODIN, Dr. MARION PHILLIPS, Mrs. SCHOLEFIELD, Mrs. L. E. SIMM.

OBJECTS: To form an organisation of women to work for independent Labour representation in connection with the Labour Party, and to obtain direct Labour representation of women in Parliament and on all local bodies.

All women believing in these objects are eligible for membership, and may become members of branches. Societies of women which are working in agreement with the object of the Women's Labour League and are not eligible for direct affiliation to the Labour Party are eligible for affiliation to the Women's Labour League. The most important body thus affiliated is the National Union of Railway Women's Guild.

There are over 100 branches of the Women's Labour League in England, Wales, and Scotland. The Scottish branches are represented upon the Scottish Advisory Council of the National Labour Party and upon its Executive. In England and Wales there are five District Committees representing the branches in their areas, and District Conferences are frequently held. A National Conference is held annually at different centres, at which the Executive Committee and the Honorary Treasurer are elected. The next Conference will be held at Bristol on January 25th, 1916.

The General Secretary and all other paid officers are appointed by the Executive Committee.

The organ of the Women's Labour League is "The Labour Woman," a monthly paper costing one halfpenny, and devoted to the interests of working women. The Women's Labour League also publishes pamphlets and leaflets on a large variety of subjects.

The Women's Labour League has assisted largely in electoral work, and has nearly 100 members on Town and Borough Councils, Boards of Guardians, Local Insurance Committees, etc.

It has taken part in agitations for school feeding, school clinics, baths for miners, national homes for old age pensioners, etc. The agitation for baby clinics in recent years was initiated largely by the Women's Labour League, and it founded the Baby Clinic in North Kensington in memory of Margaret MacDonald and Mary Middleton, its chief originator and an earlier secretary, who died in 1911 within a few months of one another.

The Women's Labour League has taken keen interest in international questions, sending delegates to conferences of Socialist and Labour women, and being instrumental in establishing the British Section of the Women's International Council of Socialist and Labour Women in 1910. The "Labour Woman" is the official organ of this Council.

MISCELLANEOUS SOCIALIST, POLITICAL, AND REFORM SOCIETIES.

CHURCH SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

Secretary: Rev. J. M. MAILLARD, 24, Woodfield Road, Thornton Heath, London, S.W.

The Church Socialist League is comprised of people who accept the principles of Socialism and who hold that the Church has to do with all phases of human life, social, individual, and spiritual, that it can best fulfil its mission in a corporate capacity, and that both Church and State, each in its proper sphere, have essentially the same aim, viz., the attainment of the fulness of life for all. It recognises sex equality, and conducts its propaganda chiefly among church people, seeking to promote a better understanding between church people who are not Socialists and Socialists who are not church people.

It publishes the "Church Socialist" (monthly, 1d.), and has issued various pamphlets, leaflets, etc., written by Canon Adderley, Rev. Conrad Noel, Rev. Egerton Swan, Paul Bull, and others. It has branches in some 20 centres, and the London branch is divided into twelve different groups.

"CLARION" FELLOWSHIP.

Secretary: FREDERICK HAGGER, 69, Drakefield Road, New Cross, London, S.E.

The "Clarion" Fellowship was the outcome of the fraternal feeling engendered among the readers of that paper in the early years of its existence, and broadly represented many phases of Socialist pleasure and activity.

The "Clarion" Cycling Clubs, of which Tom Groom, "Clarion" Office, 44, Worship Street, London, E.C., is secretary, combines cycling with Socialist propaganda. It is probably the largest cycling club in the country, and holds Annual Meets each Easter in various centres.

The "Clarion" Vans for many years were responsible for Socialist propaganda both in urban and rural districts, many of the most effective speakers in the Socialist and Labour Movement having spent various periods on van tours.

There are also dramatic clubs of "Clarion" Players (secretary, Norman K. Veitch, 22, Stratford Grove, Newcastle-on-Tyne); swimming clubs, camps, and club-houses at Handforth, Sheldon (near Birmingham), the Ribble Valley, Yorkshire, and elsewhere; and the "Clarion" Vocal Unions and Orchestras were very early expressions of "Clarion" Fellowship.

CENTRAL LABOUR COLLEGE.

Warden : DENNIS HIRD, M.A.

Secretary : Mr. JAMES REYNOLDS, 13, Penywern Road, Earl's Court, London, S.W.

The Central Labour College was originally established in Oxford in 1909 as the outcome of differences arising between the Warden and students and the governing authorities of Ruskin College. It has been financed very largely by various districts of the South Wales Miners' Federation and the National Union of Railwaymen, which provide scholarships and send students to the College from among their membership. The control and management of the College is vested in a board consisting of four representatives of the South Wales Miners' Federation and two of the National Union of Railwaymen. In addition to the tuition of resident students, correspondent courses and local classes are held in various industrial centres. The work of the College has also been assisted by the formation of a Women's League, which by various methods raises finance and assists women students resident at the College.

"HERALD" LEAGUE.

Secretary : GEORGE BELT, 21, Tudor Street, London, E.C.

This body came into existence upon the publication of the "Daily Herald," with the original object of extending the circulation of that paper, and incidentally an organisation of "rebel" Socialists, mostly dissentients from other Socialist organisations and centred round the personality of Mr. George Lansbury. The active policy pursued by Mr. Lansbury in regard to Women's Suffrage also brought many suffragists into association with the League. The League's present activities are devoted to the extension of the circulation of the "Herald," now published weekly, and the initiation of demonstrations and campaigns on social and industrial injustices arising from the war. The "Herald" has been notable as the vehicle by which Mr. Will Dyson has won for himself a foremost place in the ranks of British cartoonists.

HERMES CLUB.

Secretary : PERCY W. COLE, 76-78, Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.

The club exists for the purpose of assisting the Labour Party. It achieves this end by bringing together various workers in the Labour Movement by means of social gatherings, by conducting from time to time such investigations as may be required, and by placing speakers and workers at the disposal of the Labour Party and other Labour organisations at the times of Parliamentary and local elections. Its membership is confined to persons belonging to organisations affiliated to the Labour Party.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR LABOUR LEGISLATION.

Central Office : Basle, Switzerland.

Secretary of the British Section : Miss SOPHY SANGER, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster, London, S.W.

The object of the association, which is a non-party body, is to create an international standard of legislation. Is organised in self-governing national sections linked together by an International Committee which meets every two years in Switzerland. This Committee consists of from six to ten delegates from each section and of representatives of the Governments of all the principal industrial countries, who attend in a semi-official and advisory capacity.

The British Government has been represented at these meetings since 1910, and contributes to the finances of the British Section.

In 1906 the association was responsible for inducing various States to conclude two International Conventions pledging each to the promotion of legislation prohibiting the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches and the prohibition of night work by women. The Phosphorus Convention was originally signed by only seven States, but, as a result of the Association's work, its scope has been extended, and it is now operative in 44 countries, colonies, or protectorates. The Night-Work Convention affects 25 countries, colonies, or protectorates.

Other subjects of the Association's activities include the introduction of a ten-hour day for lads under 18 and women, the prohibition of night-work for boys, the reduction of the excessive hours prevailing in continuous industries (by the adoption of eight-hour shifts in the iron and steel industries as a beginning), the extirpation of industrial diseases, and the prohibition of the use of lead in the pottery trade.

An annual contribution of 5s. gives membership of the British Section, and carries with it the right to receive the publications of the section, including the quarterly, "World's Labour Laws." For a contribution of 15s. annually members receive, in addition, the "Bulletin of the International Labour Office." The minimum affiliation fee for societies is £1 1s. annually. In return for this societies receive all publications (including the "Bulletin") and are entitled to send two delegates to the meetings of the section.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE PREVENTION OF DESTITUTION.

Hon. Secretary : Mrs. SIDNEY WEBB, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster.

This organisation was established in 1909, under the name of the National Committee for the Break Up of the Poor Law, to promote reforms in the public provision for those in need on the lines of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission. It has held innumerable meetings and conferences, and its members have given lectures all over Great Britain. It has published (besides cheap editions of the Minority Report for England and Scotland respectively, and during 1910-13 a monthly journal, the "Crusade") many pamphlets on the prevention and treatment of sickness and mental deficiency, the care for the children and the aged, and the proper methods of dealing with unemployment, together with detailed bills, some of which have been introduced into Parliament by the Labour Party. Its operations are almost entirely suspended during the war.

NATIONAL GUILDS LEAGUE.

Secretary : W. MELLOR, 16, Grosvenor Road, Westminster, London, S.W.

The objects of the League are the abolition of the wage system and the establishment of self-government in industry through a system of National Guilds working in conjunction with the State. Propaganda is conducted by means of lectures to Trade Union branches, Trades Councils, etc., and the issue of pamphlets and leaflets. Various inquiries into industrial subjects connected with the Guild policy are also conducted. (See special article.)

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

Secretary : Miss E. M. L. ATKINSON, Parliament Chambers, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

The object of the union is to obtain the Parliamentary suffrage for women by constitutional means. Its methods are non-party and non-militant. It carries on a steady propaganda by means of organisers, but by far the greater proportion of its activities is carried out by voluntary workers. Before the war suffrage vans toured the country, and the Union took part in all bye-elections, where it supported generally the candidate who declared himself the best friend of Women's Suffrage. Since the defeat of the Conciliation Bill, however, which was supported by a large number of individual Members and yet was shelved, it has been resolved to take the policy of the Party as well as the candidate into consideration. As the Labour Party is the only one which has made Women's Suffrage part of its policy, the Union supports the Labour Candidate provided that his personal views on the suffrage question are satisfactory, and that neither of the other candidates has given the union special reason for not opposing him. In no case does the Union support a Government candidate so long as Government pledges remain unfulfilled.

The organ is "The Common Cause" (weekly, 1d.), and numerous pamphlets and leaflets are also issued.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN WORKERS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Secretary : Miss NORAH E. GREEN, Parliament Mansions, Westminster, London, S.W.

The N.U.W.W. exists—

- (a) To promote sympathy of thought and purpose among the women of Great Britain and Ireland;
- (b) to promote the social, civil, moral, and religious welfare of women;
- (c) to focus and redistribute information likely to be of service to women workers;
- (d) to federate women's organisations, and to encourage and assist the formation of local councils and unions of women.

All societies, nationally organised or of national importance, are invited to apply for affiliation, which entitles them to send representatives to its Council. The Union has no power over the organisations which constitute it, and affiliated societies incur no responsibility on account of any action taken either by the Council of the Union or by any other affiliated society. Membership is open to all women engaged in women's work, and in sympathy with the objects of the Union, who subscribe at least 5s. to its funds; it is also open to corporate members, that is, the 43 branches of the N.U.W.W., or of the 160 affiliated societies, which subscribe to the Central Funds.

The main work of the Union is carried on by sectional committees, chiefly composed of experts in their respective subjects: education, emigration and immigration, public health, international matters, legislation, National Insurance Act, women's Indian study, etc. An Annual Conference of Women Workers is held, and the reports of the conference debates, published officially by the Union, have a wide circulation.

RUSKIN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Secretary : SAM SMITH.

Ruskin College was established by two wealthy Americans some 25 years ago for the purpose of bringing working-class students into association with Oxford University. It has undergone many vicissitudes in the intervening period, but a number of the more capable propagandists of the younger school in the Labour Movement have benefited either by residence in the College or through the Correspondence Classes. At the present time the administration of the College is in the hands of a Governing Council, upon which representatives of the Trade Union Movement predominate. The work of the College has been sustained by grants from various Trade Unions, who have arranged to send relays of their members to the College for tuition, and grants from the Board of Education up to £12 per annum per resident student are now being arranged.

Forty-six students were in residence during the year 1913-14, and about 600 students of both sexes, mostly working people with incomes of less than £2 per week, are on the books of the

Correspondence Department. The Department issues 27 different courses of instruction, comprising practically every phase of study of History, Economics, and Political Science. The war has interfered with the work of the College, and it has been decided to close it for a year, the buildings having been accepted by the War Office for hospital purposes when necessary. In the meantime, they are being used for the reception of Belgian refugees.

SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY.

Secretary : L. COTTON, 53, Waverley Road, Reading.

Party Headquarters : 50, Renfrew Street, Glasgow.

The S.L.P. represents the British section of the organisation founded in the United States by Daniel De Leon. It is a political organisation with a Socialist object. Members must signify and affirm their belief in the class struggle before admission. The distinctive feature of the S.L.P. is that no official of a Trade Union is admitted to membership, as the party promulgates Industrial Unionism as opposed to Trade Unionism. It has eight branches in various parts of the country, and publishes the "Socialist" (monthly, 1d.), in addition to various reprints of pamphlets by Marx, La Fargue, Engels, De Leon, Debs, etc. Its most active centre is in Glasgow.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

193, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.

The S.P.G.B. is an ultra-Marxian body, formed as the result of dissension in the Social Democratic Federation in 1904. According to its declaration of principles, it enters the field of politics "determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged Labour or avowedly capitalist." It has 25 branches, mostly in London, publishes the "Socialist Standard" (monthly, 1d.), and has reprinted various pamphlets by Paul Kautsky, F. Engels, William Morris, etc.

SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

National Secretary : Miss CLARICE McNAB, 43, Dudley Crescent, Leith, Scotland.

Socialist Sunday Schools date from 1892, the first probably being that opened in Battersea in that year, while a second was inaugurated in Glasgow a year or two later. There are now nearly 120 schools throughout the country, upon the books of which between 9,000 and 10,000 children and nearly 2,000 adults are enrolled. In addition to the ordinary classes, in which the human, historical, and idealist aspects of Socialism are taught, classes have also been inaugurated in connection with a number of schools for the teaching of art needle-craft, singing, dancing, and swimming, while sports clubs of various kinds have also been formed.

The "Young Socialist" (1d.), edited by Mrs. Lizzie Glasier Foster, is a monthly magazine issued in connection with the schools, and courses of study have also been adopted by arrangement with the "Young Socialist" Education Bureau (see below).

UNION OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL.

Secretary and Treasurer: E. D. MOREL, 37, Norfolk Street, Strand, London, W.C.

The Union of Democratic Control was formed shortly after the outbreak of war with the object of securing a new course of diplomatic policy, the four cardinal points of which are as follows:—

1. No province shall be transferred from one Government to another without the consent by plebiscite or otherwise of the population of such province.

2. No treaty, arrangement, or undertaking shall be entered upon in the name of Great Britain without the sanction of Parliament. Adequate machinery for ensuring democratic control of foreign policy shall be created.

3. The foreign policy of Great Britain shall not be aimed at creating alliances for the purpose of maintaining the balance of power, but shall be directed to concerted action between the Powers, and the setting up of an International Council, whose deliberations and decisions shall be public, with such machinery for securing international agreement as shall be the guarantee of an abiding peace.

4. Great Britain shall propose, as part of the peace settlement, a plan for the drastic reduction, by consent, of the armaments of all the belligerent Powers, and to facilitate that policy shall attempt to secure the general nationalisation of the manufacture of armaments and the control of the export of armaments by one country to another.

The Executive Committee numbers in its membership Messrs. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., Arthur Ponsonby, M.P., Charles Trevelyan, M.P., Norman Angell, J. A. Hobson, and Mrs. H. M. Swanwick; and the General Council includes a number of other Radical and Labour Party supporters.

Councillor Egerton P. Wake has been appointed Commissioner and branches have been formed in nearly 100 centres. Propaganda lectures and public meetings are being constantly held, and a series of pamphlets dealing with the objects of the union have also been issued.

UNIVERSITY SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

Chairman: G. D. H. COLE (Oxford).

Vice-Chairman: ELLEN C. WILKINSON (Manchester).

Treasurer: A. L. BACHARACH (Cambridge).

Secretary: ROBERT PAGE ARNOT (Glasgow).

Offices: 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

This Federation was founded in 1912. Its purpose is the strengthening of the Socialist Movement in Universities and kindred educational centres. It includes every kind of Socialist organisation. It has affiliated societies in Aberystwyth, Birmingham, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Lampeter, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Oxford, Sheffield. It has published a tract on the organisation of a University Socialist Society, and two pamphlets for study classes: one on the Principles of Socialism, the other on the British Labour Movement.

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

Central Office: 14, Red Lion Square, Holborn, London, W.C.

The W.E.A. was founded in 1903 by a small group of Trade Unionists and Co-operators, who believed that a higher level of general education was an essential condition of any far-reaching scheme of social advance. In 1907 co-operation with the Universities was initiated, and a body of seven working people and seven nominees of the Universities was formed. Subsequently similar joint committees were appointed in connection with most of the Universities, and Tutorial Classes, embracing a three years' course, are now conducted in many parts of the country, a grant towards the finances being made by the Board of Education.

From the beginning women have been associated in the work of the W.E.A., and have been included in the various classes, etc.

The Association co-ordinates existing agencies and devises fresh means by which working people of all degrees may be raised educationally, step by step, until they are able to take advantage of the facilities which are and which may be provided by the Universities. It is a missionary organisation working in co-operation with education authorities and working-class organisations. It is definitely unsectarian, non-political, and democratic. It is a Federation consisting at present of 2,555 organisations, including 953 Trade Unions, Trades Councils and Branches, 388 Co-operative Committees, 341 Adult Schools and Classes, 15 University bodies, 16 Local Education Authorities, 175 Working Men's Clubs and Institutes, 65 Teachers' Associations, 151 Educational and Literary societies, and 451 various societies, mainly of working people. (These figures are exclusive of organisations affiliated to the W.E.A. overseas.) It seeks to fulfil its objects in the following principal ways :—

(a) By arousing the interest of the workers in higher education, and by directing their attention to the facilities already existing;

(b) by inquiring into the needs and feelings of the workers in regard to education, and by representing them to the Board of Education, Universities, Local Education Authorities, and Educational Institutions;

(c) by providing, either in conjunction with the aforementioned bodies or otherwise facilities for studies of interest to the workers which may have hitherto been overlooked;

(d) by publishing, or arranging for the publication, of such reports, pamphlets, books, and magazines as it deems necessary.

Recently the late secretary, Mr. Albert Mansbridge, toured Australasia and initiated centres of W.E.A. activity in the various States of Australia and in New Zealand. Returning through Canada, he also inaugurated groups at Toronto, Calgary, and Montreal. During the war the ordinary activities of the association have been somewhat curtailed, but an informative pamphlet on "Child Labour and Education during the War and After" (1d.) has been issued in which the whole question of child labour in war time is reviewed. The association also issues "The Highway" (monthly, 1d.).

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

Secretary : Miss F. A. UNDERWOOD, 144, High Holborn, London, W.C.

The Women's Freedom League is a self-governing body of women, and was formed by Mrs. Charlotte Despard and other dissentients from the Women's Social and Political Union. It aims at securing the Parliamentary vote for women as it is, or may be, granted to men, and in normal times carries on an opposition to any Government that may be in power so long as full citizen rights are denied to women. It conducted in normal times a vigorous propaganda by means of meetings, pamphlets, election campaigns, and militant protests, which were not directed against the public nor against private property, but solely against the Government, the law, and the administration of justice when it bore unfairly against women. The League's official organ is "The Vote" (weekly, 1d.).

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL.

Secretary and Treasurer : Miss WYATT PAPWORTH, M.A., 7, John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.

The Women's Industrial Council was formed in November, 1894, and was in some degree a development of the Women's Trade Union Association, which for five years had been endeavouring to organise women, chiefly in the East End of London. The Council continued the work of the Association on a wider basis as a body whose aim is the improvement of all industrial conditions in which women are concerned.

There are now three separate committees which deal with—

(a) The collection and publication of trustworthy information about the conditions of women's work ;

(b) the provision of remedies for such hardships as investigation reveals, by public action, whether legislative, administrative, or voluntary ;

(c) the education of the workers and of the public in questions affecting the interests of industrial women ; together with such other propaganda of various kinds as circumstances may from time to time make desirable.

The Council has already influenced legislation, by promoting Bills, giving evidence, and sending deputations ; it has also dealt with Trade Boards, Distress Committees and women in factories, workshops, and workplaces ; it also holds representative conferences on industrial questions which concern women and children, and publishes a quarterly "Women's Industrial News" (annual subscription, 2s.).

WOMEN'S COUNCIL.

Secretary : Miss MARGARETTA HICKS, 21, Rochester Square, Camden Road, London, N.W.

The Council was originally formed in November, 1912, as an auxiliary of the British Socialist Party, for the purpose of organising and educating women in Socialist principles. It has been responsible for the holding of conferences and exhibitions demonstrating the increased cost of living. In October, 1914, the Council severed its connection with the British Socialist Party, and its subsequent work has been chiefly in the direction of propaganda respecting the national food supply during the war.

WORKMEN'S NATIONAL HOUSING COUNCIL.

Secretary : J. SILAS WHYBREW, 41, Cowcross Street, London, E.C.

The Council is composed of Trade Unions, Trades Councils, Labour, Socialist, and other Societies, and has for its object the public ownership of houses for the people.

It urges local authorities to erect the best type of buildings on the best available sites in accordance with the provisions of the Housing and Town Planning Act, 1909, and advocates such legislation as will enable this to be done most effectually. The Council has no set financial conditions for affiliation. Organisations contribute according to their means and their interest in the movement. Subscriptions from persons who are in sympathy with the activities of the Council are also received.

The work of the Council was carried on for many years by the late Mr. Fred Knee, and during the war it has been specially active in the publication of leaflets describing the provisions of the Housing (No. 2) Act, 1914, and the regulations of the Courts (Emergency Powers) Act, 1914, in respect of distraint and eviction. A successful conference was held in Bristol in September, prior to the opening of the Trades Union Congress.

WORLD ORDER OF SOCIALISM.

Secretaries : Messrs. KEIGHLEY SNOWDEN and A. E. POWELL, 24, Auriol Road, West Kensington, London, W.

The Order is a non-political fraternity, with members belonging to all the Socialist groups, banded for educational work and international intercourse. It aims to conserve the spiritual unity of the movement and constitutes a democratic freemasonry without secrets.

Founded just before the war, the Order has not been hurt by the sharp divisions of opinion caused by it, since the members are pledged to introduce in its meetings no resolution on current politics. On the contrary, it has continued to grow and to found lodges. There are members in eleven countries, and these communicate with Socialists in 33 others through the Universal Esperantist Association, with its 1,600 consuls. Classes in Esperanto are part of the Order's work, undertaken with a view to facilitate foreign travel (for which a bureau is to be formed on the conclusion of peace) and to render international meetings easy. A monthly broadsheet is issued to members—the "World Socialist"—and leaflets are also published.

The lodges, 14 in number, elect an executive yearly, and the constitution of the Order dispenses with other machinery. A minimum annual subscription of 1s. is payable, with a 1s. entrance fee.

WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION.

Secretary : Mrs. E. PANKHURST, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, London, W.C.

The W.S.P.U. was founded by Mrs. Pankhurst in 1903, and has for its object "the securing for women the Parliamentary vote as it is or may be granted to men, to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes, and to promote the social and industrial well-being of the community."

The methods originally pursued were of the ordinary kind, and were conducted entirely independent of any political party. No

legislative results following its numerous activities, militant tactics were introduced, and scores of the Union's supporters suffered imprisonment for damaging property in various ways. Many of them, by the adoption of the hunger strike, secured release before their sentences were concluded.

On more than one occasion the police raided the Union's offices and sought to suppress its weekly journal, the "Suffragette." Miss Christabel Pankhurst fled to France, whence the paper was successfully edited, various printers being secured to run the risk of its mechanical production. Upon the outbreak of war a truce was called to the long and violent opposition to the Government, and both the Union and its organ (now issued under the title of "Britannia") are now engaged in promoting the national interests and stimulating recruiting for the forces.

YOUNG SOCIALIST EDUCATION BUREAU.

Secretary : FRED COATES, 2, Main Avenue, Levenshulme, Manchester.

Its objects are :—

- (a) To organise classes for the systematic study of Socialism.
- (b) To improve teaching methods in Socialist Sunday Schools.
- (c) Class and individual tuition by correspondence.
- (d) Publication of literature, teachers' aids, etc.

The Bureau has published a comprehensive course of Study Notes on World History from a Socialist Standpoint, compiled by Mr. F. J. Gould and Mr. J. C. Simpson, M.A. (Oxon.). It consists of five series of notes, each one containing matter for four lessons. The whole is a year's course of study, which may be expanded to cover two or four years' work if desired.

LOCAL LABOUR PARTIES.

(See Part II. for notes on the history and development of Local Labour Parties.)

FEDERATION.

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.—C. Walkden, 8, Kirkhall Lane, Leigh, Lancs.

ENGLAND.

ACCRINGTON.—J. T. Abbott, 21, Emily Street, Blackburn.

ALTRINCHAM.—F. B. Platt, 24, Osborne Road, Altrincham.

BARNARD CASTLE.—T. W. Dowson, Greta House, Crook, R.S.O., co. Durham.

BARNSELEY.—B. W. Dobson, 147, Park Road, Barnsley.

BARROW.—Councillor J. H. Brown, 80a, Cavendish Street, Barrow-in-Furness.

BATLEY.—F. Baines, 11, West Park Terrace, Healey, Batley.

BENWELL.—T. Rowland, 14, Oak Street, Benwell, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

BIRMINGHAM.—J. Kesterton, 10, Bright's Buildings, 110, John Bright Street, Birmingham.

BISHOP AUCKLAND.—E. E. Hunter, Kingsley Chambers, Bishop Auckland.

BLACKBURN.—G. R. Shepherd, 69, Azalea Road, Blackburn.

BOLTON.—J. N. V. Ramsbottom, 18, Hall Ith Wood Lane, Bolton.

BRIDGWATER.—R. Anderson, 21, Lyndale Avenue, Bridgwater.

BRISTOL.—J. M. Burleigh, 16, Morgan Street, St. Paul's, Bristol.

BURNLEY.—L. Rippon, 21, Morley Street, Burnley.

BURY.—G. T. Pilling, 159, Bell Lane, Bury, Lancs.

BURTON-ON-TRENT.—C. Gaunt, 54, Shobnall Street, Burton-on-Trent.

BUSH HILL.—A. Nelson, 11, Seventh Avenue, Bush Hill Park, N.

CAMBRIDGE.—J. J. Overton, 209, Milton Road, Cambridge.

CHADDERTON.—R. Wrather, 98, Dalton Street, Chadderton, Oldham.

CHATHAM, GILLINGHAM, AND ROCHESTER.—Councillor R. P. Edwards, 263, High Street, Chatham.

CHESTER-LE-STREET.—R. Wordingham, Woodside House, Market Lane, Dunston-on-Tyne.

CHORLEY.—J. E. Higson, 5, Rawcliffe Road, Chorley, Lancs.

CLITHEROE.—F. Constantine, 45, Rhoda Street, Nelson, Lancs.

CLIVIGER.—E. Calderbank, 33, Burnley Road, Holme, near Burnley.

COLCHESTER.—G. L. Read, 21, Bourne Road, Colchester.

COLNE.—H. Pickles, 89, Alkencoates Road, Colne, Lancs.

COVENTRY.—R. Barton, 3, Alfred Road, Coventry.

CREWE.—W. T. Jones, 171, Wistaston Road, Crewe.

CROYDON.—A. Jenner, Ruskin House, Croydon, S.W.

DARTFORD.—W. T. Harris, 12, Broadway, Bexley Heath, Kent.

DERBY.—Councillor J. Bennett, 42, Full Street, Derby.

DERBYSHIRE (MID).—S. Greaves, New Higham, Shirland, nr. Alfreton.

DERBYSHIRE (NORTH-EAST).—G. Middleton, 6, Stephenson Place, Chesterfield.

DEVONPORT.—S. Wickenden, 14, Charlotte Row, Morice Town, Devonport.

DONCASTER.—E. Dunn, 183, Kiverton Park, near Sheffield.

- DURHAM (MID).—R. Shotton, 2, North Terrace, Auton Style, Bearpark Colliery, near Durham.
- DURHAM (NORTH-WEST).—B. J. Burridge, 20, Eden Terrace, Stanley, S.O., co. Durham.
- EDMONTON.—A. E. Mattocks, 75, Town Road, Lower Edmonton, N.
- EALING, ACTON, AND CHISWICK.—G. H. Pratt, 1, Mervyn Road, West Ealing, W.
- EASTLEIGH (HANTS).—Councillor R. G. Hunt, 5, Albert Road, Winchester Road, Eastleigh, Hants.
- EAST NORTHANTS.—H. Thomson, 17, Higham Road, Rushden, Northants.
- ECCLES.—A. W. Petch, 164, Anson Street, Monton, Eccles.
- EGREMONT.—F. Harvey, 8, Montreal Street, Cleator Moor, Cumberland.
- ENFIELD.—H. E. Scrivener, 82, Mandeville Road, Enfield Wash, Middlesex.
- FAILSWORTH.—J. Duncalf, 6, Valentine Street, Failsworth, Lancs.
- FLEETWOOD.—A. L. Schofield, 10, Harris Street, Fleetwood.
- GATESHEAD.—A. E. Ridley, 229, Brighton Road, Gateshead.
- GLOUCESTER.—S. A. Stoddart, 18, All Saints' Road, Gloucester.
- GRAVESEND, NORTHFLEET, AND PERRY STREET.—W. Watt, 1, Beresford Road, Rosherville, Gravesend.
- GREET.—G. Beck, 824, Stratford Road, Sparkhill, Birmingham.
- HALLAMSHIRE.—T. Smith, 26, Ribston Road, Darnall, Sheffield.
- HANDSWORTH (STAFFS).—G. H. Jarrams, 159, Booth Street, Handsworth.
- HARTLEPOOLS.—A. Ross, 11, Thornhill Gardens, West Hartlepool.
- HAYES (MIDDLESEX).—J. C. Drenon, Barra Hall Villa, Wood End Green, Hayes End, Middlesex.
- HEYWOOD.—J. Rogers, 7, Collins Street, Walshaw, Bury.
- HIGH WYCOMBE.—A. H. Farr, 139, Hughenden Road, High Wycombe.
- HOLMFIRTH.—J. Hamnett, Rockingham Street, Birdwell, Barnsley.
- HOUGHTON-LE-SPRING.—E. Thompson, 43, Barron Street, Castletown, Sunderland.
- HULL.—W. Copland, 2, Edgecumbe Street, Newland Avenue, Hull.
- HYDE.—H. Bateman, 141, George Street, Hyde, Cheshire.
- ILKESTON.—E. R. Newbery, 41, Upper Wellington Street, Long Eaton.
- INCE.—R. S. Robson, 283, Warrington Road, Abram, Lancs.
- IPSWICH.—A. J. Watson, Labour Institute, Orchard Street, Ipswich.
- JARROW.—S. A. Crooks, 6, Henry Street, Jarrow-on-Tyne.
- KETTERING.—A. C. Evans, 181, Bath Road, Kettering.
- KING'S LYNN.—T. A. Frost, London Road, King's Lynn.
- LEEDS.—D. B. Foster, Trades Hall, Upper Fountaine Street, Leeds.
- LEEDS (EAST).—R. Ainsworth, 31, Welbeck Road, York Road, Leeds.
- LEICESTER.—A. Monk, 42, Silver Arcade, Leicester.
- LEIGH.—C. Walkden, 8, Kirkhall Lane, Leigh, Lancs.
- LIVERPOOL.—F. Hoey, 26, Mauretania Road, Queen's Drive, Walton, Liverpool.
- LONDON.—H. Morrison, 41, Cowcross Street, E.C.
- BERMONDSEY.—C. G. Ammon, 121, Alscot Road, Bermondsey, S.E.
- CLAPHAM.—F. W. Smith, 3, Grafton Mansions, Venn Street, Clapham, S.W.
- DEPTFORD.—J. W. Reid, 435, New Cross Road, S.E.
- EAST HAM.—E. Tanner, 110, Stamford Road, East Ham, E.
- FULHAM.—O. Waghorn, 90, Bishops Road, Fulham, London, S.W.
- HACKNEY.—W. Parker, 8, Adley Street, Clapton, N.E.
- HAMMERSMITH.—W. H. Harding, 61, Ifley Road, Hammersmith, W.

- ISLINGTON.—H. G. Coleman, 4, Roccliffe Street, Islington, N.
- LAMBETH.—Reginald Albery, 45, Farmers' Road, Kennington Park, London, S.E.
- LEWISHAM.—S. C. Page, 2, Shorndean Street, Catford, S.E.
- POPLAR.—L. S. Dunstan, 2a, Oriental Street, Poplar, E.
- SOUTH NORWOOD.—T. Gates, 5, Pembury Road, S. Norwood, S.W.
- ST. PANCRAS.—A. C. Edwards, 85, St. Augustine's Road, Camden Town, London, N.W.
- WEST HAM.—J. Gilbey, 15, Wigston Road, Plaistow, E.
- WILLESDEN.—C. H. Bolton, 15, Montrose Avenue, Kilburn, N.W.
- MACCLESFIELD.—J. Martlew, 99, Chestergate, Macclesfield.
- MANCHESTER AND SALFORD.—Councillor W. T. Jackson, 50, Lansdowne Road, Crumpsall, Manchester.
- MANCHESTER (BOOTHSTOWN).—R. Newton, 308, Chaddock Lane, Boothstown, near Manchester.
- MANSFIELD.—J. G. Pratt, 109, Princes Street, Mansfield.
- MONMOUTH (NORTH).—Z. Andrews, 7, Emlyn Terrace, Talywain, Pontypool.
- MONMOUTH (WEST).—W. Harris, "Arfryn," Bryn Road, Pontlanfraith (Mon.).
- MORLEY.—W. H. Heald, 3, Pawson Street, The Falls, Ardsley, Yorks.
- MORPETH.—M. Cole, 36, South Row, Bedlington Colliery, Northumberland.
- NELSON (LANCS).—A. Campbell, 135, Napier Street, Nelson, Lancs.
- NEWBURY (BERKS).—F. Pond, Vine Cottage, Donnington, Newbury.
- NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.—W. Grainger, 9, Regent Terrace, Newcastle-on-T.
- NEWPORT.—W. Holder, 5, Kensington Grove, Newport (Mon.).
- NEWTON.—R. Lewis, 178, Cansfield Grove, Ashton-in-Makerfield.
- NEWTON HEATH.—J. Cunliffe, 46, Nine Street, Newton Heath.
- NORMANTON.—W. Lunn, Carlton Lane, Rothwell, Leeds.
- NORTH SHIELDS.—W. S. Rainbird, 71, West Percy Street, N. Shields.
- NORTHWICH.—G. Scales, Wincham, Northwich.
- NOTTINGHAM.—G. O. Richards, 8, Ashfield Rd., Sneinton, Nottingham.
- NUNEATON.—W. E. Taylor, 1, Clarence Street, Nuneaton.
- OLDHAM.—I. Crabtree, 151, Union Street, Oldham.
- PLYMOUTH.—F. R. Crow, 153, Beaumont Road, Plymouth.
- POOLE AND BRANKSOME.—H. A. Stokes, St. Aldhelms Cottage, Langley Road, Branksome, Bournemouth.
- PORTSMOUTH.—J. G. Hogan, 27, Lucknow Street, Fratton, Portsmouth.
- PRESTON.—E. Sumner, 174, Hammond Street, Preston.
- PUDSEY.—H. Hall, 41, Victoria Terrace, School St., Pudsey, nr. Leeds.
- RADCLIFFE.—F. Pearson, 14, Grindrod St., Radcliffe, nr. Manchester.
- READING.—B. Russell, 171, Caversham Road, Reading.
- REDDITCH.—W. Leadbetter, 24, Mason Road, Headless Cross, Redditch.
- ROCHDALE.—J. W. Moor, 6, Hunters Lane, Rochdale.
- ROMFORD.—W. H. Letts, 38, Drummond Road, Romford, Essex.
- ROSSENDALE.—J. W. Luty, 42, Hall Carr Road, Rawtenstall.
- ST. ALBANS.—G. C. Renwick, 1, Royston Road, The Camp, St. Albans, Herts.
- SKIPTON.—M. F. Aldham, 3, Railway Terrace, Skipton.
- SMETHWICK.—R. O'Dell, 104, Waterloo Road, Smethwick, Birmingham.
- SOUTH SHIELDS.—A. Ernest Gompertz, 1, Westoe Crescent, Horsley Hill Road, South Shields.
- SOWERBY.—J. Siddall, 15, Egremont Street, Sowerby Bridge, Yorks.

- STAFFS (NORTH).—Councillor W. H. Beechener, 13, Smith Street, Hanley, Staffs.
- STALYBRIDGE, DUKINFIELD, AND MILLBROOK.—H. Riley, 12, French Street, Stalybridge.
- SUNDERLAND.—T. S. Dale, J.P., 83, Forster Street, Sunderland.
- TEWKESBURY.—J. E. Kearsey, 6, Archibald Street, Gloucester.
- TORQUAY.—F. E. Willis, Stratton, Harberry Road, W., Torquay.
- TUNBRIDGE WELLS.—S. W. Noble, 9, Stanhope Road, Tunbridge Wells.
- TYNESIDE.—W. Taylor, 19, Ladykirk Road, Benwell, Newcastle-on-T.
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THE FUTURE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS.

BY CATHERINE E. MARSHALL.

The future of women in politics depends, more even than does the future of democracy itself, on whether the war results in the discrediting of militarism, or whether it leaves all the nations more militarist than they were before.

Conversely it is true that whether the civilised world does or does not surrender its soul to militarism will depend in no small measure on what place women are going to take in politics.

The militarist is one who believes in the supremacy of force, who justifies the use of power to compel submission to the desires of its possessor, without any further sanction than his own conviction that his desires are reasonable. In a state where the social order is based on the power to exercise force women must always go to the wall, just as in a community of nations in which force is the deciding factor in international differences the smaller nations must always go to the wall. Further, this theory of the supremacy of force, and the right of its possessors to use it to impose their will on others, tells in favour of those in possession of power of whatever kind, whether of wealth, or office, or political ascendancy. Those who have a monopoly of any of these things have the power to withhold them from those who have them not. The large nation can dominate the small one. The capitalist can exploit the worker. Men can continue to exclude women from the franchise, to deny them economic and legal independence.

This war has revealed a new danger inherent in modern militarism. In former times the issue of a war depended very largely on the personal valour and skill of those engaged in it. In the present war success, according to the military critics, is bound to go ultimately to whichever side has the greatest resources in money and men and uses those resources on the soundest business principles. It is simply a matter of counting heads and measuring the length of the purse. If that is so then the militarism of the future means not only a yet more enormous expenditure on armies and navies; it means also that the value of men and women will be reckoned according to their capacities as money-makers or breeding machines. This prospect is not an encouraging one for the workers or the women, or for those who are striving against commercialism and materialism for the higher ideals of human progress.

Men have hitherto accepted the dominance of force as inevitable. They have met force by force. They have believed that when radical changes are needed they can only be brought about by fighting; and there are certain things which mankind will always believe to be worth fighting for if they cannot be got in any other way. The chief of these is liberty.

Unfortunately, the end is apt to cast a glamour over the means; and just as militarism—the belief in force—conduces to fighting, so does fighting conduce to militarism. Means which were resorted to with reluctance as being the only means of attaining a necessary end become glorified in the process as things good in themselves. The mark of your militarist is that he would rather get what he wants by

fighting than by any other way. He wants to **force** his enemy to yield, so that he may have him at his mercy and be able to impose what terms he chooses. I have heard Trade Unionists talk like this of Trade Union fights. I have heard Socialists, who were ardent pacifists on international questions, talk like this of class warfare. I have heard Suffragists talk like this of the struggle for sex equality. **They were all talking pure militarism**; they were all moved by the desire to dominate rather than to co-operate, to vanquish and humiliate the enemy rather than to convert him into a friend.

I am convinced that the future of women in politics depends largely on whether this attitude prevails in the peace settlement at the end of this war, and in the national as well as the international readjustments which will have to follow after. The future of women in politics depends still more on whether the women in the different nations and the different classes identify themselves with this attitude, or whether they set themselves strenuously to oppose it, not by fighting or by any negative form of opposition, but by setting up a finer and more inspiring ideal in its place—the ideal of Right instead of Might, of co-operation instead of conflict.

But how can women, with their lack of experience in business and in politics, hope to contribute anything practical to the solution of a problem of this kind, which means no less than the reorganisation of society on a new basis?

I believe that women's experience as mothers and heads of households has given them just the outlook on human affairs which is needed in this process of reconstruction. Nay, more; I believe that their relative inexperience in business and politics is in this matter an advantage. Women coming straight from their experience in the home to the consideration of national and international politics are likely to bring with them the standards and values of the home. And is not that just what we need? Do we not wait the outlook that sees men as human beings, and politics as the business of adjusting human relations, so that all shall have their rights, and opportunity for the free development of all their faculties for the service of the community as a whole?

From time immemorial a man has regarded his duty to his family as primarily a matter of getting for it the things that it wants. The woman's duty has been first to give and nurture life, and secondly to transform for use the raw material brought in by the man and distribute it according to the family's needs. His energies have been concentrated on getting, hers on giving. He brings in the game he has trapped or shot for food, she cooks and distributes it; he brings home the money he has earned in wages, she spends it on the various needs of the household; he builds the walls of a house, she transforms it into a home.

This accumulated experience has affected men's attitude towards one another in business, in politics, and in international relations. If you regard getting and holding as the chief business of life it is natural to regard your neighbours as rivals and competitors whom you must fight and outwit. It is natural also to value men according to their power to get and to hold, or their usefulness in helping others to exercise this power.

The woman's point of view, applied to politics, would introduce a new valuation. We have become too much accustomed to talk of

men as "hands" in a factory, or "heads" to be polled at an election, or as "casualties" (!) by which to measure military success or failure. To a woman every man is a mother's son—not as her possession, but as her gift of great price which must not be wasted, her great adventure on which she has staked her all. This view involves a revaluation indeed, based not on power or on wealth, but on humanity; not on getting, but on giving; not on domination, but on service.

Then there is another way in which women's experience fits them peculiarly to help men in that reorganisation of international relations which we all hope will be one of the outcomes of the present war. Men's efforts to "preserve peace" (as if you could preserve that which is not there!) have been directed mainly to preserving the *status quo*, to repressing any force that threatened to disturb the existing order. Now that is all very well for those who have all they want under the existing order,—for the British Empire, for the capitalist, for the party in power. But what about those who are not satisfied with things as they are? Surely the business of those who desire a real living peace is to find some means other than war by which the existing order can be changed to meet legitimate needs and changing conditions?

How could women help in this task? Would not their traditional conservatism be a hindrance rather than a help?

It is true that women are by instinct conservers—but of **life**, not of the *status quo*; and life means inevitably growth and change, as all their experience has taught them. A mother is used to providing for the needs of a growing child. She does not say to the child: "You must not grow, because I have made clothes for you of a certain size, and I do not want the trouble of altering them or making new ones." The wise mother makes those clothes with tucks that can be easily let out, and when they can be let out no further she starts on a new garment so as to have it ready when needed. Always the **human need** is the first consideration, not the maintenance of things as they are at least cost to herself.

Democracies are growing children. Many nations are still growing children. It is no use to say: "You must not grow; you must put up with clothes that are too tight for you." The function of statesmanship is to provide for the healthy growth and development of all the members of the human family.

There is yet a third task awaiting women in politics. I believe that the reaction after this war will give a tremendous impetus to the development of Internationalism. The growing sense of common aims and needs among the workers of all nations will break down national barriers—unless militarism keeps them up. But the sense of common interests tells in other classes as well. They, too, will become increasingly conscious of bonds of union. Even the militarists of different countries will join hands if they see their common interests in danger. This will all tend to break down national antagonisms, but if class hatred takes their place we shall be no nearer the goal of human brotherhood. There will be little gained if we abolish international warfare only to set up warfare of another sort—a war which, even if armed force were not used, would bring in its train all the worst evils of war as we see it to-day; the same bitterness and violence, the same blinding of the combatants

to all considerations except the necessity of beating the enemy; the same suffering of the innocent with the guilty, and the destruction of all that civilisation has laboured to build up.

Just as the common aims and needs of the workers cut across national barriers, so does the common motherhood of women cut across national barriers and class barriers alike. We were all agreed, at the beginning of this war at any rate, in thinking that if the international solidarity of the workers had been more fully developed and firmly established this war could not have taken place. They would have insisted that some other and saner way than war must be found for settling the issues at stake. Can the solidarity of women be developed in such a way as to strengthen this movement towards internationalism, and, at the same time, to help to find some other way than class war for bringing about the changes necessary in our social structure? Granted the insight and the will to do this, can we act? Are we going to be given a direct voice in politics? Are we going to be given it **in time**?

In this country that rests largely with the Labour Party. Will they demand the introduction of a Franchise Bill immediately the war is over, and will they insist that in that bill woman suffrage, on a basis that will enfranchise the working mother, must be included and must be retained in the bill in all its stages? They will be tempted by every ruse, and by every appeal to apparent self-interest, to agree to leave the women out—to get manhood suffrage firmly established first, and **then** work for the inclusion of women. The opponents of democracy know well that once the men's franchise is complete it will be far easier to keep the women out. They will not dare to refuse the men, but they will feel it a comparatively easy matter to exclude the women—just as women have been excluded from public-houses during certain hours to give the appearance of temperance reform, whilst leaving to the trade their most paying customers, the men.

Women will enter increasingly into all branches of industry, not only now but after the war. It will be to the interests of those who want to exploit the working classes to keep the women unenfranchised even if that is not possible in the case of the men. Are the men going to allow it?

We could do much if we had the power which the vote brings. We can do something without it. As I write a new woman's organisation is being born, to be called the Women's International League, which will have as its object "to establish the principles of right rather than might, and co-operation rather than conflict, in national and international affairs, and for this purpose to work for (1) the development of the ideals underlying modern democracy in the interests of constructive peace, and (2) the emancipation of women and the protection of their interests, including their admission to the Parliamentary franchise, their admission to National and International Councils, and the establishment of their economic independence and legal freedom."

The formation of this League, and of similar organisations in other countries, is the outcome of the Women's International Congress held at The Hague last April, under the presidency of Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago. That Congress marked the opening of a new chapter in the women's movement, and the unfolding of that chapter lies, as I believe, the great hope for the future of women in politics.

THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRATIC TAXATION.

BY PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.

Always a matter of very great importance, the question of national taxation is to-day the supreme issue in national politics. Since the days of Dr. Johnson patriotism has been regarded by penetrating people as the last resort of scoundrels, and the present national emergency is being exploited by certain people to secure objects they have long aimed at, but which the country was not likely to approve under normal conditions, and when in its normal state of mind.

In the name of patriotism the appeal is being made to the poor to contribute a still larger share of national taxation. Powerful organisations, under Government patronage, are being employed to inculcate among the working classes the necessity and virtue of thrift and abstinence, in order that their savings may be appropriated for the purpose of carrying on the war. The further taxation of the working classes is announced, and the taxation is expected not only to take the form of an addition to the present indirect taxes, but a direct tax on incomes and wages. To the present unfair and excessive proportion of taxation paid by the working classes a further addition is to be made, and the advance which has been secured towards a more democratic system of taxation in recent years is going to be lost.

FOR PEACE AND FOR WAR.

It is no excuse to say that we are at war and that principles which are sound in ordinary circumstances must be abandoned. On the contrary, the heavier the sum of national taxation and the more necessary and important it is that sound principles of finance should be observed. Through this war the working classes have sacrificed, for probably a generation at least, the hope of further social reforms. They will have to pay for the war in innumerable ways. Already it is evident that the burden of rent is going to fall upon them more heavily. To them will the hardships of the trade depression following the war come most severely. The temporary prosperity which many of the workers are now enjoying by the expenditure of our capital resources is apt to lull them into a feeling of indifference about such matters as increased taxation. But we must keep our heads now and consider every proposal brought forward by the Government from the point of view of its permanent and not merely temporary effect.

THE VIRTUE OF ABSTINENCE.

The well-to-do people will not always bear the impost of an income tax of from 2s. 6d. to 5s. in the £ without loud protestations. They may remain fairly quiet so long as they fear that there is a danger of the enemy coming and taking the whole of their incomes. But even now the movement to put as much as possible of the coming taxation on the working classes is very active and very influential. If the democracy were as alive as the "classes" they would see in the present national circumstances a great opportunity for advancing the demand for the reduction, by drastic taxation, of the useless and harmful expenditure of the rich. Instead of that, working-class leaders are lending themselves to the propaganda for the reduction of the standard of life of the wage-earners by advising them to abandon their comforts. The appeals for the simple life do not yet appear to have

made much impression upon the rich. The motor car manufacturers are so full of orders that delivery cannot be guaranteed for months.

"Taxation," said the present Prime Minister on one occasion, "is a potent weapon of reform." It is one of the two blades of the instrument by which the working classes may cut their economic chains. The claim on which the Labour and Socialist scheme of taxation is based is this: that in a civilised community no person is entitled to possess more than enough for his reasonable needs and comfort, so long as others have not enough. In such a time of national need as the present this principle requires to be kept in mind and acted upon. The fund for national taxation is the surplus possessed by individuals beyond the sum needed to meet their simple wants. It is wrong to put a penny of additional taxation upon the poor woman's tea so long as there is a person who is left with an income which enables him to drink expensive champagne.

FOUR CANONS OF TAXATION.

The use of taxation as a means of redressing social inequalities has always been in the mind of the intelligent Labour man and Socialist. The confessions we hear now about the importance of economy and retrenchment of expenditure are proofs of the soundness of our old contention and policy. Now is the time to push our ideas more vigorously than ever, and not to let others use the opportunity to impose the opposite method of taxation. It might be well to repeat the four canons of Socialist taxation which I formulated some years ago:—

1. Both local and national taxation should aim, primarily, at securing for the communal benefit all "unearned" or "social" increment of wealth.
2. Taxation should aim deliberately at preventing the retention of large incomes and great fortunes in private hands, recognising that the few cannot be rich without making the many poor.
3. Taxation should be in proportion to ability to pay and to protection and benefit conferred by the State.
4. No taxation should be imposed which encroaches upon the individual's means to satisfy his physical needs.

HOW THE RICH GAIN BY WAR.

The increase in the rate of interest due to the war has raised the incomes of the money lords far beyond the increased income tax they are called upon to pay. Let us take two illustrations of this. Before the war a person had a sum of £10,000 invested in Consols bought at 72. On this an income of £347 a year was received. The income tax deducted on this amount at 1s. 3d. in the £ was £21 14s. A person can now invest £10,000 in the War Loan on which an income of £450 will be received. The income tax on this at 2s. 6d. in the £ will be £56 5s. The owner of £10,000 can, therefore, after paying an increase of 100 per cent. in income tax get a net income of £68 9s. more than was possible in Government security before the war. If the income tax were raised to 5s. in the £ such a person would still be a gainer by the war. Further, all over the country mortgages are being called in, with the alternative of paying a higher rate of interest. An increase of 1 per cent. in mortgage interest will, after paying the income tax of 2s. 6d. in the £, leave the money lord 12s. 6d. better off for every £100 he has invested.

These illustration are of all-round application. Those who have money to lend are not contributing at all to the cost of the war. They are gaining by it. Here, then, is an opening for applying the first of our canons of taxation. Instead of the taxation so far levied on incomes tending to secure for communal purposes a larger part of the unearned increment of wealth the very opposite is the result. There is a wide-spread demand for the taxation of war profits. War profits are not confined to the profits of business. The increase in the rate of interest is a war profit, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer will be lacking in consistency if he does not take back in taxation the increase in the rate of interest due to the war.

TO ENFORCE ECONOMY.

The war is bringing about a new distribution of wealth. No doubt many people have suffered considerable losses in the capital value of their wealth and in the amount of their incomes. But others are making money beyond all their former dreams. While some people have been compelled to economise, others have suddenly come forth dazzling us by their new-gotten gains. This is being spent in ways which are socially harmful. They are employing men and women in occupations which do not help the national economy at all. This is disastrous. Taxation is the best way to enforce national economy and to turn the current of personal expenditure into right channels. The employment of people as servants of the rich in any capacity prevents the wages of labour from rising. Only in so far as we lessen the number of parasites and increase the number of those employed in producing the things the working classes consume can we raise the wages of labour materially.

Our third canon of taxation is the most uncontrovertible of all, and yet none is more flagrantly violated. The rich are not bearing any part of the burden of the war as a class, but are passing it on to the working class, although it is for their economic interests that this war is being waged. Nevertheless, it is still seriously proposed that the working class shall be taxed still more, in addition to the enormous sums they pay by indirect taxation.

OUR ONLY COURSE.

The present taxation on the masses is in reality a tax upon their standard of living. In the words of Mr. Gladstone, it is "in no small degree a deduction from a scanty store which is necessary to secure them a sufficiency not of the comforts of life, but even of the prime necessities of clothing, shelter, and fuel."

The only course open to Socialists and Labour men in the matter of taxation is to insist upon the observance of the principles I have laid down. The special circumstances of the present time strengthen our demand. The prosperity of some part of the working classes is only temporary. Any taxation which is imposed now will be permanent. There will be a permanent addition of £100,000,000 a year to our national expenditure. The rich, on the contrary, were never so well able to bear more taxation. The price of money will remain high after the war. Their incomes, therefore, are likely to remain high. Not only on grounds of expediency, but on the grounds of strict justice, we should continue to press for the abolition of a considerable part of the taxation which is now paid by the working classes, and to insist upon all additional taxation being raised by further additions to the income tax and by additions to the death duties.

PART IV.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

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STRUCTURE OF THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

We British are notoriously empirical and the co-operative movement is entirely British. It has the good and the bad points of an organised body growing without a previous plan or method. There is in its organisation an absence of uniformity which makes it rather difficult for an outsider to understand. The common type, which is the average consumers' co-operative society on the Rochdale model, is in itself not a problem. It stands for a local group of purchasers, which may be 100 or 30,000, organised upon purely democratic lines for mutual supply, a common education, and a common social advancement. These societies are nationally organised in federations for the first object: mutual supply. The two main federations, which include no private shareholders, are respectively the **English** and the **Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Societies**.* But there are other types of societies. There are associations for production formed partly of self-employed workers, partly of private shareholders, and partly of consumers' societies. The number of worker-members will vary; sometimes their share is almost nominal. These societies are federated in the **Co-operative Productive Federation**. Again, there are lesser federations, like the **Co-operative Newspaper Society**, which include both consumers' and productive societies. The **Co-operative Insurance Society** used to be of this kind, but it is now the joint property of the English and Scottish Wholesales. The **Co-operative Union** is a federation over Great Britain and Ireland of societies of every type conforming with the provisions of the Industrial and Provident Societies Act. The functions of the Union are propaganda, legal assistance, and co-operative education and defence. It is the Union which holds the annual congress of the co-operative movement in

* For convenience the word "Limited" is omitted, but these societies, like all others doing business of any kind, including the Co-operative Union itself, and now the Agricultural Organisation Society, are registered corporations with limited liability

Great Britain and Ireland. A curiosity of the Union is that its Central Board, the governing authority, meets only once or twice a year (regularly just before the annual congress), the administration during the year being deputed to the United Board, so-called because it represents all the boards of the territorial sections of the Union. Apart from the Union, yet within the co-operative movement, are the **Women's Co-operative Guilds**. These are national self-governing organisations—English, Scottish, and Irish—of women attached to the consumers' societies. The **National Men's Guild** is more closely connected with the Co-operative Union, as are the **Students' Fellowship** and the **Co-operative College Circle**.

The 1,390 consumers' and the 108 productive societies form a great majority of the members of the Co-operative Union, and are usually classed as the industrial societies in contradistinction to the agricultural co-operative movement. The latter is made up of societies of farmers, smallholders, and others, who are consumers as to their fertilisers, feeding stuffs, implements, and other agricultural necessities, and are also domestic consumers, but who are mainly producers, marketing through their associations. Agricultural Co-operative Poultry Societies, Credit Banks, Dairy Societies, also add to this agricultural movement. The national **Agricultural Organisation Societies**, English, Scottish, and Irish, are advisory and propagandist bodies for this movement. In addition, Ireland has an **Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society** for the supply of all agricultural requirements. Ireland possessing too few working-class consumers' societies on the Rochdale model to constitute a national C.W.S., the Irish Agricultural Wholesale seeks to fulfil the functions of a C.W.S. in Ireland.

This brief account of the main lines of organisation within the wide and rather vague co-operative movement may help the reader to follow

THE PROGRESS OF THE MOVEMENT IN 1914-15.

During the year 1913-14 Dublin became, for co-operators, an historic name. The dramatic Dublin strike, and the no less dramatic swiftness with which the Co-operative Wholesale Society delivered in the Irish capital the food supplies ordered in Manchester by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress to save the strike from collapse, had impressed the co-operative and the trade unionist mind. Arrangements were in progress at the time for the 46th annual Co-operative Congress, and it happened that it was due to assemble in Dublin and for the first time on Irish soil. This congress met at Whitsuntide, 1914. The honour of entertaining the assembly, which a few years earlier would have been out of place in Ireland, had been competed for by Belfast and Dublin. This fact emphasised the great growth in Ireland, since the opening of the century, of the co-operative movement from its two main sides—that of the industrial consumer, with Belfast for its chief Irish centre, and that of the agricultural producer and peasant farmer, the Irish headquarters of which are in Dublin.

"FUSION OF FORCES."

In Ireland these two wings of the movement both derive strength from the traditional neutrality of co-operation in regard to politics and religion. Attention was directed to this by the congress meeting

in Dublin and by the coincidence that two questions at issue in the movement could be said to raise political and religious feelings. One was the question of the "fusion of forces." Originating with an expression of opinion by Mr. W. Maxwell, the then Chairman of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society in 1912, this question had resolved itself into a proposal for a joint Co-operative and Labour Board, constituted from the Co-operative Union, the Wholesale Societies, the Trades Union Congress, and the national Labour Party. The board was to further the investment of Trade Union capital in co-operative enterprise, to secure co-operative assistance in industrial disputes, and promote common propaganda and educational work. The formal associating of Co-operation with the Labour Party, however, had been condemned at the previous congress of 1913, as impairing the political neutrality of co-operation. At Dublin all debate was prevented by a motion for adjournment, a motion which also included an instruction to maintain neutrality during the period of suspense. After the Dublin congress the issue was remitted to the societies, and, although only a minority of the constituents of the co-operative movement actually voted for or against the proposals, a resolution disapproving of any joint action with any organisation outside the co-operative movement was carried by 1,799 votes to 1,227. The following is the summary of the voting on the three resolutions submitted: Resolution 1 being in favour of the joint Co-operative and Labour Board, resolution 2 approving such a board minus the Labour Party, and resolution 3 negating the entire question:—

SUMMARY OF VOTING.

	Resolution 1.		Resolution 2.		Resolution 3.	
	For.	Against.	For.	Against.	For.	Against.
At conferences	464	905 ..	477	748 ..	740	668
By committees of societies	38	.. ..	41	.. ..	178	..
By members of societies	613	859 ..	601	624 ..	881	559
Totals	<u>1,115</u>	<u>1,764</u>	<u>1,119</u>	<u>1,372</u>	<u>1,799</u>	<u>1,227</u>

At the congress of 1915, held at Leicester, the negative vote was confirmed on a show of cards by a large majority.

"INDEPENDENCE OF THE GUILD."

The issue considered to involve religious belief arose from the inclusion in their programme of divorce law reform by the English Women's Co-operative Guild.

In 1910 the annual congress of the Guild passed a resolution in favour of an equal divorce law for men and women and the cheapening of divorce law proceedings. Members and officials of the Guild afterwards gave evidence before the Royal Commission on Divorce Law Reform, and in 1913 the Guild congress approved the proposals of the Majority Report. Objection, however, was taken to the action of the Guild by the Salford Catholic Federation. It was stated that Catholic co-operators were opposed to co-operative funds being used for, and the co-operative name being associated with, the effort to create greater facilities for divorce. The whole issue being fully considered, eventually the Central Board asked the Guild to cease its

efforts for divorce law reform and to take up no work not approved by the congress executive. A customary grant, amounting in 1914 to £400, was made conditional upon compliance. The Guild reply was to read this action as destructive to the self-government of the Guild, and at its own congress, held at Birmingham on the 16th and 17th of June, 1914, passed practically unanimously a resolution in favour of the Guild policy being controlled exclusively by its own members. In September, 1914, the Central Board renewed its offer of the grant on conditions, but the Guild again declined to accept any terms limiting the Guild's control of its own policy. The co-operative congress at Leicester (24th to 26th May, 1915) was, therefore, asked to confirm the action of its executive and to uphold a right to withhold grants from any organisation pursuing a policy detrimental, in the opinion of the board, to the co-operative movement. This the Congress did by 1,493 votes to 627. The Guild congress for 1915 was held at Liverpool on the 15th and 16th of June, and here the Guild women presented a still undivided front. They decided to maintain their attitude, and to make up the lost grant from amidst their own ranks.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES AND THE FOOD PANIC.

These two important issues lay curiously outside the influence of the war, yet the European crisis naturally has overshadowed the co-operative movement during 1914-15. The question at the very beginning was, how would co-operation stand a strain unexampled in its history? If its benefits were elusive and its methods unsound, as its enemies constantly asserted, now had come the hour of failure. An hour came, but amidst a general panic the co-operative system of trade proved its remarkable strength. While the private pursuit of gain looked its ugliest, the voluntary collectivism of co-operation showed at its truest and best. Not by any special virtue, but as a natural result of a commercial system founded upon a principle of equal responsibility toward all, the co-operative movement kept prices down and put a limit upon individual supplies. Some details may be found in the Co-operative Newspaper Society's pamphlet, "Co-operators and the War." Other particulars are hidden away in the files of the "Wheatsheaf" local papers, from which they have not been collected.

EFFECTS OF THE WAR.

The Wholesale federations took the same course as their constituents. The flour mills, especially, in contrast with the private millers, maintained their contracts, and continued to sell decidedly below the enhanced market prices. The less immediately necessary departments of co-operative societies are always the first to suffer and the last to recover in periods of bad trade, and there were many fears for the future of drapery and furnishing businesses. This fear was relieved in the case of the Wholesale Societies by the receipt of Government contracts. The equipment of the Wholesales for providing articles of wear and use both in quantity and variety came as a surprise to War Office officials. They placed large orders, the exact amounts of which, however, like those of orders upon private contractors, have not been made public. In the December "Wheatsheaf" it was stated

that these orders had been executed to the entire satisfaction of the authorities, and that further orders had followed.

As the situation developed the retail societies soon found that their trade, so far from declining, went up in all departments. Their action in regard to prices appealed to the public and brought many new members, while the free spending of Government money upon munitions and manufactures of war reacted in favour of their businesses as a whole. Big orders also were placed with the bakeries or various societies for bread for the troops in training, and even in the seaside towns societies profited by their members undertaking the billeting of soldiers. Although no really comprehensive official record exists of co-operative action under stress of war, certain inquiries were made by the Co-operative Union, and the following summary of the results, giving the figures available up to an indefinite date, which may be taken as December 31st, was presented in May last to the Leicester congress:—

9,407 employees of societies have joined the forces.

273 societies are paying part wages during their absence.

44 societies are paying full wages, less Government allowance.

2,248 horses have been commandeered.

291 vehicles (horse and motor) have been commandeered.

£91,626 has been granted to the various funds up to 31st December, 1914.

£6,758 is the estimated value of grants of food and clothing.

“In many instances societies have been called upon to undertake work for the Government, either in supplying bread, milk, or foodstuffs for troops, or in the manufacture of clothing, which may be estimated at £219,822 (exclusive of the Co-operative Wholesale Societies). In other cases societies have granted the use of their halls (for various military or relief purposes) free or at a very nominal charge.”

Co-operative dividends being paid upon purchases, it follows that increased prices, with a proportionately less, and in many cases an absolutely less, margin mean a lower dividend per £ of sales, and in general dividends have fallen. On the other hand, the fall has been checked by an increase of trade beyond the proportion of increase in standing charges. Hence, on the whole, the effects of the war upon dividends (and it should be remembered that very frequently her credit in “divi.” is the working housewife’s savings bank) has been less untoward than was feared.

In common, however, with all other workers, co-operators have been profoundly moved by the commercial exploitation of the economic crisis. It has not only touched their pockets, not only “hit them in the stomach,” but it has stirred the indignation of men and women whose own system of trade, like their conception of right living, is different. Hence has arisen a desire to hasten the extension of co-operation still further back to the sources of supply.

RAW MATERIALS AND THE SHILLITO LEAGUE.

This desire was voiced in the “Co-operative News” by “John Smith of Oldham.” The co-operative ownership of wheatfields, coal mines, tea plantations, and other sources of supply was advocated and a “Shillito League” formed, the name being a memorial to the late

Chairman of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, Mr. John Shillito, who died in February, 1915, and who had himself advocated the ownership of raw materials. This agitation is still active, and it is too early to speak of results. The Co-operative Wholesale Society, which, with the Scottish Wholesale, is looked to as the necessary agent, is understood to be contemplating extensive plans. The issue, at any rate, will be watched with deep interest by all friends of democratic progress. After the Franco-German War, when inflated markets and high prices produced a rather similar movement, the ultimate result was disastrous. But this is not likely to deter the present generation. The feeling is too strong and the steps contemplated are too logically a part of the co-operative system. It is true that since the 4½ per cent. War Loan co-operators have been a little concerned for their usually superabundant capital. Uncertainty on this score may postpone or prevent action. Otherwise it seems likely that, whether to succeed or fail, new efforts will be made; and those efforts either will triumphantly demonstrate the all-round power and progress of the British co-operative movement by their success, or will humiliate it by such failure as has not been known for many years and cause it to reconsider matters closer at hand.

GENERAL CO-OPERATIVE SURVEY.

In 1906 the late Mr. J. C. Gray, as Chairman of the Birmingham congress, proposed to recast the entire organisation of the co-operative movement and change it from an array of independent local societies united only by their various federations to a single, closely-knit, national body. Another old member in January of this year offered to a sectional conference of the Co-operative Union other proposals for improving co-operative action in its elements and at its base. These "Ideas of Progress" now form a Union pamphlet. A need for a re-examination of the movement, to the end of its efficiently coping with the tasks in front of it, has been emphasised, too, by Mr. L. S. Woolf and Mr. Rupert Tetlow in the "Co-operative News." This need may be said to have been already officially recognised when at the Dublin congress a general co-operative survey was decided upon. A committee for this purpose is now in being. But it has been weakened by the English Wholesale Society declining to participate and by the withdrawal of the Scottish Wholesale Society. Events of the next few years may either prove such a survey unnecessary or stimulate surveying in real earnest.

EDUCATIONAL WORK.

Upon the side of the Central Education Committee of the Co-operative Union a steady effort toward co-operative efficiency has been maintained. The many classes conducted under the auspices of the Committee have resulted in a Students' Fellowship, with an annual meeting at Easter, and two summer schools, one with a session of a fortnight in Scotland and another with a session of a month in England. The ultimate aim is a co-operative college for the higher aims of study and for research. A considerable step toward this goal has been marked by the appointment of Mr. Fred Hall, M.A., B.Com.,

late Professor of Commerce at the Technical Institute of Belfast, as Adviser of Studies under the Education Committee of the Co-operative Union.

BUSINESS SUCCESS.

Turning from the movement as a whole to its component institutions, we note a remarkable progress on the part of the Co-operative Wholesale Societies. The English Wholesale has extended its flour milling by absorbing the inland flour mills at Sowerby Bridge, Halifax, and elsewhere previously owned by local federations. It has opened up direct relations with West Africa, establishing its depot at Freetown, in Sierra Leone, and having a palm oil factory and an area of operations "up country" conceded by the Sierra Leone Government. In conjunction with the Scottish Wholesale Society, too, it has established itself for cocoa buying at Accra on the Gold Coast. A margarine factory is in course of erection, and steps are being taken in the direction of a large C.W.S. organisation of the milk trade. To aid its work in supplying agricultural requirements and absorbing agricultural supplies, the society has created an Agricultural Department. A new jam factory at Reading will soon be in operation, and many purchases of urban land have been made for extensions and additions to existing warehouses and works. The Bank maintained by the English society during 1914 increased its business with co-operative societies and trade unions by 9½ per cent., the deposits and withdrawals reaching £186,458,817. The investment for the movement in the War Loan of July last reached £1,500,000. The Co-operative Insurance Society held by the two Wholesales and operating for the movement has also had a successful year. Its unique scheme of collective life assurance during the year 1914 paid 15,000 claims, amounting to £97,000, and covered nearly a million people (912,391), with an expense of only 3 per cent. upon premiums of £107,109. It is interesting to notice that a Special Committee of Inquiry upon the duties of C.W.S. directors recommended the abolition of a productive committee within the society, as separate from distributive committees. By the acceptance of this recommendation the factories are being classed with the warehouses as instruments of an identical economic process.

During the second half of 1914, although a check was consistently maintained upon rising prices, the C.W.S. profits were such that the Committee recommended a dividend on societies' purchases increased from 4d. to 6d. At this the Women's Guild expressed its great regret, urging that surplus profits should be used to reduce the prices of the necessities of life or to raise wages. It was said, in reply, that it had been difficult to keep prices down in the face of rising markets, and that the society voluntarily gave to all its employees a bonus of 3s. in the £ on wages under £2 weekly and of 2s. under £4 weekly, with the result that the protest found very little support among the membership. Whether it was wise to pay out the full 6d. instead of husbanding 1d. in the £ against future effects of a falling market is another question. However, the extra C.W.S. dividend came as a welcome relief to many societies pressed by the general rise in prices, helping them to maintain their own dividends on the purchases of three million co-operators. Besides paying this bonus on wages, the C.W.S. is also paying full wages, less Government allowances, to all

employees now with the colours, the payment under this head amounting to £1,300 weekly at the end of March, 1915.

The Scottish Wholesale Society has enjoyed a greatly increased prosperity, especially in its productive departments. The dividend of the society for the last few years has been 8d. in the £. A sum of over £18,000 annually has been paid in "bonus to labour." This payment has now been abolished. In its place and also in place of a special war bonus a permanent weekly addition to all wages under £3 weekly has been voted by the delegate meetings.

Throughout their branches both the English and the Scottish Co-operative Women's Guilds have been active during the year. The English Guild here held two-day Guild schools; it has conducted a dressmaking inquiry, maintained its convalescent fund, and worked for the national care of maternity. With less ambitious national programmes the Scottish and the Irish Guilds have been no less busy in their branches.

THE CO-OPERATIVE EMPLOYEES.

The relations of the industrial movement, with its 148,000 employees, were such that during the year 1914 the Joint Committee of Trade Unionists and Co-operators for the settlement of disputes was not once called together. It is true that the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees, representing some 50,000 members, has now refused the arbitration of this Committee in all cases, contending that on the Trade Union side, the members being drawn from the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, it is not sufficiently representative of the actual workers concerned. The Union objects that the representatives are not co-operative employees and may be co-operative members; and there is also an objection, not readily apparent, that the reference by either side to the Joint Committee, before taking action, involves the employees in compulsory arbitration. Thus there was during July, 1915, a short strike of employees, mainly assistants, of the Todmorden Co-operative Society, concerning which the Joint Committee was not approached. The strike had reference to a war bonus and work under war conditions, and was settled by a compromise favourable to the employees. Before the war the A.U.C.E. had prepared a national programme which threatened difficulties for a movement of independent local societies, varying from district to district. As a result of the programme and of the A.U.C.E. withdrawal from the Joint Committee, new machinery of conciliation is being constructed, consisting of district boards and a national board, directly representative of co-operative societies and the A.U.C.E. Other unions are allowed representation provided the membership concerned is equal to at least 25 per cent. of the employees affected. The proviso leaves room for dispute in its interpretation. There is much friction between the A.U.C.E. and other unions claiming co-operative employees. These unions deny the special claims of the A.U.C.E., while the latter invokes industrial unionism as justifying the organisation of all co-operative employees, whatever their craft, in one union. In co-operation, with all its industrial ideals on one hand, and its actual struggle with modern capitalism upon the other, the issues are pregnant for good or ill.

CO-OPERATIVE STATISTICS.

The co-operative movement consists, in fact, of two distinct movements, the industrial and agricultural, each with its own organisation. Both are growing with fair rapidity, but it is the industrial which looms largest in the view of the bulk of the population. It has the greatest number of adherents and the largest trade and capital, and it touches the lives of a larger number of people.

INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION.

The industrial co-operative movement consists of two main divisions, associations of producers and associations of consumers. The consumers' organisations consist of (a) retail distributive societies, (b) national federations of retail distributive societies, e.g., the Co-operative Wholesale Society and the Scottish Wholesale Society, and (c) smaller local federations carrying on such industries as laundering and baking. Owing to the existence of these classes the aggregate membership of the societies includes persons who are counted more than once.

RETAIL DISTRIBUTIVE CO-OPERATION.

The most important section of the industrial co-operative movement, measured by number of members, sales, and employment provided, is the retail distributive movement. The number of societies tends to decrease owing to absorptions and amalgamations, but the total membership constantly increases, and from preliminary figures for the current year it seems that the increase during the year is likely to beat all previous records. Four societies have a membership between 40,000 and 50,000, and the average number of members per society is about 2,000, but more than half the societies have a membership of under 1,000, and more than one-third have fewer than 500 members.

The total retail sales of the movement reach nearly £90,000,000, as against £15,000,000 in 1891, £31,000,000 in 1891, and £53,000,000 in 1901, but the average sales per member have remained practically stationary since 1881, and to-day are about £28 10s. Various causes may be adduced to account for this apparent stationariness. The sales per member are highest in Scotland (£39), and lowest in the south-western section of England (£18 10s.). If allowance is made for the increase of prices during recent years there appears to be a diminution in the volume of purchases per member. The amount of capital increases both in total and per member, as also do the reserve and insurance funds. Retail distributive societies employ in their own businesses about one-half of the capital deposited with them by their members. Of the remaining half about £8,000,000 is invested in house property, about £9,000,000 in the C.W.S., S.C.W.S., and other co-operative undertakings, and between four and five millions in bank balances and non-co-operative undertakings, of which railways claim a fair share.

The total number of employees has just about doubled in the last 15 years. The percentage of the total classed as producers has diminished slightly, and is rather less than a quarter of the whole. The wages per head are tending to increase, the increase being greatest among the employees engaged in production.

The following tables give the salient information concerning the industrial and retail distributive societies for the year 1914

INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES, 1914.

	No. of societies.	No. of members.	Share and loan capital.	Reserve fund.	Sales during the year.	Profits.	Educational grants.	No. of employees.	Salaries and wages.	Bonus on wages.
Distributive societies..	1,390	3,054,297	£ 46,317,939	£ 2,912,853	£ 87,964,229	£ 1,556,160	£ 110,130	103,074	£ 6,329,967	£ 49,758
Productive societies ..	108	36,880	1,442,349	228,715	3,800,627	47,044	2,451	10,725	613,555	26,044
English Wholesale Society (productive and distributive)....	1	1,193	6,196,150	1,883,921	34,910,813	944,936	24	23,190	1,539,354	Nil.
Scottish Wholesale Society (productive and distributive)....	1	266	4,130,170	789,873	9,425,383	426,494	Nil.	8,877	530,378	18,783

RETAIL DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES, 1905-1914.

Year.	No. of societies.	Number of members.	Share and loan capital.	Reserve and insurance funds.	Trade.	Net profit.*	Number of employees.	Wages.	Bonus.
1905	1,457	2,153,185	£ 30,247,194	£ 1,488,584	£ 61,086,991	£ 9,559,238	72,712	£ Not available	£ 45,073
1906	1,448	2,222,417	31,658,114	1,694,436	63,353,772	9,972,250	76,190	4,173,198	45,809
1907	1,443	2,323,378	33,384,293	1,903,543	68,147,529	10,899,332	79,990	4,438,716	47,960
1908	1,428	2,404,595	34,995,373	1,970,830	69,783,278	10,773,005	82,194	4,652,494	45,785
1909	1,430	2,469,039	35,584,094	2,075,824	70,315,078	10,847,945	84,305	4,814,154	42,340
1910	1,428	2,542,532	36,466,311	2,166,254	71,861,383	10,938,331	86,774	4,977,764	42,889
1911	1,407	2,640,091	38,188,921	2,362,870	74,802,469	11,693,920	90,347	5,223,234	43,201
1912	1,399	2,750,633	39,813,067	2,429,985	78,856,098	11,957,422	94,808	5,510,420	42,530
1913	1,387	2,878,648	42,601,765	2,661,781	83,590,374	12,851,303	103,452	5,903,943	43,990
1914	1,390	3,054,297	46,317,939	2,912,853	87,964,229	13,501,825	103,074	6,329,967	49,758

* Before deducting share interest.

FEDERATIONS OF DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES.

The principal federated societies are the Co-operative Wholesale Society and the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society. The United Co-operative Baking Society is also a large federation, with principal headquarters in Glasgow, but with an important branch in Belfast. The selected statistics of these societies are given below:—

CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY (ENGLISH).

Year.	No. of members.	Share and loan capital.	Reserve.	Sales.	Profits.	Workers.	Wages.	Bonus.
		£	£	£	£		£	£
1910	1,160	4,815,465	1,241,104	26,567,833	547,760	17,876	1,158,618	Nil
1911	1,158	5,413,728	1,357,535	27,892,990	669,798	18,731	1,203,431	Nil
1912	1,162	5,769,427	1,505,761	29,732,154	706,734	19,801	1,298,611	Nil
1913	1,168	6,220,763	1,564,814	31,371,976	734,583	20,994	1,383,254	Nil
1914	1,193	6,196,150	1,883,921	34,910,813	944,936	23,190	1,539,354	Nil

SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

Year.	No. of members.	Share and loan capital.	Reserve.	Sales.	Profits.	Workers.	Wages.	Bonus.
		£	£	£	£		£	£
1910	274	2,836,573	615,829	7,738,158	294,823	7,608	350,947	14,366
1911	270	3,161,499	674,169	7,851,079	330,720	7,921	357,191	15,433
1912	270	3,321,501	714,323	8,391,258	323,514	8,164	375,063	15,340
1913	268	3,696,415	772,015	8,964,033	363,630	8,685	405,815	16,583
1914	266	4,130,170	789,873	9,425,383	426,494	8,877	530,378	18,783

UNITED CO-OPERATIVE BAKING SOCIETY.

Year.	No. of members.	Share and loan capital.	Reserve.	Sales.	Profits.	Workers.	Wages.	Bonus.
		£	£	£	£		£	£
1910	179	381,152	61,230	568,782	57,073	1,255	85,020	6,678
1911	187	398,845	67,748	569,574	60,428	1,260	87,522	7,226
1912	192	416,776	71,975	635,787	62,379	1,292	92,260	6,864
1913	201	429,520	79,583	692,662	74,923	1,420	102,363	8,675
1914	207	477,183	86,276	714,746	79,923	1,635	109,303	9,030

PRODUCERS' ORGANISATIONS.

In practically all the societies recognised as productive societies a part of the capital is held by associations of consumers or persons who are not working members. The distinctive feature of these societies is the participation of the worker in the shareholding, management, and profits of the society in which they are employed. Many of the societies also share profits with customers. The Co-operative

Productive Federation is an association of most of these societies, and, following its membership and the classification adopted by the Co-operative Union and Government Reports, the statistics showing operations during recent years are given below.

Of the membership of the associations of workers in 1913 approximately 21.7 per cent. were employees, 60.6 per cent. were other individuals, and 17.7 per cent. were societies. Of the employees 62 per cent. were members and 38 per cent. non-members. The membership of management committees included 40 per cent. employees, 43 per cent. other individual members, and 17 per cent. representatives of societies. The capital investments were held to the extent of 14 per cent. by employees, 36 per cent. by other individual members, 41 per cent. by societies, and 9 per cent. by non-members.

PRODUCERS' CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATIONS.

Membership, Capital, etc.

Year.	Number of societies.	Membership.		Share and loan capital.	Reserve and insurance funds.	Sales.	Profits (before deduction of share interest).	Employees.	Wages.
		Individuals.	Societies.						
				£	£	£	£		£
1904	125	18,704	3,494	620,003	72,578	1,109,318	32,490	7,361	356,177
1905	117	17,987	3,633	630,240	75,894	1,105,166	35,863	6,966	342,419
1906	120	17,871	3,766	648,385	73,757	1,203,659	47,442	7,271	362,506
1907	114	17,603	3,889	664,432	75,328	1,319,117	58,374	7,341	368,586
1908	105	17,394	3,838	654,869	74,207	1,265,796	61,231	7,179	373,983
1909	101	17,233	3,978	669,655	79,709	1,246,879	55,751	7,005	348,647
1910	95	17,567	4,073	676,313	86,051	1,382,125	67,624	7,049	360,298
1911	99	17,602	3,645	685,771	86,965	1,440,357	73,319	7,511	380,663
1912	94	17,576	3,708	711,030	94,538	1,580,309	94,382	7,921	410,444
1913	93	18,381	3,902	749,674	109,855	1,732,337	101,280	8,205	442,361

Distribution of Profit.

Year	No. of societies dividing profits.	Amount of profit allotted to			Total profit allotted to members, customers, and employees.	Percentage of preceding total allotted to employees.
		Members (on capital).	Customers (on purchases).	Employees (on wages).		
		£	£	£	£	
1904	65	15,329	10,108	6,514	31,951	20.4
1905	62	16,026	11,446	6,518	33,630	18.3
1906	60	16,958	13,397	8,054	38,409	21.0
1907	67	18,446	16,269	10,183	44,898	22.7
1908	68	19,988	17,163	10,958	48,109	22.8
1909	64	18,621	17,918	11,058	47,597	23.2
1910	63	19,605	18,822	11,471	49,898	23.0
1911	64	20,540	21,751	13,125	55,416	23.7
1912	69	22,952	25,597	15,147	63,696	23.8
1913	68	23,271	30,265	16,431	69,967	23.5

THE AMALGAMATED UNION OF CO-OPERATIVE EMPLOYEES.

Of the 140,000 employees in the co-operative movement approximately one-third are members of the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees. The membership of this union does not indicate the total number of Trade Unionists employed in the movement, as a large number are members of other Trade Unions.

The union is strongest in Lancashire and Yorkshire. The total membership at 31st December, 1914, was 45,044, as against 40,942 at the end of 1913, and the number of branches 763, as against 771. The contributions were £33,773, as against £45,518 for the 18 months ending December 31st, 1913. The funds (branch and central) of the union at 31st December, 1914, were £69,626, as against £61,903 at the end of 1913. The principal disbursements for 1914 were as follow: Sick payments, £13,851; out-of-work payments, £3,410; disablement payment, £1,292; dispute of victimisation, £1,321; and funeral payments, £1,170.

There were 80 persons on the employment register at the end of 1914, as against 197 at the end of 1913.

The insurance section is approximately 26,000. The annual statistics of membership, etc., are given below:—

AMALGAMATED UNION OF CO-OPERATIVE EMPLOYEES.

Membership, Income, and Funds, 1896-1914.

Year ending June 30th.	Total income.	Expenditure.			Added to reserve funds.	Central funds at the end of year.	Member- ship at the end of year.
		Branch manage- ment.	Central manage- ment.	Benefit payments.			
	£	£	£	£	£	£	
1896	559	..	182	135	242	340	2,179
1897	1,152	158	187	270	537	877	3,168
1898	2,114	294	292	614	914	1,791	4,320
1899	3,098	428	373	1,071	1,226	3,017	5,430
1900	3,899	524	733	1,429	1,213	4,230	6,276
1901	4,659	631	768	1,578	1,682	5,912	7,338
1902	5,732	743	842	2,048	2,099	8,011	8,294
1903	7,129	847	985	2,525	2,772	10,783	9,404
1904	8,493	1,121	1,159	3,362	2,851	13,634	10,535
1905	10,023	1,495	1,203	4,343	2,982	16,616	11,819
1906	12,143	1,748	1,571	5,314	3,510	20,126	13,203
1907	14,445	2,059	2,119	6,495	3,772	23,898	17,393
1908	18,451	2,728	3,226	7,982	4,515	28,413	23,122
1909	25,049	3,696	3,750	12,166	5,437	33,850	27,032
1910	27,552	4,019	4,527	13,384	5,622	39,472	29,518
1911	29,946	4,369	5,101	13,979	6,679	46,151	30,620
1912	32,225	4,620	5,798	17,459	4,348	50,499	32,741
1913*	55,780	7,552	11,188	27,824	9,215	59,714	40,942
1914†	44,223	5,608	8,954	22,098	7,563	67,277‡	45,044

* Eighteen months ended December 31st, 1913.

† Year ending December 31st.

‡ In addition to this amount funds totalling £2,549 were in the hands of branches for local purposes.

CO-OPERATIVE GUILDS.

There exist three Women's Co-operative Guilds, one for England (including Wales), one for Scotland, and one for Ireland. The figures of membership at the date of the last annual meetings were :—

	No. of Branches.	No. of Members.	
English Guild	611	..	31,658 (a net reduction of 524 on the figures for 1913).
Scottish Guild	167	..	14,000 (approximately).
Irish Guild ..	12	..	500

THE NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE MEN'S GUILD.

This Guild operates over the whole of the United Kingdom, but the Guilds connected with some societies are not yet affiliated with the national organisation. At the end of 1914 there were 72 Guild branches affiliated with the national organisation, representing 2,120 members.

AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION.**ENGLAND AND WALES.**

At the Leicester congress Mr. Nugent Harris, the General Secretary of the Agricultural Organisation Society (England), despairingly asked the delegates when they intended to devote to agricultural co-operation a full day's discussion. He certainly had the right to put this question. Few townspeople realise how rapidly agricultural co-operation, from the side of the producer, has grown and is growing. In Ireland the movement includes a great number of peasant farmers. In England and Scotland the movement extends from very small holders to substantial farmers organised in powerful societies. The movement has also attracted to itself a number of men from the landed class, who, from motives like those of Hughes and Neale in the early days of industrial co-operation, are earnestly desirous of restoring and uplifting rural life. Since 1909 a Joint Committee from the Co-operative Union, the Agricultural Organisation Societies, and the C.W.S. has been in existence for promoting mutual trade between the industrial and the agricultural movements for their common economic benefit. The economic difference of interest, however, between producer and consumer hitherto has proved an obstacle to complete and permanent relations, and there is a danger of the movements drifting into antagonism.

Practically the whole of English agricultural co-operation is organised by and affiliated to the Agricultural Organisation Society (A.O.S.): President, R. A. Yerburch, M.P.; 36 governors, of whom twelve are appointed by the Board of Agriculture, including G. H. Roberts, M.P., and G. N. Barnes, M.P.; secretary, J. Nugent Harris. Offices, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster. There are six branches, in groups of counties, for local work.

The A.O.S. was constituted in 1901 out of two earlier organisations for the promotion of co-operation in agriculture. It is financed by subscriptions (£1,800), affiliation fees (£224), and a Government grant (Small Holdings Account £2,000, Development Fund £7,500, less unexpended balance refunded). It has recently formed a Farmers'

Central Trading Board for "wholesale" purposes. Organ : "Co-operation in Agriculture"; monthly, 1d.

Agricultural co-operation is, with few exceptions, the co-operation of independent producers for special purposes, either in obtaining commodities which producers require or in the disposal of their produce. It may be classified in England as follows :—

Purchase Societies.—Purpose : Co-operative purchase of agricultural requisites; but some societies also supply domestic requisites for their members. Number, 188. Except seven, all were founded in the present century. Membership, 21,330. Trade, £1,485,585.

Egg and poultry societies for wholesale supply of eggs. Thirty-four societies, 2,886 members, trade £64,760.

Dairy societies for wholesale milk supply and cheesemaking. Thirty-three societies, 3,348 members, trade £508,916.

Miscellaneous societies for auction sales, cattle improvement, fruit, bacon, etc. Thirty-two societies, 3,859 members, trade £78,678.

The foregoing are predominantly societies of farmers and large scale producers. The following consist chiefly of working-class producers :—

Small Holdings and Allotments Societies.—Purpose : the collective renting (not working) of land; 191 societies, with 14,117 members, hold 8,015 acres from local authorities and 5,345 from private owners. They did collective business amounting to £5,536. Societies of allotment holders, usually townsmen, do useful work. Whether societies of small holders for renting land have proved successful is disputed.

Credit Societies.—Fifty-three societies, 609 members; loans in 1913, £1,191. There is little scope at present for these societies, and only a few do any business.

Totals : Societies, 531; membership, 46,149; business, £2,144,666. Increase during year : Societies, 61; membership, 8,885; business, £321,184.

SCOTLAND.

The Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society was formed about 1905 as an offshoot of the English society, and has offices at 5, St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh. Secretary, J. Drysdale. At the end of 1914 there were 137 agricultural societies affiliated with the Scottish society. The reports of 76 societies available at the end of 1914 showed their total membership to be 6,653, the nominal share capital £24,638, and paid-up share capital £12,310. Their sale of poultry and eggs amounted to £34,043, of dairy produce to £84,925, of agricultural produce and requirements to £240,526, and a total trade turnover of £360,463. There are no credit societies. Co-operation flourishes in the Crofter counties and the islands. The S.A.O.S. does not publish classified statistics of its societies.

IRELAND.

But it is in Ireland, a country in which agricultural enterprises are for the most part on a small scale, that agricultural co-operation has

proved marvellously successful and shows promise of great development. Whereas the total membership of all sorts of agricultural co-operative societies does not reach 50,000, or only 1 in 800 of the population, in Ireland it exceeds 100,000, or as many as 1 in 45 of the population. It is estimated that one-eighth of all the farmers of Ireland are members of co-operative societies.

The movement was started by Sir Horace Plunkett in 1889 with the formation of a creamery. By 1894 33 societies were in existence, and the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society (I.A.O.S.) was founded to carry on the propaganda. By 1903 840 societies had been founded.

The I.A.O.S. has its offices at the Plunkett House, Dublin. Sir Horace Plunkett is President and Mr. R. A. Anderson, Secretary.

For a long time the co-operation of the Irish farmers took the form, almost exclusively, of a combination of milk producers to maintain a joint creamery, which made butter and placed it on the market to much greater advantage than the individual small dairy farmer could do. During the last few years, however, the Creamery Societies have been adding new branches of work, especially in buying implements, seeds, and fertilisers for their members, and in supplying the domestic needs of their households.

The Irish Agricultural Organisation Society at the end of 1913 had affiliated with it 985 societies, as against 947 in 1912. Three hundred and seventeen societies did not supply returns, and of the remaining 668 the membership was 104,702 at the end of 1913, as against 101,991 at the end of 1912. The total turnover for the year was £3,333,189, as against £3,205,819 in 1912, the average sales per member being £31 17s., as against £31. The nature of these societies is as follows:—

Description of society.	Total Jan. 1, 1912.	Formed in 1913.	Dissolved in 1913.	Total Dec. 31, 1913.
Creameries	329	12	—	341
Auxiliaries	87	2	—	89
Agricultural	175	20	2	193
Credit	234	3	2	235
Poultry keepers	18	—	—	18
Industries	19	—	1	18
Pig and cattle	49	3	—	52
Flax	9	1	—	10
Miscellaneous	25	2	—	27
Federations	2	—	—	2
Totals	947	43	5	985

The I.A.O.S. is well served by literary exponents of its ideas, particularly Mr. G. W. Russell ("A.E."). The Co-operative Reference Library (the Plunkett House) publishes monthly Bulletins (6d.) dealing with co-operative problems. Its organ is the "Irish Homestead," 34, Lower Abbey Street, Dublin; weekly, 1d.

THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURE.

This interesting organisation for disseminating accurate information about the harvests of the world is now supported by nearly all Governments. Expenditure, 1914, £36,000, to which the King of Italy contributes £12,000.

The publications are issued in several languages, including English.

A monthly "Bulletin" gives valuable reports, with statistics, of agricultural co-operation all over the world, and of any Governmental assistance to agriculture by legislation, administration, or otherwise; 18fcs. per annum.

There are also a monthly Bulletin of "Agricultural and Commercial Statistics" (6fcs. p.a.), and another of "Agricultural Intelligence and Plant Diseases" (18fcs. p.a.), also Year Books, etc.

The agency for the United Kingdom is the Board of Agriculture.

THE WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD.

The Women's Co-operative Guild is a self-governing organisation of 31,658 working women, with 611 branches. Every member must be a purchasing co-operator, and the majority are shareholders in co-operative societies taking an active part in their work.

It has always been one of the principal objects of the Guild to train and encourage women to share in all the work of co-operative societies, and the result has been that women now attend the quarterly meetings in large numbers, and are gradually being elected on to the boards and committees of the movement. At present there are 89 women on the management committees of 61 societies, and 413 women on the education committees of 155 societies.

The co-operative policy of the Guild is to advocate all reforms and developments which strengthen the principle of the control of industry by the people, and to use its power to transform industrial conditions.

The Guild, therefore, urges loyalty to the store and to co-operative productions; it stands for cash trading, moderate dividends, and all the methods of doing business which should enlarge the sphere of co-operative industry and keep co-operative policy progressive and sound. It has made proposals for the extension of co-operation in poor neighbourhoods, which have been partially adopted by many societies.

These include adaption of methods of trading to the needs of the poor, such as the abolition of entrance fees, provision of suitable goods, selling in small quantities, and special propaganda work.

On questions of employment, the Guild supports short hours, Trade Union wages, and the employment of Trade Unionists only. Its chief work in this direction has been to secure the recognition of a minimum scale for co-operative women employees by the movement. This scale was as follows :—

	Age 14.	Age 15.	Age 16.	Age 17.	Age 18.	Age 19.	Age 20.
Wages...	5s.	7s.	9s.	11s.	13s.	15s.	17s.

Co-operative societies are gradually adopting the scale which is in force in most of the larger societies where women are employed. In January, 1914, it was adopted by the Co-operative Wholesale Society for its 7,000 women employees after three years' agitation by the Guild.

The Guild has always realised that the co-operative movement cannot fulfil its objects unless it takes its part both in general Labour

questions and in national life, and has, therefore, warmly supported the proposals for closer co-operation with Trade Unions and the Labour Party, and at its annual congress June, 1915, re-affirmed their approval of the formation of a joint board to organise common action on questions affecting the welfare of the people.

Not only has the Guild supported national action by the co-operative movement, it has also developed national action of its own. The members are almost entirely married, non-wage-earning women, a class previously unorganised and voiceless. Through the Guild they have been able to express their needs and desires and to bring pressure to bear on Parliament and Government departments. The importance of giving married women the vote has been urged and adult suffrage supported. Valuable evidence was given before the Royal Commission on Divorce Law Reform, the only evidence given directly from working women. Taxation of necessities has been protested against. Efforts to secure a better status for the British wives of aliens have been made.

But the chief citizen work has been the development of the national care of maternity, and special funds for this purpose have been raised. Before the Insurance Act was introduced the Guild asked Mr. Lloyd George to include a maternity benefit. During the discussion on the Insurance Act endeavours were made to secure better provision for married women. In 1913 the reform by which maternity benefit was made the property of the wife was secured.

In 1914 the Guild drew up a scheme which advocated : (1) That the maternity and pregnancy sickness benefit should be taken out of the Insurance Act, that they should be increased and extended to all women, and administered by public health authorities; (2) that public health authorities should greatly develop the work already begun on behalf of expectant and nursing mothers and children up to school age. In July, 1914, the Local Government Board issued a circular embodying most of the Guild's proposals and offering a grant of 50 per cent. of the work.

The outbreak of the war made the question of saving life even more imperative, and it was clear that the Guild contribution to the problems of the war would be its scheme for the care of the mothers of the race. Other women's organisations agreed to co-operate, and after a joint deputation to Mr. Samuel—who made a most sympathetic reply, promising fresh Government circulars—the Guild set to work to arouse local health authorities and to press the scheme upon them. A new Act enlarging the powers of local authorities has been promised this Session (June, 1915).

The Guild funds are raised (1) by subscriptions of 1s. to 2s. a year from members to their branch funds and by special efforts; (2) by grants varying from £1 to £50 from co-operative societies. The central fund has in the past been raised by (1) an affiliation fee of 2d. per member from branches, and (2) grants from the Co-operative Union and Co-operative Wholesale Society. Last year, however, after representation from the Salford Catholic Federation, the Co-operative Union felt obliged to refuse its grant of £400 unless the Guild gave up its agitation on behalf of reform of the divorce laws and took up no subject disapproved by the United Board. This year the Co-operative Congress passed a resolution endorsing the action of the United Board. The Guild, however, has resolutely refused to part with its control of its own policy and subjects. It is not a member of

the Co-operative Union, and has no representation as a Guild either on the governing body of the Co-operative Union or at the co-operative congress. During 1914 to 1915 a special fund, which reached £430, was raised by the branches to replace the £400 grant from the Co-operative Union, and the Guild annual congress of June, 1915, has decided to maintain its self-government and to raise its own funds.

It will be understood that the activity of the Guild cannot be maintained without a large amount of educative and propaganda work. For this its own speakers and lecturers are trained. Its educational scheme includes the holding of an annual Guild school for "Head Guides"; courses for "Guides," held in different parts of the country and attended by between 400 and 500 women; two-days' schools, held at different co-operative societies and attended by members in the district; and members' classes, held at local branches. The subjects taken last year were: The Democratic Control of Industry, the Effects of War on Commerce and Industry, Co-operative Action in National Crises, the National Care of Maternity, and How to Read a Balance Sheet. In addition to all this class work, general campaigns on co-operative and women's questions are organised, for which information is supplied to 200 to 300 women speakers.

The work of the Guild culminates in its annual congress, attended by about 700 delegates. This great Parliament of working women is practically unique in the country. Here married women, who find it possible to organise themselves through the Guild, making of it what might be called their Trade Union, give expression to their needs, desires, and aspirations.

PART V.

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT.

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AND

SPECIAL ARTICLE BY EMILE VANDERVELDE.

THE INTERNATIONAL.

BY EMILE VANDERVELDE

(Belgian Minister of State, Chairman of the International Socialist Bureau).

By a tragic coincidence, at the very moment when the delegates to the International Congress were preparing to start for Vienna to celebrate both its 25th and its 50th anniversary, it was from Vienna that spread the formidable catastrophe that now divides the peoples of the world into two hostile camps.

After a whole year of war the question is being asked in certain quarters whether the International has still any existence.

Officially the answer is yes. Its Executive Committee, driven out of Brussels by the German invasion, is to-day sitting at The Hague. Two representatives of the Dutch Socialist Party have been added for the duration of the war. This Committee has sent delegates to the German Socialists to complain to them of the system of forced labour which is being imposed, or rather, which it is sought to impose, on the Belgian workmen. This Committee is also summoning, separately and successively, the various national sections of the International in order to learn their views upon the war and the peace.

But, in actual fact, we must recognise that the life of the International has been suspended.

As long as the German and Austrian Socialists declare themselves in alliance with their Governments, abstain from any word of condemnation of the aggression committed against Belgium, content themselves with vague and purely platonic declarations against

eventual annexation of territory—as long as Belgium and France remain unliberated—we must not expect that the French and Belgian Socialists, to say nothing of any others, will decide to renew their international relations.

Further, we must not hide from ourselves the fact that, even after the war, attempts at reunion will meet with some obstinate resistance.

Must we, therefore, despair? Can we admit that the International is dead—that Socialism is bound to remain for an indefinite time divided against itself?

I absolutely refuse to believe it.

On the contrary, I am inclined to think that, merely by natural reaction, international sentiments will express themselves all the more forcibly the longer they have been restrained. Those underlying causes which called into existence the first International, and, after 1889, the second International, will once more produce their effect.

Class antagonisms will reveal themselves all the more bitterly the longer and the more exhausting is the war. However great may have been their prejudices one against the other, or their grievances, the workers cannot fail once again to realise their essential unity of interest.

But let us not disguise the fact that, at starting, the difficulties will be enormous. There will be many things that it will be the duty of some amongst us to forget: there will be much that it will be the duty of others to permit to be forgotten. We can all do our part, by the attitude that we take up, to render these difficulties less insurmountable. So long as war lasts let us take care to say nothing, to do nothing, that widens our cleavages. Let us try rather to understand each other and to free our minds from the influences of the environment to which we are all subject.

In Germany there are some comrades, such as Liebknecht, Rosa Luxembourg, Clara Zetkin, who have had the courage to stand by the Right in face of everybody. There are others, such as Bernstein, Haase, Kantsky, who are doing their utmost to counteract tendencies of "the majority" that make us uneasy.

I do not believe, I must own, that their efforts can have any immediate results. The peoples at this moment fighting for their own liberties, and for liberty in Europe, would fall into the most fatal of illusions if they were led to count on anyone but themselves.

Liebknecht's protest to-day will have no greater effect than the equally courageous protest of his own father and Bebel had, at the time, against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. But declarations of this kind have a moral value which is beyond all price. They assert a Socialist unity of conscience among all who are not blinded by passion or prejudice. They will make more easy, in the days to come, the drawing together again of all those who proclaim their faith in International Socialism.

It will always remain the greatest sorrow of my life that I should have seen the workers of Europe divided among themselves. My strongest hope is that I may one day look upon their reconciliation.

POLITICAL.

THE OLD INTERNATIONAL.

The first real attempt to form an international organisation of the workers was made by a group of continental exiles at a Congress held in London in 1847, in which Karl Marx took part. An association was formed under the title of the Communist League, which issued the famous Communist manifesto written by Karl Marx and Frederic Engels, and published just before the Revolution of 1848. The Communist League existed only a few years. The triumph of reaction caused it to disappear completely in 1852.

In 1862 a revival of internationalism took place through the visit of a deputation of French workmen to the exhibition then being held in London. Meetings took place between the deputation and English working-class representatives, and out of these gatherings arose the beginnings of the International Association of Working Men. In 1864 a public meeting was held in St. Martin's Hall, London.

Professor Beesley presided. Among those present were Karl Marx and of those still living, Robert Applegarth. A committee composed of 50 representatives of different nations was appointed by the meeting to draft a constitution for the new association. To Karl Marx was given the task of drawing up the constitution, which, together with an inaugural address, was adopted by the committee. A General Council, having its seat in London, was established. The president, treasurer, and general secretary were to be Englishmen; other nations were to be represented on the Council by corresponding secretaries. The duty of summoning annual congresses was placed upon the Council. It was recommended that the workmen of the various countries should be united in national bodies represented by national central organs, which should be the chief links with the General Council.

Difficulties soon developed in connection with the holding of annual congresses, as continental Governments began to be alarmed at the proposed activities of the new organisation. Being forbidden by the Belgian Government to hold a Congress in 1865 in Brussels, the Council was compelled to content itself with a conference in London. In 1866, however, the first congress took place in Geneva. The constitution and statutes drawn up by Marx and ratified by the Council were approved, and a comprehensive programme adopted. A second congress was held in Lausanne in 1867, and a third at Brussels in 1868, which was attended by 98 delegates, representing England, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland. This congress strengthened very considerably the Socialistic proposals contained in the programme of the association. In 1869 a congress was held in Basel, but the outbreak of the Franco-German War prevented the holding of a congress which had been arranged to take place in Paris. In 1872 at a congress held at the Hague it was decided to remove the seat of the General Council to New York. This transference brought about the death of the association. In 1873 one more congress was held at Geneva, and then the organisation expired.

During its short life the International Working Men's Association loomed large in the public eye, and exercised considerable influence

over national working-class movements. It induced British Trade Unions to make substantial contributions to strike funds in France and Germany. But its prestige was based more on the possibilities of the cause it represented than on actual power. Its organisation was loose, and its financial resources negligible.*

THE MODERN INTERNATIONAL.

For a period of about 16 years following the collapse of the International Association of Working Men there was practically no organisation for keeping the politically organised workers of the different countries of the world in touch with each other. Then in 1889, the centenary of the French Revolution, a new beginning was made by the assembling, at the invitation of the French Socialist parties, of an International Socialist Congress at Paris. There were, in fact, two congresses, one representing the rigid Marxist school, and the other composed of Socialists of a more opportunist character. The Marxist Congress consisted of 395 delegates; the other, called the Possiblist Congress, was attended by about 600 delegates. In 1891 a congress was held at Brussels, followed by others at Zurich (1893), at London (1896), and at Paris (1900). At the Paris Congress (1900) a new central international organisation was formed, with the title of the International Socialist Bureau.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU.

Affiliation to it was open to—

(1) All associations which adhere to the essential principles of Socialism: socialisation of the means of production and distribution; international union and action of the workers; conquest of public powers by the proletariat organised as a class party.

(2) All the constituted organisations which accept the principle of a class struggle and recognise the necessity for political action (legislative and Parliamentary), but do not participate directly in the political movement.

These conditions were drawn up in order to exclude Anarchists, and to admit Trade Unions and other Labour organisations which, although agreeing with political action, were not definitely political in character.

The duties of the International Socialist Bureau, which has its seat at Brussels, are to continue the work of, and to put into execution, the decisions arrived at by the International Socialist Congresses; to make arrangements for the holding of congresses at stated intervals, usually every three years; and to summon special congresses when international crises arise. The Bureau established in Brussels an international archive for Socialist literature and documents.

The Bureau is constituted of delegates from the national Labour and Socialist organisations of the countries affiliated to the Bureau. Each

* "History of Socialism," Thomas Kirkup, 1913.

country is allotted three delegates, two representing the national organisations and one the members of the Socialist and Labour Party in the Parliament of the country, wherever such a party exists. Exceptions to this rule are made in cases such as Russia, where there are more than one national Labour and Socialist organisation, which refuse to co-operate for international purposes; and where the nation is so distant that the expense of sending several delegates would be too great. The following is the list of countries with organisations affiliated to the Bureau:—

Great Britain	3	Norway	3
Germany	3	Sweden	3
Luxemburg	2	Denmark	2
Austria	3	Holland	3
Bohemia	3	Belgium	3
Hungary-Croatia	3	Switzerland	3
Bosnia and Herzegovina ...	2	Turkey	2
France	4	Servia	3
Italy	3	Bulgaria	2
Spain	3	Rumania	2
Portugal	3	Canada	1
Russia	4	United States	2
Finland	3	Argentine	1
Poland	2	Australia	1

The Bureau usually meets once a year at its headquarters at Brussels. In the intervals the business is conducted by an Executive Committee consisting of three members and a secretary, all of Belgian nationality.*

The address of the International Socialist Bureau is, Maison du Peuple, rue Joseph Stevens 17, Brussels. The secretary is Camille Huysmans, and the members of the Executive Committee are Emile Vandervelde (chairman of the Bureau), E. Anseele, and L. Bertrand.

The bureau is maintained by contributions from the national Labour and Socialist organisations of the countries affiliated.

The connection between the Bureau and the Labour and Socialist organisations of Great Britain is carried on by a Joint Committee, known as the British Section of the International Socialist Bureau, composed of five delegates from the Labour Party, two from the Independent Labour Party, two from the British Socialist Party, and one from the Fabian Society, together with the three British delegates to the International Socialist Bureau. Two of the delegates to the Bureau are appointed at a meeting of the British delegates to the International Socialist Congress last held, and the third by the members of the Labour Party in the House of Commons. It is the duty of the section to consider all business of an international

* Since the occupation of Belgium by Germany the seat of the Bureau has been removed to Theresiastraat, 49, The Hague, Holland, and the Bureau representatives of the Dutch Socialist Party have been added to the Executive Committee. Camille Huysmans is, however, still acting as secretary.

character, and to instruct the delegates to the Bureau thereon; and to collect, in proportionate sums, from the various organisations represented in the section the financial contribution to the Bureau.

The Secretary of the British Section of the International Socialist Bureau is the Secretary of the Labour Party, 1, Victoria Street, London, S.W. The British delegates to the Bureau are Dan Irving and J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., the latter being appointed by the Labour Party in the House of Commons. The death of J. Keir Hardie left a vacancy which has not yet been filled.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESSES.

The dates and business of international congresses are arranged by the International Socialist Bureau, acting under instructions and advice from the previous congress and from the national Labour and Socialist organisations. The voting at the congresses is by show of hands or by nations. The votes of the nations vary according to their importance as factors in the Labour and Socialist movement. The number of delegates from the various countries is fixed on the same principle. The following is the number of the votes and the delegates allowed to each country:—

	Delegates.		Votes.
	Each.		Each.
Germany, Austria, Bohemia, United States, France,			
Great Britain, Russia.....	120	...	20
Belgium, Sweden	72	...	12
Denmark, Italy, Poland	60	...	10
Finland, Holland, Hungary-Croatia	48	...	8
Spain, Norway	36	...	6
Turkey	30	...	5
Argentine, Bulgaria, Rumania, Servia, Switzer- land*	24	...	4
South Africa, Australia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Canada, China, Chili, Cuba, Greece, Japan, Luxemburg, Mexico, Portugal, Uruguay...	12	...	2

The proportion of delegates to votes is six to one. Each national delegation may divide its votes on any question should there be a difference of opinion within the delegation.

Since the congress held in Paris in 1900 other congresses have been held at Amsterdam (1904), Stuttgart (1907), and Copenhagen (1910). In November, 1912, a hastily summoned special congress, attended by 555 delegates, was held at Basel to protest against the participation, which then appeared imminent, of the Great Powers in the Balkan War. A congress should have been held at Vienna in 1913, but it was postponed for various reasons until 1914, when the outbreak of the great European War made it impossible to meet.

A women's section of the international movement has been constituted, with the title of the Women's International Council of

* Switzerland, although it is entitled to 24 delegates only, appears to have the right to five votes.

Socialist and Labour Organisations, to which are affiliated Labour and Socialist women's organisations of the various countries. There is a British section of the Council formed of women representative of the Independent Labour Party, the Fabian Society, the Women's Labour League, the National Federation of Women Workers, Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees, Domestic Workers' Union, Union of Jute Workers, and the National Women's Council, in all representing over 300,000 organised women, in addition to a number of men. The official organ of the British Section is "The Labour Woman." The Secretary is Miss Mary Longman, 3, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.

The Women's International Council organises women's Socialist congresses, held usually just before the International Socialist Congresses. In March, 1915, it called a special International Socialist Women's Conference in connection with the war. The conference met in Berne, and discussed and formulated a demand for peace. The secretary of the Council is Klara Zetkin, Stuttgart.

GERMANY.

Constitution : The Empire is confederate, governed by the King or Prussia as German Emperor, the Bundesrath, and the Reichstag.

Emperor William II. : The Emperor has the right of representing the Empire for all purposes of international law, of declaring war, making peace and treaties.

The Bundesrath represents the individual States of Germany, and consists of 61 Delegates from the States composing the Empire. Its functions, with the important exception that it alone can initiate legislation, are mainly administrative, and consist in the work of twelve Committees for various Departments of State business. Declarations of war, the making of treaties, the dissolution of the Reichstag, and the settlement of disputes between State and State form part of the duties of the Bundesrath.

The Reichstag represents the German nation, and consists of 397 Members (about one for every 131,640 inhabitants). It is elected by all male Germans of 25 years of age, but on an allocation of seats which has not been changed since 1871, and now results in serious under-representation of the great cities and industrial districts. All new bills, finance and tariff legislation come before this House, but if it disagrees with any measures it has no effective power of enforcing its views on the Government—the Members of which are not and cannot be Members of the Reichstag—which can dissolve it at any time. Whilst in England, the Cabinet has to resign if a majority of the House of Commons disagrees with any important measures it may propose, in Germany it is the Reichstag that is dissolved and has to be re-elected. Each member of the Reichstag receives 3,000 marks (£150) a year, with a deduction of 20 marks (£1) for each day's absence.

Political Parties: Social Democrats 111, Centre Party 90, National Liberals 43, Conservatives 41, Radicals 45, Poles 18, Free Conservatives 12, Economic Union 9, Anti-Semites 3, Alsations 7, Lorrainers 2, Guelphs 5, Dane 1, Bavarian Peasants' League 3, German Peasants' League 3, Independents 4.

The German Social Democratic Party is the strongest and best equipped national Labour and Socialist organisation in the world. In 1914 it had a membership roll of 1,085,905, of which number 174,754 were women. In 1913 the total income of the Executive Committee was £100,000. The combined incomes of the local organisations make up a far larger sum. The organisation is built up on the basis of the 397 Reichstag constituencies. Each constituency has a branch of the party. Single branches, such as Hamburg II., have as many as 42,000 members. In each State the branches are grouped into district federations. There are 29 district federations, which are again grouped

into state federations. The chief authority is the annual congress, which consists of delegates from the local branches all over the Empire, the number from each depending upon the size of the membership, together with the Social Democratic members of the Reichstag and the members of the Executive Committee. The congress elects annually the Executive Committee, which consists of the "Partei-Vorstand" (comprising a chairman, vice-chairman, six secretaries, one of whom must be a woman, and two assistants) and the "Kontroll Kommission," or Committee of Control, consisting of nine members. The "Vorstand" are mainly paid officials; nearly all of them devote their whole time to party business. They are responsible for the heavy detail work of the party, and have a large clerical staff at their disposal. In order to assist the Executive in arriving at decisions on political policy and other important matters, a Council consisting of representatives from the executive committees of the various district federations was instituted in 1912. This was done, it was stated, "to check the growing bureaucratic tendencies of the 'Partei-Vorstand.'" There are 50 paid secretaries of district and state federations, and 100 paid secretaries of branches.

In co-operation with the Trade Unions, 364 branch education committees have been established under the direction of a central education committee. The expenditure of these bodies in 1912-13 amounted to more than £35,000. They arranged about 3,500 lectures on economics, history, literature, art, Socialism, philosophy, co-operation, Trade Unionism, political science, and technical subjects; and innumerable concerts, entertainments, and dramatic and operatic performances. These were in addition to the ordinary propaganda and election meetings, of which 30,000 were held. The cinematograph has also been used for Socialist instruction and propaganda.

The party has a Socialist school or college in Berlin. Every year 31 selected men and women are given instruction in general social and constitutional history, political economy, history and theory of Socialism, social and industrial law, the art of speaking and writing, journalism, and other subjects. Each scholar is allowed a maintenance grant during the school period. The cost of the school is £2,000 per annum, of which £1,000 is spent in maintenance grants.

A special department, the Women's Bureau, deals with the work of the 174,000 women members of the party. Special pamphlets, leaflets, and other publications are prepared for the agitation among women, and a special women's conference is held just before the annual conference.

Although young persons are forbidden by law to belong to Social Democratic bodies, the party takes care to keep them in touch with Socialism. In 1914 there were 837 local committees for this purpose, and a special journal, the "Arbeiter-Jugend," with a circulation of 102,000. In 297 places there were juvenile libraries: over 5,500 lectures, 1,859 concerts and entertainments, and 6,300 excursions, visits to museums, etc., were arranged, and 560,500 copies of pamphlets, etc., for the young were published and circulated. Over £13,500 was subscribed and spent on this branch of the party's work.

The Labour and Socialist Press of Germany affords a striking instance of the great business and organising ability of the Social Democratic Party, and the loyalty of the people it represents. While in England the organised workers cannot be persuaded to maintain

an effective Press owned by themselves and devoted to their interests, the German working classes, in common with those of most of the other continental countries, support a relatively large number of newspapers and journals belonging to their organisations.

The German Social Democrats possess 91 newspapers and periodicals, of which no less than 86 appear daily. All but eight are printed in establishments owned by the party. The total circulation of the Social Democratic Press in 1912 was about one and a-half millions. This figure does not include the journals published by the Trade Unions that are in close though informal alliance with the party. These publications have a circulation of over two and a-half millions. The chief Social Democratic organ is the "Vorwärts," published in Berlin, with a daily circulation of 170,000. It costs about £98,000 per annum to produce, and yields the party a net profit of about £15,000 per annum. The humorous, illustrated party journal, "Der Wahre Jacob," has a circulation of about 400,000, and makes a profit of £2,500 per annum. Other organs published centrally are the women's weekly paper, "Die Gleichheit," with a circulation of 107,000, the weekly review "Die Neue Zeit," circulation 10,000, and the "Kommunale Proaxis," which deals with municipal activities. Every large town, and many small ones, have a daily or weekly local paper.

The central Press in Berlin, and the numerous local Presses owned by the party, issue countless books, pamphlets, and leaflets, especially during election times. The turnover of the Berlin Press in 1912-13, when it published two and three-quarter million copies of 70 different publications, ranging from complete editions of Heine to leaflets of a few pages, was £40,000, with a profit of £2,500.

The result of this powerful organisation and its ceaseless propaganda is to be seen in the Socialist and Labour representation in the Reichstag, the various State Parliaments, and on local authorities. The Social Democratic representation in these various bodies is as follows:—

	Members.		Members
Reichstag	111	Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt Landtag	9
Bavarian Landtag	30	Gotha Landtag	8
Saxon Landtag	26	Hesse Landtag	8
Baden Landtag	20	Saxe-Altenburg Landtag ..	7
Hamburg Landtag	20	Reuss j L Landtag	5
Wurtemberg Landtag	17	Reuss a L Landtag	3
Bremen Landtag	16	Saxe-Weimar Landtag	4
Lubeck Landtag	12	Anhalt Landtag	1
Oldenburg Landtag	12	Schaumburg-Lippe Landtag	1
Alsace Lorraine Landtag	11	Lippe Landtag	1
Prussian Landtag	10	Schwarzburg-Sondershau-	
Saxe-Meinigen Landtag	9	sen Landtag	1

In the various town and country local governing authorities there are over 12,000 Social Democratic representatives.

GROWTH OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC VOTE IN GERMANY.

Year.	Social Democratic vote. (First ballot.)	Percentage of total vote.	Social Democrats returned.
1871.....	124,655	3.0	2
1874.....	351,952	6.8	10
1877.....	493,288	9.1	13
1878.....	437,158	7.6	9
1881.....	311,961	6.1	13
1884.....	549,990	9.7	24
1887.....	763,128	10.1	11
1890.....	1,427,298	19.7	35
1893.....	1,786,738	23.2	44
1898.....	2,107,076	27.2	56
1903.....	3,010,771	31.7	81
1907.....	3,259,020	28.9	43
1912.....	4,250,329	34.8	110

The Reichstag is composed of 397 members. If the Social Democrats were represented in proportion to their vote of 1912 they would have 138 members.

The headquarters of the party are in Berlin in premises acquired by the party at a cost of £225,000. The address is: German Social Democratic Party, Linden Strasse, Berlin.

BELGIUM.

Constitution: Governed by King, Chamber of Representatives, and Senate

King: Albert. The monarchy is constitutional and hereditary.

The Chamber of Representatives: Elected directly for four years on a proportional system. Every male citizen over 25 with twelve months' qualification has one vote, but property and other qualifications give one or two supplementary votes. Failure to vote is a misdemeanour. The Chamber has 186 Members, but the number is proportional to population. The Members each receive £160 per annum.

The Senate is composed of 120 Members, 27 of whom are elected indirectly by the provincial Councils. The others are elected on proportional system. The minimum age for an elector is 30 years. Property and other qualifications give one or two supplementary votes. All senators are elected for eight years.

Parties in Chamber of Representatives: Catholics, 101; Liberals, 44; Social Democrats, 39; Christian Socialists, 2.

Parties in Senate: Catholics, 70; Liberals, 35; Social Democrats, 15.

The Belgian Labour and Socialist movement is remarkable for its complexity and solidarity. The Belgian Labour Party, which was started in 1885, was formed "to organise politically against the exploiters." Emile Vandervelde, its famous leader, has stated that it united the characteristics of the three great nations surrounding it. From England it adopted co-operation and self-help, from Germany political tactics and fundamental doctrines, from France its idealist tendencies. The wide scope of its operations and its acceptance of a variety of methods has tended to consolidate the party.

The special feature of the Belgian movement is its great co-operative organisations. In Brussels, Ghent, and other towns the Socialists

have established a whole series of institutions based on co-operative industry, probably the most striking and successful enterprise carried on by a Labour and Socialist Party anywhere in the world. It originated at Ghent in 1873 with an association of workmen under the leadership of Edouard Anseele, then a compositor, now a Member of Parliament, and still an active participant in the work. To cope with the high price of bread a co-operative bakery was established, and at first all profits were devoted to improving the conditions of the workers by higher wages and shorter hours. In 1880 this organisation established the celebrated Vooruit, which was launched with an initial capital of £2 16s. 3d. From this tiny beginning has been developed an enormous complex of business and social life, which is the special feature of Belgian Socialist Co-operation. The present headquarters of the Vooruit is one of the finest buildings in Ghent. It includes shops for retail trade, a central café which seats 300 people where spirits are **not** sold, and a library of 33,000 volumes which are lent to members; it is the local headquarters of the Labour Party, and provides offices for practically all the Trade Unions and Friendly Societies, including a great sick club, the Bond Moyson, with 30,000 members. Bread-making and selling is the basis of Belgium co-operation, and the number of loaves baked in Ghent is over 100,000 a week. The bakery is conducted in the most up-to-date methods. The Vooruit comprises also a brewery and coal depot, seven drug stores, six clothing stores, six boot stores, 23 grocery shops, and three cafés. In addition, it has under it, or in close association with it, a printing press, cotton mills, furniture factories, and a savings bank, whilst the social activities are innumerable. Finally, there is an old age pension scheme for members over 60 of 20 years' standing, varying from 2s. to 4s. 9d. per week according to purchases during membership, on which in 1912 nearly £2,300 was expended.

The Maison du Peuple at Brussels, started in 1881, is now the headquarters of International Socialism (temporarily removed to the Hague owing to the invasion of Belgium by Germany), and is on exactly the same lines, on a larger scale, as the Ghent Vooruit. In 1912 it had 36 branches, six daughter "maisons," with their cafés and offices, three bakeries producing 211,000 loaves per week, six butcheries, etc. It had in 1912, 25,000 members, 450 employees, a turnover of £260,000, and property worth £140,000. Of the profits more than half (amounting to £18,075) was returned in dividends on purchases, substantially on the Rochdale plan universal in England, but arranged on a complex scale. The sum of £846 was spent on bread given to sick members, £4,303 on free medical assistance for members, and £3,448 on political propaganda, in addition to the indirect but none the less substantial, assistance given by the provision of free accommodation for offices, meetings, conferences, etc., for Trade Unionists and Socialists.

The Trade Unions are an essential part of the Belgian Labour Party. The number of Trade Unionists affiliated to it in 1912-13 was 131,405, an increase of over 50,000 as compared with 1911-12.

The representation of the Labour Socialist movement in the Belgian Parliament, which is comprised of a Senate and a Chamber of Representatives, is not at all in proportion to its strength. This arises from the fact that the franchise for the Chamber of Representatives, although it gives a vote to every male person of over 25 years of age,

provides additional votes for persons with a certain amount of property or who have received higher secondary education or are engaged in professional pursuits. It is possible for all electors with these qualifications to have three votes, thus giving them a great electoral advantage over the average worker. The franchise for the Senate is still more undemocratic; the age of electors is fixed at 30, and a number of the senators are elected by the provincial councils. In spite of these handicaps, however, the Labour and Socialist movement secured in 1912 15 out of 120 seats in the Senate, and 39 seats out of 186 in the Chamber of Representatives.

Following the General Election of 1912 the party, in conjunction with the Trade Unions, owing to their failure to secure a revision of the franchise by Parliamentary means, decided to organise a general strike as a means of enforcing their demand for universal suffrage. The strike began on April 14th, 1913, and nearly 400,000 workers took part in it. After it had continued for three days a compromise was arrived at with the Government, who promised to appoint a Commission to inquire into the question of the franchise and to bring up proposals for its revision, and the strike was declared to be at an end.

When the war broke out in July, 1914, the Commission was still sitting, and the outlook for a change in a democratic direction was said to be hopeful.

Soon after the outbreak of war Emile Vandervelde joined the Belgian Government as a Minister without portfolio.

The Secretary of the Belgian Labour Party is L. Vandermissen, Maison du Peuple, rue Joseph Stevens 17, Brussels.

FRANCE.

Constitution : A Parliamentary Republic. The legislative power is exercised by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The President of the Republic is elected for seven years by a majority of the two Houses, sitting together.

President : M. Raymond Poincaré : elected, 1913.

Senate : The Senate is composed of 300 Members, indirectly elected for nine years by an electoral college composed of (a) delegates of Municipal Councils; or (b) Deputies, Councillors-General, and District Councillors of the Departments. One-third retire every three years. There are still a few life Members. Senators receive £600 per annum.

Chamber of Deputies : The Chamber of Deputies is composed of 602 Members, elected on manhood suffrage, every male citizen over 21 years of age (with a six months' qualification) having a vote. The Chamber is elected for four years. Members each receive £600 per annum.

Parties in Chamber of Deputies : Organised Radicals, 136; Democratic Left, 102; Unified Socialists, 102; Alliance Démocratique, 100; Progressionists and Federated Republicans, 54; Action Liberals, 34; Independent Socialists, 30; Right, 26; Independent, 18.

The Socialist movement in France, which embodies the political side of the working-class movement, is by no means so powerfully organised as the corresponding movement in Germany. French Socialism has always suffered from sectionalism, which has naturally tended to prevent the development of a strong organisation. Nevertheless, the Socialist Party has a much larger representation in the French Chamber of Deputies and on social bodies, and a greater influence in politics than its membership indicates.

The French Socialist Party as it at present exists is the result of a combination of differing groups brought about in 1906 chiefly by the efforts of Jean Jaures, the biggest figure produced by the movement. The title of the combination is the "United Socialist Party." But the sectional spirit is not extinct, and unity has appeared at times to be

difficult to maintain. There are, moreover, outside the party, members of the French Chamber who are known as Independent Socialists.

The party organisation had in 1912 a membership of 63,358 who had paid dues, and some 20,000 others who were in arrears. The income of the Central Committee of the party was £6,380 in 1911, of which no small part was made up by a levy of £48 on each member of the Chamber out of his salary of £600 per annum.

At the General Election of 1906 54 Socialists were returned to the Chamber, and the votes polled were 877,999. In 1910 the party increased its representation to 76, and its poll to 1,125,877. In 1914 the party secured 102 seats, in addition to 30 held by Independent Socialists. In 1912 no less than 5,530 Socialists were successful at municipal elections, and in 282 places the Socialists are in the majority. In Paris 15 seats out of the 80 composing the Municipal Council are held by Socialists.

On the eve of the outbreak of war (July, 1914) Jean Jaures was assassinated by a mentally defective Chauvinist, and his loss has been felt severely by the party during the crisis. Soon after the war began Marcel Sembat and Jules Guesde joined the French Cabinet with the sanction of the party, the former as Minister of Public Works and the latter without portfolio. Later Albert Thomas, another well-known Socialist deputy, joined the Government as Organiser of Munitions.

The Socialist Press of France is comparatively small. The chief organ, which wields considerable influence, is "L'Humanité," published in Paris.

The Secretary of the party is Louis Dubreuhl, 37, rue Sainte-Croix-de-la-Bretonnerie, Paris (4me).

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Constitution: The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy consists of two States, the Austrian Empire and the Hungarian Kingdom. By the Compromise (Ausgleich) of 1867 the two States are united under the same dynasty, each retaining its own constitution, which is a limited monarchy. Among the affairs common to the two States are foreign affairs, military and naval affairs, finance relating to common affairs.

Monarch: Franz Josef I., Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary.

Austrian Legislative Assemblies: The Reichsrath is composed of two Houses, the Upper (Herrenhaus) and the Lower (Abgeordnetenhaus). The Herrenhaus is partly hereditary and partly nominated by the Emperor, and has about 270 Members. The Lower House is elected for six years by manhood suffrage, every male citizen over 24 years of age with a twelvemonths' qualification having a vote. There are 516 Members, who are each paid 16s. 8d. per day's attendance.

Parties in the Lower House: German Nationalists, 100; Christian Socialists (German), 73; German Social Democrats, 49; United Bohemian Club, 84; Bohemian Social Democrats, 25; Poles, 70; Polish Social Democrats, 9; Ukrain Union, 28; Croatio-Slavonian Club, 27; Dalmatians, 7; Umolatina, 21; Independents, 23.

Hungarian Legislative Assemblies: The Hungarian Parliament is composed of two Houses, the Upper House of Magnates and the Lower House of Representatives.

The House of Magnates is composed of hereditary and life peers, including ecclesiastical and State dynastories, and has about 300 Members.

The House of Representatives consists of 453 Members, elected for five years on a property qualification franchise, by male citizens over 20 years of age. Members each receive £266 per annum.

Parties in the House of Representatives: "National Party of Work," 255; Kossuthites, 53; Justhists, 38; other Parties (Christian Socialists, Farmers, etc.), 67.

The complexity of the Empire of Austria-Hungary is reflected in the political organisation of the Labour and Socialist movement. The Austrian Party was organised at the close of the eighties, but owing

to the very limited suffrage it was only in 1901 that ten Socialists were elected to the Lower House of the Austrian Parliament. The party carried on a widespread and effective agitation for electoral reform. In 1906 a general strike was threatened, but without it becoming necessary to carry out the threat the Government surrendered, and in 1907 a law was passed giving the vote to all men over 24 years of age.

At the election in May of 1907 87 Socialists were returned to a House of 516 Members, and the Socialist vote was 1,041,948, nearly one-third of the total. At the election of 1911 the Socialists increased their poll but lost four seats, and now have 83 Members in the Reichsrat. Unfortunately, the racial conflicts in the empire extend to the Socialists, and the party, formerly united, now sits in three groups, the German Group of 49, the Bohemian Group of 25, and a Polish Group of nine. Dr. Victor Adler, for many years the most prominent figure among the Austrian Socialists, is recognised as the leader of the whole party.

There are two main party organisations: The Austrian Social Democratic Labour Party with headquarters in Vienna, which has 1,369 branches and 145,524 members; and the Czech-Slav Social Democratic Party with headquarters at Prague, which has 2,473 branches and 144,000 members.

In the various provincial Diets (or Parliaments) the franchise is still restricted, but in 1912 31 Social Democrats had secured seats in eight Diets. The number of Social Democratic municipal Councillors in 1812 was 3,281.

In Hungary the party had 300 groups or branches with 50,000 members. It possesses one daily and several weekly papers.

The difficulties under which the party in Hungary has to work are manifold. The franchise is most undemocratic, less than 4 per cent. of the working classes having votes. Political associations, as such, are not tolerated, and organisation has to be carried on in connection with friendly societies. The party is largely occupied in normal times in agitating for franchise reform by means of demonstrations. It cannot contest Parliamentary elections, but it has succeeded in electing 136 municipal Councillors.

The Secretary of the Austrian Social Democratic Labour Party is F. Skaret, Rechte Wienzeile 97, Vienna V.

The Secretary of the Czech-Slav Social Democratic Party is Anton Bruha, Hybernska 7, Prag II.

The Secretary of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party is E. Buchinger, Conti-utca 4, Budapest VIII.

ITALY.

Constitution: King, Senate, and Chamber of Deputies.

King: Victor Emanuel III.

Senate: The Senate consists of persons who have attained high office or dignity in the public service, or distinction in art, science, or letters, or who pay at least £120 a year in taxes. The King nominates the Members for life on the recommendation of the Ministry. At present the Senate contains about 400 Members. The number is however, unlimited.

Chamber of Deputies: The Chamber of Deputies consists of 508 Members, or 1 to every 71,000 of the population. The suffrage is granted to almost every man 21 years of age, but is denied to those younger than 30 who have neither done their military service nor learnt to read and write. All Deputies receive £80 a year. At the election of October, 1913, the Chamber of Deputies consisted of 318 Constitutionalists, 70 Radicals, 16 Republicans, 77 Socialists, 3 Syndicalists, and 24 Catholics.

The Italian Labour and Socialist movement, like that of France, has been subject to serious divisions, resulting in the formation of continually shifting groups, which prevent the creation of an united organisation. Moreover, as in France, there is a strong element of Syndicalism in the Trade Unions, which hinders effective co-operation between those bodies and the political movement. Nevertheless, the political Labour and Socialist influence has developed almost without a check since 1892, when at a congress at Genoa the Italian Socialist Party definitely separated itself from Anarchism and concentrated on political action.

At the General Election of 1892 the Socialist Party polled only 26,000 votes, but returned six deputies. The party continued to increase in strength at every succeeding election, till in 1900 it secured 175,000 votes and returned 32 Members to Parliament. At the General Election of 1904 the party had a voting strength of 320,000, but returned only 27 Members. In 1909 338,865 votes were secured and 40 Members returned.

There have been three main sections in the party. One led by Turati is reformist in character, believing in political action and evolutionary Socialism. Arturo Labriola was the head of a second section of extremists. He left the party in 1907 to form a separate body of Syndicalists. Professor Ferri was the leader of an intermediate group known as Integralists. In 1906 owing to internal disputes 30 Socialist deputies resigned their seats, and 25 were re-elected. In the same year at the congress of the party the Syndicalist element was defeated by a majority of five to one, and left the party. But contention persisted between the other groups, and at Milan in 1910 the followers of Turati carried a resolution in support of their view and policy against the Revolutionists and Integralists by a large majority.

The war in Tripoli caused further discord. The Government were at first supported by the Socialists, but later most of them withdrew their support. Several deputies were expelled, who then formed a new reformist party of their own. Professor Ferri resigned from the party and the Chamber, and was re-elected as an independent. These dissensions, however, although fatal to unity and effectiveness, have not prevented the rapid growth of Socialist representation in Parliament. At the election of 1913 the number of Socialists of the various sections returned to the Chamber was 77.

The Socialist Party in Italy is peculiar on account of its middle-class character. In 1904 less than half the members belonged to the manual labour class.

The Secretary of the party is C. Lazzari, Italian Socialist Party, via del Seminario, 87, Rome.

HOLLAND.

Constitution : Governed by Queen and First and Second Chambers. The monarchy is constitutional. The executive power belongs exclusively to the Sovereign, and is exercised through Ministers responsible to the Legislature.

Queen : Wilhelmina.

First Chamber : The First Chamber consists of 50 Members, elected for nine years by the provincial States from amongst the most highly assessed inhabitants.

Second Chamber : The Second Chamber consists of 100 Members, elected by all male citizens not under 25 years who can prove that they are householders, or that they pay one or more direct taxes. Each Member receives £166 10s. a year. They are elected for four years.

Parties Represented in the Two Chambers at the 1913 Election: First Chamber—18 Catholics, 19 Anti-Revolutionists, 4 Protestant Party, 9 Old Liberals, 6 Liberal Union, 2 Democrats, and 2 Socialists. Second Chamber—10 Old Liberals, 22 Liberal Union, 25 Catholics, 11 Anti-Revolutionists, 10 Protestant Party, 3 Democrats, and 19 Socialists.

The political organisation of the Labour and Socialist movement in Holland is the Social Democratic Labour Party, which was established in 1894. Its strength in the electorate grew from 13,000 in 1897 to 82,494 in 1910. At the General Election of 1913 it secured 19 seats, a gain of twelve as compared with 1910. After the 1913 election the question of the party joining the Liberals to form a Ministry with a majority over the Conservatives was considered, but at a special conference of delegates a proposal to take office was rejected by a small majority. The party, however, helps to maintain the Liberals in power.

In the Upper Chamber or Senate, which is elected by the Provincial Councils, the party has two Members.

In 1912 the party had 176 branches and 13,968 members. It has one daily paper, 14 weeklies, and seven other periodicals. Co-operation on Belgian lines is flourishing.

The Secretary of the party is I. G. van Kuijhof, the Dutch Social Democratic Labour Party, 16, de Genestetstraat, Amsterdam.

DENMARK.

Constitution: The Executive power is vested in the King and Ministers, responsible to the Legislature. The right of amending laws rests with the Diet, in conjunction with the King.

King: Christian X.

The Diet: The Diet is divided into two bodies; the Senate with 66 Members, and the Lower House with 114 Members. The King nominates twelve members of the Senate for life, the others being elected indirectly by the people for eight years. The Lower House is elected for three years by all citizens, male or female, who have reached their 25th year, who are not receiving public charity, or who, if they received such charity in the past, have since repaid it. The Members are paid 11s. 1d. per day for the first six months of the session, and 6s. 8d. for each additional day of the session.

The Danish Social Democratic Party was founded in 1878. It consists of 400 political branches with 52,000 members, and affiliated Trade Unions with 112,000 members, a total, allowing for duplicate membership, of over 126,000.

In 1901 it elected 14 Members to the Lower House of Parliament, with 42,972 votes; in 1903 it had 16; in 1906, 1909, and 1910, 24 each year; and in May, 1913, the number grew to 32. At the last-named election the party obtained the largest vote of any party, 107,000, whilst the Liberals had 102,850, Conservatives 85,000, and Radicals 67,300. The party was invited to form a Ministry but declined, and agreed to support the Radical Government. In the Upper House, which is partly nominated by the crown and partly elected by an indirect system, there are four Social Democrats. Since the last election the franchise has been extended to women; all persons over 25 now have a vote for the Lower House.

There are 1,060 Social Democrats on local Councils. In Copenhagen in 1912 the Social Democrats' vote was 50,473 out of 103,040, and they held 21 out of 48 seats in the City Council and three out of nine seats in the "Magistracy" or Upper Chamber of the city government. They have also elected a Social Democratic Mayor.

The Social Democratic Press is flourishing, there being 33 daily papers with a total circulation of 170,000 copies.

The party actively supports co-operation, and has itself formed co-operative societies on Belgian lines.

The Secretary of the party is T. Stauning, Danish Social Democratic Party, Roemersgade 22, Copenhagen.

NORWAY.

Constitution : Legislative power is vested in the Storting under a constitutional Monarch.

King : Haakon VII.

The Storting is a one-chamber institution, consisting of 123 Members, elected by universal suffrage (women included as voters since 1913) of every citizen of 25 years of age. In 1913 the Storting consisted of 76 Liberals, 24 Conservatives, and 23 Socialists.

The Norwegian Labour Party was founded in 1887, and had, in 1912, 891 branches and 43,500 members. In 1894 the Socialist vote was only 732. In 1903 four Socialist and Labour Members were elected to Parliament, with 24,526 votes; in 1909 the votes increased to 91,268, and the Members elected to eleven; in 1912 23 Members were returned, and the vote rose to 124,594. The franchise was extended to women on the same basis as men in 1913.

The party has eight daily papers and 18 weeklies.

The Secretary is Magnus Nilssen, Norwegian Labour Party, Folkets Hus, Christiania.

SPAIN.

Constitution : A Constitutional Monarchy, the executive vested in the King with the Ministers; the legislative in the King with the Cortes, which consists of two Houses, the Senate and Congress.

King : Alfonso XIII.

The Senate : There are three classes of Senators; some hereditary (grandees), some nominated (100), some elected (180).

The Congress : Elected by manhood suffrage (over 25); one deputy to every 50,000 of the population.

There are at present no Socialist or Labour representatives in the Cortes.

The political Labour and Socialist movement has made little progress in Spain. The only Labour and Socialist representative ever returned to Parliament was Senor Iglesias, who was elected in 1910. The party organisation has 40,000 members. Its chief strength comes from the Trade Unions, among whom, however, there are strong Anarchist and Syndicalist tendencies.

The Secretary of the party is Daniel Anguiano, Spanish Socialist Labour Party, Calle de la Fuentes 4, Madrid.

SWEDEN.

Constitution : The executive power is in the hands of the King acting under advice of a Council of State.

King : Gustav V.

The Diet has two Chambers, the first elected by the municipal Councils, the second by universal suffrage (over 25 years of age), with proportional system. The Members of both Chambers receive £66 for each session of four months.

The Swedish Social Democratic Party was formed in 1880. In 1885 it was joined by the Trade Unions in a body. Until 1902 there was only one Socialist, H. Branting, now Parliamentary leader, in the Lower Chamber of Parliament. In that year the Socialist vote was

8,751; in 1911 it was 172,980, when 64 Members were elected to the Lower Chamber and 13 in the Upper. The Conservative vote at the same election was 188,247 and the Liberal 242,127. The Social Democratic Party were asked to form a coalition government with the Liberals, but declined and gave support to a Liberal Government instead. At the election of 1914 87 Social Democrats were elected to the Lower House and 14 to the Upper. The political section of the party had 57,721 members, and the Trade Union section 82,530. Prior to the general strike of 1908 the Trade Unionists numbered 184,145.

Owing to the property franchise the party is less powerful in local government.

The Secretary of the party is Fredrik Ström, Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party, Folketshus, Barnhusgatan 14, Stockholm.

SWITZERLAND.

Constitution: A Republican Confederation. The legislative power is vested in the Federal Assembly, divided into the State Council and the National Council. When these two Chambers sit together they become the Federal Assembly, which is supreme in matters of peace, war, alliances, etc.

President of the Confederation for 1915: Guiseppe Motta.

State Council: Consists of 44 members, two chosen and paid by each Canton. The average payment is 16s. a day.

National Council: Consists of 167 representatives, chosen by direct election of the people. One Deputy to every 20,000. They are paid from Federal funds at the rate of 16s. a day.

The Social Democratic Party of Switzerland was founded in 1888. It has 1,630 branches and about 45,000 members. In the Federal Parliament, called the National Council (the method of election to which depends upon the canton) there are 17 Socialist Members, a gain of ten seats since 1910. In 1912, out of 2,907 members of cantonal Councils (the parliaments of the various cantons), 218 were Socialists. In the canton of Zurich, for instance, in 1913 the Social Democrats secured 49 seats, compared with 50 won by the Liberals and 26 by the Democrats. The party is strong in industrial towns, and almost non-existent in some cantons.

The Secretary of the party is M. Fährndrich, Swiss Social Democratic Party, Birmensdorferstrasse 15, Zurich.

UNITED STATES.

Constitution: The legislative power is vested in a Congress consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives. The executive power is vested in a President, elected by the States for four years.

President: Woodrow Wilson.

Senate consists of two Members for each State, chosen by popular vote for six years. It ratifies or rejects treaties made by the President with foreign powers. It has legislative functions, and is a High Court of Impeachment.

House of Representatives consists of 433 representatives, elected by the male citizens of the various States. One representative for each 210,415 inhabitants. Each Member of the State or House of Representatives receives 7,500dols. a year.

There are two main political Labour and Socialist organisations in the United States, the Socialist Labour Party, and the Socialist Party.

The former body was formed in 1877. Its spirit was strictly Marxian according to the letter, and it made no attempt to adapt itself to its American environment. Contention with Anarchists marked its early years until 1887, when the Anarchist section was broken up by the execution of its leaders, who were accused of complicity in the Chicago bomb outrages. In 1892 a Presidential candidate was run, but only 21,512 votes were polled, which grew to 82,204 in 1898. The

total poll for all parties was, however, nearly twelve millions. The Socialist Labour Party was continually at loggerheads with the Trade Unionists owing to its "impossibilist" attitude. Nevertheless, the Socialist vote rose in 1900 to 131,122.

The Socialist Party was founded in 1904 on less uncompromising lines, and succeeded in getting together a more effective organisation. The Socialist vote at the Presidential election in 1904 rose to 442,766. It fell to 438,308 in 1908, but rose again to 930,589 in 1912, when two Socialist candidates were run, one of whom was put forward by the Socialist Labour Party, who, however, polled only 28,750 votes. Neither party has now a Member in the House of Representatives. Victor Berger, the first Socialist Member of the House, was elected for Milwaukee in 1910, but lost his seat in 1912. There are a few Socialist Members in several of the State legislatures.

The Socialist Party had in 1912 a membership of 125,826. It possessed 13 daily papers (only five in English) and twelve monthlies (ten in English).

Active Socialist propaganda is carried on in universities by the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society, which had 52 "chapters" in 1912. (Central Office: Room 1,210, 105, West 40th Street, New York City, U.S.A.)

The Secretary of the Socialist Party is Walter Lanferseik, 111, North Market Street, Chicago.

The Secretary of the Socialist Labour Party is Arnold Petersen, 45-51, Rose Street, New York.

FINLAND.

Constitution: A province of the Russian Empire, but with legislative independence. The legislative power is vested in the Diet.

The Diet: A single Chamber, consisting of 200 Members, elected by equal vote of every Finnish citizen who has reached his or her 24th year. Each Member receives £56 for each session of 90 days.

The Finnish Labour Party was formed in 1899, and had in 1912 48,406 members. At the election of 1907 80 Socialists were returned (including nine women) to Parliament, out of a total of 200. In 1911 the number was raised to 86—again including nine women—and in 1913 to 90. The Parliament of Finland is the only legislature in the world in which women sit.

In 1912 the income of the party was £91,500. It has six daily and ten weekly papers.

The address of the party is: Finnish Social Democratic Party, Puolutoimikunta, Sirkuskatu 3, Helsingfors.

ARGENTINE.

Constitution: Executive power is in the hands of a President, elected for six years by electors appointed by the 14 provinces. Legislative authority is vested in a National Congress, consisting of a Senate and House of Deputies.

President: Dr. V. de la Plaza.

Senate: Thirty Members elected for four years by the legislature in the provinces.

House of Deputies: One hundred and twenty Members elected by the people.

The Argentine Socialist Party was formed in 1898, and at the election of 1912 two Members were returned to Parliament for Buenos Ayres. The Socialist vote was 18,844.

The Secretary of the party is Antonio de Tomasco, Reconquista 675, Buenos Ayres.

RUSSIA.

Constitution : Autocratic monarchy.

Emperor : Nicholas II.

System of Government : The Government is carried on by the Council of the Empire and the Duma.

The Council of the Empire consists of an equal number of elected Members and members nominated by the Emperor.

The Duma consists of 383 Members elected by the electoral bodies of the chief towns of governments or provinces and of the greatest cities.

The Tsar can override any decision of the Government.

The political Labour and Socialist movement in Russia is split up into various contending sections divided by differences in the degree of belief in revolutionary and physical force doctrines. The two main bodies are the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Labour Party. Owing to the absence of political freedom in Russia the offices of these organisations have to be maintained abroad. In 1915 there were twelve Social Democrats in the Duma.

The Secretary of the Russian Revolutionary Socialist Party is E. Roubanovitch, 238, Boulevard Raspail, Paris.

The Secretary of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party is Kouznetzoff, 102, Rue Babillot, Paris.

PORTUGAL.

Constitution : A Republic governed by two Chambers—the National Council, popularly elected, and the Upper Chamber, elected by all the municipal Councils.

President : D. M. Arriga.

The Portuguese Socialist Party, which was formed in 1875, has one member in Parliament, and has a membership of 2,500.

The Secretary of the party is Cesar Nogueira, rua do Bemformorso 150, Lisbon.

BULGARIA.

Constitution : A King and a National Assembly.

King : Ferdinand.

National Assembly consists of 245 Members elected by universal manhood suffrage, at the rate of one Member to every 20,000 of the population.

The Bulgarian Socialists are divided into two sections, the United Social Democratic Labour Party and the Social Democratic Party. In March, 1914, 21 Socialist were returned to Parliament.

The Secretary of the United Social Democratic Labour Party is Constantin Bosvelieff, Journal "Narod," Sophia.

The Secretary of the Social Democratic Party is G. Kyrkow, Naroden Dom, "Levov Most," Sophia.

RUMANIA.

Constitution : The King, in conjunction with a Senate and Chamber of Deputies.

King : Ferdinand I.

Senate consists of 120 Members, elected for eight years.

Chamber of Deputies consists of 183 Members, elected for four years. Both Senators and Deputies receive about 15s. each day of attendance.

The Rumanian Social Democratic Party has no representatives in Parliament, probably owing to the fact that the franchise is a three-class indirect system even more weighted against the workers than the Prussian franchise.

The Secretary of the party is J. C. Frimu, Rumanian Social Democratic Party, Strada Piaza Amzei, 26, Bucharest.

SERVIA.

Constitution : The legislative authority is vested in the King, with the National Assembly.

King : Peter I.

National Assembly consists of 166 Deputies elected by the people.

There are two Socialists in the Servian Parliament, elected in 1912, representing the Social Democratic Labour Party.

The Secretary of the party is D. Popovitch, Servian Social Democratic Labour Party, Belgrade.

AUSTRALIA.

The political Labour movement in Australia received its first great impetus from the experience of the maritime strike or lock-out of 1890. The Trade Unions then awoke to the fact that Labour representation in the various State parliaments was as necessary as strong industrial combination. Political Labour bodies were formed in each State, to which are affiliated all Trade Unions which care to join. The organisations thus established formulate the political programme and select and run candidates for the State and Commonwealth Parliaments.

The development of the movement has been very rapid. While eschewing theoretical doctrines, the programme of the Labour Party is in reality Socialism *sans phrase*. Its policy is frankly opportunist, but at the same time guided solely by working-class interests. The Labour representatives have secured many reforms of a political, social, and industrial character, such as Woman Suffrage, Old Age Pension, Minimum Wage Laws, and State Ownership and Control of Monopolies, etc. The Labour Party is now the most powerful political force in Australia.

The party possesses a weekly organ, the "Worker," published at Sydney, N.S.W.

Other Labour papers are "Barrier Truth" (daily), Broken Hill, New South Wales; "Daily Herald," Adelaide, South Australia; "Daily Post," Hobart, Tasmania; "The Worker" (weekly), Perth, Western Australia.

In the Commonwealth Parliament the party has formed the Government on four occasions, twice while in a minority in Parliament. The present Commonwealth Government is Labour, the party having secured a majority for the second time in 1914. The party has 42 Members in the House of Representatives out of a total of 75. In the Senate it has a large majority. The leader of the party, and also the Prime Minister, was the Right Hon. Andrew Fisher, who has recently accepted the position of High Commissioner for the Commonwealth in London. He is succeeded by the Hon. W. M. Hughes, who held the office of Attorney-General in the last two Labour Governments.

At the present moment the Labour Party is also in power in five out of the six State Parliaments, Victoria being the only exception.

In New South Wales the party holds 50 seats out of 90, the Hon. William Arthur Holman being Premier of the Labour Government.

In Queensland the Hon. T. J. Ryan is the Premier in a Labour Government that holds 45 seats in a House of 72.

In South Australia the party holds 26 seats out of 46, and the Hon. Crawford Vaughan leads the Labour Government as Premier.

In Western Australia the Hon. John Scaddan is the Labour Premier, and with his colleagues holds 26 seats out of 50.

In Tasmania the party holds half of the 30 seats, and the Hon. J. Earle, M.H.A., leads the Labour Government as Premier.

In Victoria the party only holds 22 of the 65 seats in Parliament.

Headquarters of various Labour Party organisations are as follow :—

New South Wales : E. J. Kavanagh, J.P., M.L.C., Trades and Industrial Hall, Goulbourne Street, Sydney.

Political Labour League : P. Evans, Macdonell House, Sydney.

Queensland : Trades Hall, Brisbane.

South Australia : T. B. Merry, United Trades and Labour Council, Grote Street, Adelaide.

Western Australia : A. McCallum, Trades Hall, Beaufort Street, Perth.

Victoria : Trades Hall, Carlton.

There is a separate Socialist movement in Australia, which is not affiliated with the Labour Party, and is, in fact, a constant critic of that body. A weekly paper, the "Socialist," is published in Melbourne. The organisations of this movement are as follows :—

Socialist Labour Party : Secretary, J. O. Moroney, 16, George Street, West Sydney.

Socialist Party of Victoria : Office, Socialist Hall, 283, Elisabeth Street, Melbourne.

West Australian Socialist Party : 50, Nelson Crescent, East Perth.

SOUTH AFRICA.

The political Labour movement was of little account in South Africa prior to the Act of Union in 1909. With the formation of the Union Parliament, however, the various Labour sections in the several States linked up their forces and gathered considerable strength in the larger towns, with the result that they secured two seats at the first elections. Industrial conditions becoming acute, their influence developed in campaigns directed in the State and municipal elections, where more successes were achieved. Other seats for the Union Parliament were won at bye-elections.

General co-operation prevailed between the political and Trade Unionist sections, and when the Government sought to coerce the Trade Unionists in Johannesburg by the use of the military in the strikes of 1913, the Parliamentary Party, led by Mr. E. Cresswell, conducted a spirited fight. Later, when Premier Louis Botha deported nine Trade Unionists without trial, Mr. Cresswell and his colleagues again made common cause with the deportees, and, in a memorable debate, challenged the Government's power to throw over the elementary rights of British citizenship. This was almost immediately backed by an overwhelming bye-election success. The deportations and the fight against the Indemnity Act were the occasion of considerable accessions to the party, and matters appeared to be extremely promising for great successes at the elections in 1915.

With the outbreak of war, however, and General Botha's campaign against German South-West Africa, dissension arose within the party. Mr. Cresswell, who was on his way to England, returned immediately and took up a commission in Botha's army. The deportees were allowed to return, although the Act declaring their undesirability as immigrants still remains unrepealed.

Party differences remained unchecked for nearly a year, but a rupture finally took place in July, 1915, just prior to the Union elections. Twenty members of the party, including W. H.

Andrews, M.L.A., and a number of the more prominent and active officers and supporters of the party, issued a manifesto declaring for the preservation of the Internationalist as against the Nationalist attitude espoused by Major Cresswell and the other section of the movement. At the same time, the dissentients set up an independent organisation, "The International League of the South African Labour Party," with the object of promoting international Socialist and anti-militarist principles. The split had the most unfortunate results, for while in the last Parliament the party held seven seats, only four are now held, Major Cresswell, despite concurrent contests in several constituencies, being defeated. The candidates of the Internationalist League fared much worse, however.

The Secretary of the S.A.L.P. is Reginald G. Barlow, Trades Hall, Johannesburg (P.O. Box 4509).

The Secretary of the International League is D. Ivon Jones, 6, Trades Hall, Johannesburg (P.O. Box 4179).

POLITICAL, SOCIALIST, AND LABOUR ORGANISATIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

There are in the following countries Political, Socialist, and Labour organisations of a more or less rudimentary character :—

Luxemburg	Luxemburg Socialist Party: Secretary, J. P. Probst, avocat, Luxemburg.
Greece	The Greek Labour League: Secretary, Euphrassini Kirnopoulo, rue Pirée 40, Athens.
Japan	Secretary, S. Katayama, Kingsley Hall, Kanda, Tokio.
China	Office, 15, Wei Hai Wei Road, Shanghai.
Cuba	Cuban Socialist Party: San Rafael, 86, Habana.
Chili	Chilian Democratic Party: Secretary, Louis S. Recabaran, Casilla, 211, Iquique.
Uruguay	Uruguayan Socialist Party: Secretary, Emilio Frugoni, Calle Colonia, 114, Montevideo.

PRINCIPAL FOREIGN SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NEWSPAPERS.

Germany	"Vorwärts" (daily), Lindenstrasse, Berlin.
Austria	"Arbeiter-Zeitung" (daily), Mariahilferstrasse 89, Vienna.
Hungary	"Népszava" (daily), Conte-utca 4, Budapest.
France	"L'Humanité" (daily), 16, Rue du Croissant, Paris.
Italy	"Avanti!" (daily), 86, via del Seminario, Rome.
Spain	"El Socialista" (weekly), Espiritu Santo, 18, segunda izquierda, Madrid.
Portugal	"Avante" (weekly), Rua Serpa Pinto, Barreiro.
Finland	"Tyomies" (daily), Helsingfors.
Norway	"Social Demokraten" (daily), Christiania.
Sweden	"Social Demokraten" (daily), Stockholm.
Denmark	"Social Demokraten" (daily), Copenhagen.
Holland	"Het Volk," 378, Keizersgracht, Amsterdam.
Belgium	"Le Peuple," Rue des Sables 35, Brussels.
Switzerland	"Volksrecht," Stauffacherstrasse 3/5, Zurich.
United States ...	"New York Call," 442, Pearl Street, New York City.

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"Lassalle as a Social Reformer," Edward Bernstein, 1893 (Sonnenschein, 2s. 6d.).

"Ferdinand Lassalle," G. Brandes, 1911 (Heinemann, 6s. net).

"The Social Unrest: Studies in Labour and Socialist Movements," John Graham Brooks, 1903 (Macmillan, New York, 6s. net).

"German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle: a biographical History of German Socialistic Movements during this century," William Harbutt Dawson, 1891 (Sonnenschein, 2s. 6d.).

"Modern Socialism as set forth by Socialists in their Speeches, Writings, and Programmes," R. C. K. Ensor, 1907 (Harper, 1s. net).

"History of Socialism in the United States," Morris Hillquit, 1902 (Finck, 6s.).

"American Socialism of the Present Day," Jessie Wallace Hughan, 1912 (Lane, 5s. net).

"Socialists at Work," Robert Hunter (Europe), 1908 (Macmillan, 6s. 6d. and 2s. 6d. net).

"History of Socialism," Thomas Kirkup (revised by E. R. Pease), 1913 (A. and C. Black, 5s. net).

"State Socialism in New Zealand," James Edward Le Rossignol and William Downie Stewart, 1910 (Crowell, New York, 5s. net).

"Socialism and Democracy in Europe," Samuel P. Orth, 1913 (Williams and Norgate, 6s. net).

"Contemporary Socialism," John Rae, 1908 (Sonnenschein, 5s. net).

"German Social Democracy," Bertrand Russell, 1896 (P. S. King, 3s. 6d.).

"Australian Socialism: an Historical Sketch of its Origin and Developments," A. St. Ledger, 1909 (Macmillan, 4s. 6d. net).

"The Socialist Movement in Germany," W. Stephen Sanders, 1913 (Fabian Society, 2d.).

"Socialism: a Critical Analysis," O. D. Skelton, 1911 (Constable, 6s. net).

"Socialism and the Socialist Movement," W. Sombart, 1909 (Dent, 3s. 6d. net).

"Karl Marx: his Life and Work," John Spargo, 1910 (I.L.P., 8s. 6d. net).

"The New Socialism," Jane Stoddart, 1909 (Hodden, 5s. net).

"Australia's Awakening." William Guthrie Spence. The Workers' Trustees, Sydney and Melbourne, 1909 (A History of the Labour Party).

"Modern Socialism in its Historical Development," M. Tugan-Baranowsky, 1910 (Sonnenschein, 3s. 6d.).

"Socialism as it is: a Survey of the World-wide Revolutionary Movement," A. English Walling, 1912 (Macmillan, New York, 8s. 6d. net).

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MOVEMENT: INDUSTRIAL.

The International Labour Movement on its industrial side has only begun to come into existence during the last 20 years, and even now, so far as it attempts a real consolidation of Trade Union activity and Trade Union purpose in the various countries, is in its infancy.

The International Trade Union Secretariat, which subsequently became the International Federation of Trade Unions, was founded in 1901, since when regular small Conferences have been held. Before this time there been informal Congresses: the English Trade Unions summoned an International Congress in London in 1888, and took part with unions from other countries in the Third International Labour Congress at Zurich in 1893. Moreover, the International Miners' Federation arose out of a Congress at Jolimont in 1890, and the International Textile Workers' Federation out of a similar Congress at Manchester in 1894. However, the starting point of real international unity in the industrial field was the Congress of 1901. The International Federation of Trade Unions now unites the movements of 21 countries, mainly for purposes of information, and amongst these are all the powers of the world, except Australia, Bulgaria, and the Argentine, which can be said in any way to possess an effective Trade Union movement.

It was at an International Conference held at Dublin in 1903 that the purpose of the International was definitely laid down. There a resolution was passed which stated that the best way for bringing the various national Trade Union organisations into closer unity was "by an intimate knowledge of the progress of the movement in the various countries," and it was further resolved that to carry this out the Secretaries of the representative countries would forward a yearly report to the Secretary of the International. A very important rider was added in 1909 at Paris, when the various countries were urged to prepare their strike statistics on uniform lines, and to bring pressure to bear on the authorities of their countries to prepare their statistics on the lines laid down by the International. The yearly reports of the National Secretaries are forwarded to the International Secretary, who is elected from time to time at the Conferences of the International Federation. The preparation and publication of this report really constitutes the chief business of the International Federation.

It is a decision of the International that this report shall be published at the end of the year following the year under review, whether the affiliated countries have forwarded their reports for the previous year or not. One result of this decision is that hardly any report has yet appeared containing complete statistics. It is worthy of note that the two countries that do this successfully are Germany and Belgium. This country is in the anomalous position of being affiliated to the International through the General Federation of Trade Unions, which represents not much more than a quarter of the Trade Unionists of the country, and this inevitably renders the statistics concerning the United Kingdom very unreliable. Moreover, the fact that the Trade Union movement of this country has not yet founded a Statistical

Department of its own makes the officials of the G.F.T.U. dependent largely upon Government reports, which are always two years behindhand. Apart from this collection of statistics and information likely to be of use to the affiliated organisations, the International sends out appeals for help in cases of dispute that involve some of the unions affiliated to the various national centres.

In 1912 the number of members affiliated to the International was 7,395,361. Since the issue of the first report in 1903 the number of affiliated members has increased by very nearly five and a-half millions, partly accounted for by the addition of new countries, but still more due to the gradual increase of the membership in the different countries.

The following tables show (1) the total membership of all Trade Unions in the countries affiliated to the International for the year 1912, together with the accumulated funds and other financial details, and (2) the membership actually affiliated to the International, with similar details. If we allow for expansion since 1912, and include the countries not connected with the International, we can safely estimate the total number of the world's Trade Unionists as not far short of 15 millions.

MEMBERSHIP, INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF TRADE UNIONS, 1912.

A.—ALL TRADE UNION ORGANISATIONS IN COUNTRIES AFFILIATED TO THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION.

Country.	Membership.		Funds.	Annual income.	Expenditure.			
	Total.	Details are given for.			Out of work benefit.	Sickness benefit.	Benevolent, superannuation, and death benefits.	Strike pay.
United Kingdom	3,023,173	1,816,506	£ 5,570,690	£ 2,936,754	£ 453,183	£ 435,393	£ 524,219	£ 318,601
Austria	534,811	428,363	627,700	415,410	58,461	41,131	53,339	42,596
Belgium	231,805	..	184,914	203,455	3,654	7,424	2,054	44,952
Denmark	139,012	130,638	333,429	235,832	86,134	4,884	4,889	13,774
France	1,064,413	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Germany	3,317,271	3,000,178	4,578,235	4,480,928	400,453	636,294	208,750	674,082
Holland	169,144	60,414	169,835	99,198	4,821	9,263	2,700	14,102
Hungary	111,966	111,966	28,045	97,242	15,152	10,323	9,328	..
Italy	86,052	90,000	..	14,575	..	..	..	..
Norway	60,975	60,975	93,095	110,422	8,169	26,668	7,890	29,218
Sweden	121,866	119,866	108,489	131,750	12,586	3,982	1,400	28,482
United States ..	2,496,000	..	..	..	14,468	170,070	420,273	697,025
Other countries*	237,165	132,120	140,300	107,680	5,555	16,752	7,635	21,595
TOTAL	12,368,103	5,951,026	11,834,732	8,833,246	1,062,636	1,362,184	1,242,477	1,884,427
								2,331,904

* Nineteen countries reported to the International Federation in 1912, but for reasons of space we have included under the heading of "Other countries," Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia-Slavonia, Finland, Roumania, Servia, Spain, and Switzerland.

NOTE.—New Zealand and South Africa, which have recently affiliated, are not included in either of these tables.

MEMBERSHIP, INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF TRADE UNIONS, 1912—*continued*.

B.—TRADE UNIONS AFFILIATED TO THE NATIONAL FEDERATIONS COMPOSING THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION.

Country.	Membership.		Funds.	Annual income.	Expenditure.					Organisa- tion, publications, manage- ment.
	Total.	Details are given for.			Out of work benefit.	Sickness benefit.	Benevolent, superannu- ation, and death benefits.	Strike pay.		
United Kingdom	874,281	..	£ ..	£ ..	£ ..	£ ..	£ ..	£ ..	£ ..	£ ..
Austria	428,363	428,363	627,700	415,410	58,461	41,131	53,339	42,596	219,918	..
Belgium	116,082	..	184,914	203,455	3,654	7,424	2,054	44,952	11,857	..
Denmark	107,067	106,067	285,762	206,016	76,153	4,356	3,319	13,485	20,690	..
France	387,900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Germany	2,553,162	2,553,162	3,962,410	3,939,980	379,472	561,400	181,206	624,903	1,038,466	..
Holland	61,535	60,414	169,835	99,198	4,821	9,263	2,700	14,102	17,817	..
Hungary	111,966	111,966	28,045	97,242	15,152	10,323	9,328	..	22,645	..
Italy	320,912	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Norway	60,975	60,975	93,095	110,422	8,169	26,668	7,890	29,218	16,940	..
Sweden	85,522	87,024	72,346	107,250	11,516	207	604	26,870	36,639	..
United States ..	2,054,526	..	..	..	14,468	170,070	420,273	697,025	..	..
Other countries*	233,070	128,025	140,083	108,714	5,228	16,328	7,188	21,443	30,492	..
TOTAL	7,395,361	3,535,996	5,564,190	5,287,687	577,099	847,170	687,901	1,514,594	1,415,464	..

* Nineteen countries reported to the International Federation in 1912, but or reasons of space we have included under the heading of "Other countries," Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia-Slavonia, Finland, Roumania, Servia, Spain, and Switzerland.

NOTE.—New Zealand and South Africa, which have recently affiliated, are not included in either of these tables.

The finance of the International itself is now based on a contribution of 1s. 6d. per annum per 1,000 members. Thus the International is run on an income of rather less than £600 a year.

The Secretary of the General Committee of the Trade Unions of Germany has acted in the capacity of Secretary of the International.

We do not propose in this issue of the Year Book to comment upon the complications that have been introduced owing to the war, as, up to the date of going to press, information on this point is exiguous and unreliable.

The following is a list of the national centres affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions, together with the names of the Secretaries and their addresses:—

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

LIST OF NATIONAL CENTRES.

Country.	Title.	Chief Officer.	Address.
Great Britain	*General Federation of Trade Unions	W. A. Appleton, Secretary	Hamilton House, Bidborough Street, London, W.C.
France	*Confédération Générale du Travail	L. Jouhaux, Secrétaire général	33, Rue de la Grange-aux-Belles, Paris, Xème.
The Netherlands..	*Nederlandsch Verbond van Vakvereeningen	J. Oudegeest, Voorzitter	Reguliersgracht 80, Amsterdam.
Belgium	*Commission Syndicale du Parti Ouv. et des Syndicats Indépendants	C. Mertens, Secrétaire	17, Rue Joseph Stevens, Bruxelles.
Denmark	*De Samvirkende Fagforbund i Danmark	Carl F. Madsen, Formand	Nørre Farimagsgade 49, Kopenhagen K.
Sweden	*Landsorganisationen i Sverige	H. Lindqvist, Ordförande	Barnhusgatan 16, Stockholm.
Norway	*Arbeidernes fagl. Landsorganisation	Ole O. Lian, Formand	Youngsgaten 13, Kristiania.
Finland	*Suomen Ammattijärjestö	O. Tokoi, Ordförande	Sirkuskatu 3, Helsingfors
Germany	*Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands	C. Legien, Vorsitzender	Engelufener 15, Berlin SO. 16
Austria	*Gewerkschaftskommission Oesterreichs	A. Hueber, Vorsitzender	Rechte Wienzeile 97, Wien V/L
Bosnia-Herzegov..	*Zentralverband der Gewerkschaften	Franz Rauscher, Sekretär	Arbeiterheim, Sarajewo
Hungary	*Ungarländischer Gewerkschaftsrat	Jászai, Samu, Sekretär	Conti-utca, 4, Budapest VIII
Croatia	*Gewerkschafts-Sekretariat	W. Bukseg, Sekretär	Ilica 55, Agram
Rumania	*Comisia Generala a Sindicatelor din România	D. Pop, Sekretär	Piata Amzei 26, Bukarest
Servia	*Zentralverband der Gewerkschaften Serbiens	P. Pawlowitsch, Sekretär	Radnicka Novine, Belgrad
Bulgaria.....	Zentralkommission der Gewerkschaften Bulgariens	Sider Todoroff, Sekretär	Rue Nischka 15, Sofia
„	Zentralverband der bulgarischen Gewerkschaften	G. Dimitrow, Sekretär	Rue Maria Luisa 60, Sofia

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS—*continued.*

LIST OF NATIONAL CENTRES.

Country.	Title.	Chief Officer.	Address.
Switzerland	*Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsbund	A. Huggler, Sekretär	Kapellenstr. 6, Bern
Italy	*Confederazione Generale del Lavoro	R. Rigola, Segretario	Via Manfredo Fanti 2, Milano
Spain	*Union General de Trabajadores	Vicente Barrio, Secretario	Calle de Piamonte 2, Madrid
Portugal	União geral dos trabalhadores	Francisco dos Santos	Rua do Laranjal 83, Porto
North America ...	*American Federation of Labour	Sam Gompers, President	801-809, G. Street, N.W. Washington, D.C.
Argentina	Confederacion obrera regional argentina	—	Méjico 2070, Buenos Aires
Argentina	Federacion obrera regional argentina	—	Irala 1754, Buenos Aires
Brazil	Confederacao obrera brasileira	Rosend dos Santos, Sekretär	Caixa Postal 1427 Rio-de-Janeiro
Transvaal	*Transvaal Federation of Trade Unions	J. T. Bain, Secretary	Trades Hall, Johannesburg.
Turkey	Union des Syndicats de Constantinople	—	Coule Dibi Raghib Pacha Han 4, Galata-Constantinople
Australia	Federal Grand Council of Labour	E. Kavanagh, Secretary	Trades Hall, Sydney, N.S.W.
New South Wales.	Trades and Labour Council	The Secretary	Trades Hall, Sydney
Queensland	Trades and Labour Council	The Secretary	Trades Hall, Brisbane
South Australia ...	Trades and Labour Council	The Secretary	Trades Hall, Adelaide
West Australia ...	Trades and Labour Council	The Secretary	Trades Hall, Perth
Victoria	Trades Hall Council ..	Ch. Gray, Secretary	Trades Hall, Melbourne
Tasmania	Workers' Party	Mr. Woods, M.P., Secretary	Parliament House, Hobart
New Zealand	*United Federation of Labour	P. H. Hickey, Secretary	Box 108, G.P.O. Wellington
Japan	—	G. Yamane	Kingsley Hall, Kanda, Tokyo

* Affiliated with International Federation of Trade Unions.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATIONS IN PARTICULAR INDUSTRIES.

Independently of the International Federation of Trade Unions, particular International Federations and Secretariats exist in many industries and occupations. The functions of these bodies vary widely from the holding of periodic Conferences or the collection of trade statistics to actual financial and other assistance in trade disputes. It is not possible here to do more than give a list of them, with the date of formation, the headquarters, the affiliated membership, and the number of national bodies affiliated. It will be noticed that most of the federations are centred in Germany, which in most cases called

them into being, and has often kept them alive in face of the apathy of other nationalities :—

	* Date of Formation.	Headquarters.	Number of National Centres Affiliated.	Membership.
1. Bakers	1907	Germany	13	68,081
2. Barbers †	1907	"	4	4,850
3. Bookbinders	1907	"	13	49,906
4. Boot, shoe and leather w'k'rs †	1907	"	13	105,600
5. Brewery workers	"	"	9	130,892
6. Building workers	1903	"	14	418,590
7. Butchers, slaughterers, etc. ...	"	"	"	"
8. Carpenters	1903	"	6	83,863
9. Carvers	"	"	"	"
10. Commercial employees †	1904	Holland	11	55,139
11. Diamond workers †	1905	Belgium	6	15,212
12. Factory workers	1907	Germany	8	298,001
13. Fur workers	1894	"	4	6,169
14. Glass workers †	1908	"	14	29,230
15. Hatters †	1893	"	15	32,913
16. Hotel and restaurant workers	1911	"	6	20,519
17. Lithographers †	1896	"	15	35,923
18. Metal workers †	1893	"	18	1,106,003
19. Miners †	1890	Great Britain	7	1,374,000
20. Painters	1911	Germany	10	72,074
21. Paviers	"	"	8	"
22. Postal workers †	"	"	"	"
23. Postal	1894	Germany	6	16,114
24. Printing workers †	1893	"	18	137,451
25. Saddlers	1906	"	5	20,119
26. State and municipal employes	1907	"	9	72,025
27. Stone workers	1903	Switzerland	16	75,000
28. Tailors †	1896	Germany	15	101,500
29. Textile workers †	1893	Great Britain	"	"
30. Tobacco workers †	1890	Germany	7	50,125
31. Transport workers †	1898	"	17	881,950
32. Wood workers †	1904	"	20	393,355

* These dates are those of the formation of an International Secretariat; informal international conferences were, in several cases, held earlier.

† These International Centres include representatives of the United Kingdom.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION SECRETARIATS.

1. Bakers	O. Allmann, Besenbinderhof 57, Hamburg.
2. Barbers, Hairdressers	Fr. Etzhorn, Bornholmerstrasse 89, Berlin.
3. Bookbinders	Emil Kloth, Urbanstrasse 63, Berlin.
4. Boot, Shoe and Leather Workers	J. Simon, Breite Gasse 25/27, Nürnberg.
5. Brewery Workers	M. Etzel, Schicklerstrasse 6, Königstadt.
6. Building Trades Workers	Fr. Paepfow, Wallstrasse 1, Hamburg.
7. Butchers, Slaughtermen, etc. ...	P. Hensel, Muskauerstrasse 28, Berlin.
8. Carpenters	F. Schrader, Gewerkschaftshaus, Hamburg.
9. Carvers	P. Dupont, Am Köllnischen Park 2, Berlin.
10. Commercial Employees	Edo Fimmen, Reguliersgracht 80, Amsterdam.
11. Diamond Workers	L. v. Berckelaer, Korte Kievitsstraat 35, Antwerpen

12. Factory Workers	Aug. Brey, Nikolaistrasse 5, Hannover.
13. Fur Workers	A. Regge, Weinstrasse 8, Königstadt.
14. Glassworkers	E. Girbig, Gosslerst 29, Berlin.
15. Hatters.....	A. Metzschke, Nordstrasse 57, Altenburg.
16. Hotel, Restaurant, and Bar Workers	Hugo Poetzsch, Gr. Hamburger Str. 18/19, Berlin.
17. Lithographers	O. Sillier, Elsasserstrasse 86/88, Berlin.
18. Metal Workers	Alex. Schlicke, Rötstrasse 16b, Stuttgart.
19. Miners	T. Ashton, 1461, Ashton Old Road, Manchester, England.
20. Painters	A. Tobler, Claus-Groth Strasse 1, Hamburg.
21. Paviers.....	A. Knoll, Elsasserstrasse 86, Berlin.
22. Pottery Workers	Georg. Wollmann, Rosinenstrasse 3, Charlottenburg
23. Potters	A. Drunsel, Wiener Strasse 7, Berlin.
24. Printers, Compositors ..	P. Stautner, Heusteigstrasse 54, Stuttgart.
25. Saddlers	Joh. Sassenbach, Engelufer 15, Berlin.
26. State and Municipal Workers ...	Alb. Mohs, Winterfeldtsstrasse 24, Berlin.
27. Stone Workers	Rob. Kolb, Langstrasse 10, Zürich.
28. Tailors	H. Stühmer, Michaelkirchplatz 15, Berlin.
29. Textile Workers	T. Shaw, 243, Keighley Road, Colne, Lancs.
30. Tobacco Workers.....	C. Deichmann, Faulenstrasse 58/60, Bremen.
31. Transport Workers, Railway- men, Firemen, Dock Work- ers, Seamen	H. Jochade, Engelufer 18, Berlin.
32. Wood Workers	Th. Leipart, Am Köllnischen Park 2, Berlin.

TRADE UNIONISM ABROAD. GERMANY.

There are three groups of Trade Unions in opposition one to another. By far the largest and most powerful is the group of "Free" or Social Democratic Unions, which include 2,548,763 (January, 1914) out of a little over three and a-quarter million Trade Unionists of all sorts. The other groups are run in definite opposition to the "Free" Unions; the Christian Unions had 344,687 and the Hirsch-Duncker or "Liberal" Unions 109,225 members in 1912. The main features of German Trade Unionism are centralisation and systematic organisation. The two and a-half million members of the "Free" Unions, which include 223,676 women, are divided among only 47 unions, and the number of unions is still falling. There have been five fusions since 1912. Skilled and unskilled workers are included in the same unions, but care is taken that each craft or section shall get special representation on the governing bodies of the unions. The whole of the 47 unions are closely co-ordinated in the General Commission, which in turn works in close alliance with the Social Democratic Party. This alliance, resting on a clear separation of function between the industrial and political side of the movement, is worthy of notice. The unions devote much attention to the education and training of their members, and also to securing co-operation between the various unions in each locality. A system of Trades Halls extends to all the chief centres: the Berlin Hall alone cost £100,000 to build. On the side of organisation the German movement leaves little to be desired. This perfection has, however, in part been made possible by the very difficulties it has to face. It is constantly in danger of repression by the Government. The chief among the Social Democratic unions are the Metal Workers, with 556,939 members (1914), divided into 26 craft sections; the Building Workers, with 326,631 members; the Transport Workers, with 229,785 members; and the Factory Workers, who unite the workers in many of the smaller trades, with 210,569. The Wool Workers, the Textile Workers, and the Miners also number more than 100,000 members.

The four to five hundred thousand members of the Christian and Hirsch-Duncker Unions are dispersed among several hundred separate societies, but each movement has its federal organisation and its periodical congresses.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

In the Dual Monarchy Trade Unionism is weakened by the national differences which make the countries united under one rule less a unity than an aggregation. The movements in Austria and Hungary are quite separate, and both are further divided internally.

In Austria the General Commission of Austrian Trade Unions, which is predominantly German, has 428,000 members, including 50,000 women. Of these 322,000 are Germans, 70,000 Bohemians, 20,000 Poles, 9,000 Italians, 6,000 Slavs, and 1,000 Rutherians. There is also a separatist organisation in Bohemia, with 85,000 members, and an exclusively German organisation with about the same number. The Christian Unions, which are mainly Catholic, but include some Protestants, have about 82,000 members, 45,000 of whom are in the General Commission. National quarrels have retarded organisation in recent years.

Trade Unionism in Hungary is far more severely repressed than in Austria, and intimidation is so serious that organisation is very difficult outside Buda-Pesth. The national centre includes about 112,000 workers, of whom 54,000 are in the capital alone. Hardly any women are organised, except in the rival Christian Unions. National differences retard organisation here also, and there are separate movements in Croatia-Slavonia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

FRANCE.

Trade Unionism in France has attracted attention in this country because France was the birthplace of Syndicalism (which is, indeed, only the French for Trade Unionism). French Trade Unionism is (with certain exceptions, such as the strong *Fédération des Livres* of the printing and bookbinding trades) altogether less stable, less centralised, and less disciplined than Trade Unionism in Great Britain or Germany; on the other hand, it is far more revolutionary and far more idealistic and class-conscious. It is also in sharp contrast with the movement in other countries in that it has always repudiated political action and been wholly unconnected with the Socialist Party. Till quite recently it worked largely in opposition to the Socialists; latterly, the two bodies have come somewhat closer together, while preserving their absolute distinctness of identity and function. French Trade Unionism always has depended, and still depends, on direct action by means of the strike: among its more advanced theorists the idea of the general strike has found its chief exponents. The majority of the unions belong to the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.), of which the total membership is about 600,000. These are divided among a number of national unions or federations, mostly organised in the "industrial" basis. Local autonomy is the rule, and generally each district acts for itself. Contributions are low, and friendly benefits are only paid in a few unions. Even fixed strike benefits are universal. There has been of late years a tendency to raise contributions and benefits and generally to make the unions more

stable. The *Confédération Générale du Travail* is organised on a dual basis. It consists on the one hand of national unions or federations, and on the other of Unions de Syndicats or Trades Councils. Great importance has always been attached to the Trades Councils as methods of securing a movement class-conscious rather than "trade-conscious." The Central Committee consists of two sections, representing the two sides of the movement, industrial and local.

ITALY.

Trade Unionism in Italy is sharply divided into two parties, which have now two rival central organisations. The larger, the *Confederazione Generale di Lavoro*, with about 400,000 members, is predominantly reformist and tends towards centralisation. It co-operates to some extent with the Parliamentary Socialists, and favours political as well as industrial action. The *Unione Sindicale*, on the other hand, with about 100,000 members, is a Syndicalist body, modelled on the French C.G.T. and repudiating politics. It is a recent creation, the result of a split in the C.G.L. It is strong in some districts and controls some large Trades Councils, that of Parma, for instance. The Trades Councils are important and play a considerable part in industrial movements. There are, outside the Labour movement proper, Catholic Unions, with about 100,000 members, a large proportion of whom are women.

The most notable feature of Italian Trade Unionism is the importance of the agricultural element. Agricultural workers number nearly ten millions, as against less than five millions employed in industry and commerce. The National Federation of Rural Workers has over 150,000 members.

SCANDINAVIA.

Trade Unionism in the four Scandinavian countries—Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland—has many points of resemblance, and there is a strong and growing feeling of Scandinavian unity. Periodic Congresses are held, at which always the first three, and sometimes all four, countries are represented, and Sweden, Norway, and Denmark have a mutual arrangement for giving international financial help in disputes affecting 20 per cent. of the membership of any of the three national bodies. Throughout Scandinavia the percentage of organised to unorganised workers is creditably high when the natural difficulties and the repressive tactics of Sweden and Russia are taken into account. Everywhere in Scandinavia the unions have to face strong combinations of employers.

In **Denmark** well over 50 per cent. of the industrial workers are organised. The Danish General Federation, which has over 100,000 members, works in the closest possible alliance with the Socialist Party, two members of which have *ex officio* seats on its Executive. It is organised on the German model, and tends to centralisation. There are also a number of Syndicalist Unions standing outside the General Federation. The Christian Unions have very few members. The total number of organised workers was 139,012 in 1912.

In **Sweden** Trade Unionism has not yet fully recovered from the disastrous general strike and lock-out of 1909. The General Confederation, which had 186,226 members in 1908, sank to 60,000

after the strike. In 1912 it had again reached 85,522. Other unions, including those of the Syndicalists, have a total membership of 36,000. The General Federation is organised in the main on the German model, but allows greater sectional autonomy; it works in co-operation with the Socialist Party.

In Norway the General Confederation is of the same type as in Sweden, and is similarly allied to the Socialist Party. It includes about 64,000 workers out of a total of about 230,000 who are eligible for organisation, and it is steadily growing.

In Finland the General Confederation is of the same type. It had 20,983 members in 1912, and was growing rapidly till the outbreak of war.

BELGIUM.

Belgium had 231,805 organised workers in 1912, but this figure includes unions of every type, from Catholic to Socialist organisations. The Catholic Unions, which claimed 82,761 members in 1912, are in constant conflict with the Socialists, whose General Trade Union Commission had 116,082 members in 1912. The Socialist Unions are run in close alliance with the Labour Party and with the co-operative movement. This unity has found expression in a series of political general strikes culminating in 1913. It also bears fruit in a vigorous local Socialist life and in a strong spirit of solidarity. The **Maison du Peuple** at Brussels and similar Socialist and co-operative buildings in other centres form rallying places that have a profound influence on the strength of the movement.

HOLLAND.

Trade Unionism in Holland is weakened by legal repression and religious differences. A railway and transport strike in 1903 was followed by reprisals, making railway strikes illegal and penalising Trade Unions in other respects. Against these disabilities Labour has since been struggling.

The Federation of Trade Unions of the Netherlands, which was formed under the influence of, and works in alliance with, the Social Democratic Party, had 61,535 members in 1912. About 25,000 workers are organised in Catholic Unions, about 7,000 in Protestant Unions, and another 7,000 in unions that admit both Catholics and Protestants. There are also about 50,000 unionists of various types outside all these bodies.

SWITZERLAND.

The Swiss Trade Union movement is centralised on the German model. The National Federation had, in 1912, 86,313 members enrolled in 21 unions. Outside it stand the Engineers, with 23,000 members, the State Railwaymen, with 22,000, and various other groups. The Syndicalists have an organisation of their own, with about 7,000 members, and the Catholics another, with about 14,000, including 11,000 women. All these groups are united in a body called the Swiss Workers' League, which exists primarily to elect the members of the Labour Secretariat. This is a Governmental organisation, consisting of officials elected by the unions, but paid by the Government, who have to do with working conditions and the administration of Labour laws. They are four, one for German, one

for French, and one for Italian Switzerland, with a fourth who is a woman and has charge of questions affecting women.

The general policy of the Swiss unions is Conservative, and strikes are not numerous.

SPAIN.

According to the last available figures, the National Federation of Trade Unions had 100,000 members and was steadily advancing in strength. The chief organisations are those of the miners and the railwaymen. The Trade Union movement has to struggle against severe repression, and the national railway strike of 1911 was made a pretext for further legislation. Railway strikes were made definitely illegal, and for some time the offices of the National Federation were in the hands of the authorities. Soldiers are frequently called out in trade disputes.

THE BALKANS.

Trade Unionism in the Balkan countries was crippled by the Balkan Wars, and it is impossible to give figures later than 1911.

In **Rumania** the Federation of Trade Unions then included 14,000 workers. Since 1907 organisation has been forbidden among the State railwaymen, who were formerly the strongest section.

In **Bulgaria** there are two rival federations. The General Federation of Trade Unions had 8,502 members before the Balkan Wars, but fell to 5,350 after them. Its rival, the Free Bulgarian Trade Union Federation had 4,845 before the wars and 4,000 after them; 14,072 workers in public services are also organised, but are forbidden to join with bodies having a political bias. A revival took place as soon as the Balkan Wars came to an end.

In **Servia** the General Federation had 8,008 members before the war, but the war had a shattering effect.

In **Greece** alone the Balkan Wars benefited Trade Unionism by bringing the fairly strongly organised tobacco workers of Macedonia within the boundaries of Greece. The old Greek unions were very moderate, and worked in alliance with the Venizelists.

RUSSIA.

About Russian Trade Unionism practically no information exists. There is no centralised movement, and Russia is not affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions. Though strikes are frequent they are often political rather than economic in character. The Trades Council of Petrograd estimated in 1905 that there were 652 unions with 246,000 members. In 1910 the number of unions was officially given as 720. In 1912 the factory inspectors reported that in works under their control there had been 2,032 strikes, involving 725,491 workers. Of these, 1,300 strikes, involving half-a-million workers, were described as political in character. Political repression in Russia extends to the industrial organisations, which are forced to exist and act in secret.

THE UNITED STATES.

In 1913 there were in the United States 2,496,000 Trade Unionists, of whom 1,996,004 were connected with the American Federation of

Labour. Outside the A.F. of L. there are certain strong "brotherhoods" of railwaymen, and also the Industrial Workers of the World, which had about 30,000 paying members and a shadowy number of adherents besides.

The A.F. of L. is dominated by Mr. S. Gompers. It refuses, despite the efforts of a determined minority, to ally itself with the Socialist Party; professing neutrality, it often elects to work through the old parties. Its power and policy vary widely from district to district; in some parts of the United States Labour disputes are conducted very much as in this country; in others, as in Colorado, they bear a close resemblance to civil war. Inside the A.F. of L. there are two parties, one standing for "craft" unionism of the established type, the other for industrial unionism. Under the present system joint action is secured by means of strong local federations among kindred unions.

The Industrial Workers of the World, who set out to smash the A.F. of L. and to reconstitute the whole movement on more advanced lines, have, so far, been successful only in organising immigrant workers. These immigrants, mostly from Central, Southern, and Eastern Europe, pour into America in an ever-growing stream. As their standard of life is far lower than that of the English-speaking workers, they are dangerous competitors, and in organising them the I.W.W. has done much useful work. The greatest achievement of the I.W.W., so far, is the great textile strike at Lawrence in 1912. It is now being realised that the A.F. of L. and the I.W.W. may well have complementary functions, and a desire is growing up for co-operation between them. The unions affiliated to the A.F. of L. fail, as a rule, to organise the foreign immigrants.

CANADA.

Canada is chiefly important to students of Labour questions as the home of the "Lemieux" Act passed in 1907. The legal name of this Act is the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, and it is described as an Act to aid in the prevention and settlement of strikes and lock-outs in mines and industries connected with public utilities. It was passed immediately after the great Alberta mining strike of 1906. Its main feature is that, whenever a stoppage is threatened, either party may apply to the Government to appoint a Board of Conciliation and Investigation. This Board consists of one representative from each side and a chairman, either appointed by these two, or, if they fail to agree, nominated by the Government. Till the Board has published its report and recommendations no strike or lock-out may be declared under severe penalties. As soon as the report has been published either side is free to act, except in railway disputes, which the Government may always refer to an Arbitrator of its own choosing. The object of this measure is, of course, to prejudice public opinion against the side which refuses to be bound by the award. The Act has found imitators in other countries, and Sir G. Askwith was sent to Canada by the British Government to investigate its working. His report upon it seems to suggest its adoption except for the clause forbidding strikes and lock-outs during the period of inquiry.

There are in Canada 160,120 Trade Unionists. Of these only 13,717 belong to purely Canadian Unions, while 86,542 belong to unions, often styled International, which are common to the United

States and the Canadian Dominion, and are usually affiliated to the American Federation of Labour. Many of the rest are in the Colonial branches of British unions.

AUSTRALIA.

In Australia there were in 1912 433,224 Trade Unionists enrolled in 408 unions. The membership in the various States was as follows :—

	Members.
New South Wales	192,626
Victoria	116,557
Queensland	44,768
South Australia	37,336
West Australia	33,282
Tasmania	8,655
	<hr/>
	433,224

Many of the unions are affiliated to the Labour Parties in the various States, and there is a close connection between the political and industrial sides of the movement. This connection is made the closer by the extensive character of the Labour legislation. Various systems of compulsory arbitration or minimum wage legislation, or a combination of the two, are in force in every State and for the whole Commonwealth.

NEW ZEALAND.

There were in New Zealand in 1912 322 unions, with 60,622 members. There is now widespread opposition to the organisation and methods of working of the system of compulsory arbitration of which New Zealand was the pioneer. The great strike of 1913, in which the unions were beaten, has resulted in a great weakening of Trade Unionism.

SOUTH AFRICA.

There are about 100,000 Trade Unionists in South Africa, and the movement is at present suffering from the repressive tactics followed by the Government in the general strikes of 1913 and 1914. The strongest sections are among miners, engineers, railwaymen, and building workers. The unions work in alliance with the Labour Party in opposition to the repressive policy of the Government.

PART VI.

IMPERIAL AND NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

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THE EMPIRE AND ITS ADMINIS- TRATION.

The British Empire consists of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Empire of India, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, including the self-governing Dominions, and the Crown Colonies, Protectorates, and other Dependencies, the whole forming one Empire under George V., King and Emperor. But apart from the Crown, which thus binds the Empire together, it is difficult to find any organs of Imperial administration. Each part of the Empire, from St. Helena up to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, has its own government, its own revenue and expenditure, and its own set of administrative departments. There is no common chest for the Empire; no uniform system of law or currency or weights and measures; no Imperial religion; not even an identical official language. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which, as is subsequently described, hears appeals in certain circumstances from all parts of the Empire, seems to be literally the only Imperial department. But for practical purposes, we may say that the supreme administration of the Empire, subject to vast and complicated powers of local autonomy, rests with the Ministers of one particular part of it, namely, the Cabinet of the United Kingdom, "advising," in the manner hereafter described, the King-Emperor. The supervision of the parts of the Empire outside the United Kingdom is the special duty of the Secretary of State for India (India, Aden, Perim, Socotra, the islands in the Indian Seas, and Imperial interests in and about the Persian Gulf); the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the self-governing Dominions, the Crown Colonies, and some of the

Protectorates); the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (such Protectorates as Egypt); the First Lord of the Admiralty (Ascension); and the Secretary of State for Home Affairs (the Channel Isles and the Isle of Man).

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

The public business of the people of the United Kingdom is managed by what we call the National Government. It is important to understand what this is. The government of the country is all carried on in the name of the King, who still nominally possesses all the power. But by the British Constitution "the King reigns but does not govern." All that the King does or says, and all that is done or said in his name, has to be in accordance with the decision—which is called the "advice"—of the Ministers. The King may **persuade** his Ministers to let him, or his officials, or his Army and Navy, take a particular course. He may exercise, in this and other ways, great personal **influence** in the business of the nation. But the Ministers are responsible for everything that is actually said or done by the King or in his name. It is they who really give the orders. With regard to all the chief appointments, and, indeed, in all important new departures, they first consult the King—in the old phrase, they "take the King's pleasure." This is done by the Prime Minister on the most important matters, and by each Minister in respect of matters falling within his department. The King may dislike the project or the proposed appointment that is laid before him, and he will sometimes express his dislike and criticise the Minister's suggestion. The Minister will sometimes defer to the King's criticism, which may be quite sound, especially with regard to high appointments, notably in the Church or in the Royal Household. But if the Ministry, as a whole, or the Prime Minister, insists the King must, on any matter of importance, give way. It would be "unconstitutional" for the King to refuse his consent to the action that his Ministry, having the support of a majority of the House of Commons, decides, after full consideration, to be necessary in the public interest.

THE RIGHT TO THE CROWN.

The King, who is not the nearest direct heir of any of the Kings and Queens before 1714, holds his position solely by the authority of an Act of Parliament, which is of no more, and also of no less, authority and permanence than other Acts of Parliament; it was passed in exactly the same way as any other Act, and if it had to be amended or repealed this would be done by another Act of Parliament in the ordinary form. In fact, such an amendment has once been made. By the statute of 1701 (12 and 13, William III., C. 2, commonly known as the Act of Settlement) incorporating the Declaration of Rights of 1689, the crown was, subject to certain conditions, settled on the heirs of the body of the Princess Sophia, one of the grand-daughters of James the First, and at that time the widow of the Elector of Hanover. She was not the next heir to any previous sovereign, but she was a Protestant, and on this ground Parliament chose to enact that her heirs should succeed. But, as if to emphasise the fact that Parliament was exercising an arbitrary and quite voluntary choice of the mother of a line of sovereigns, it inserted

conditions in the statute—any person who should succeed to the throne by virtue of this Act was not to be or to be or to become a Roman Catholic, or to marry a Roman Catholic; he or she was to make the declaration against transubstantiation (this was modified by the Act of Parliament of 1911); he or she was to take the Coronation Oath, and to join in communion with the Church of England. Failing compliance with these conditions, the right to the throne lapses, the people are absolved from their allegiance, and the crown goes to the next in succession being a Protestant as if the person who incurred the disability were dead. Whatever we may think nowadays of the wisdom or the importance of these particular conditions, they at least emphasise the fact that the King has only a statutory and conditional right to the throne. He reigns solely by virtue of this particular Act of Parliament—one which is like any other statute, and one which has already been amended. He reigns only so long as he complies with the condition of this statute. Thus, it may be said that, whereas in France and Switzerland (which are called Republics) the Legislature periodically elects an individual to be the head of the State, in this country the Legislature, 200 years ago, elected a particular family to occupy that position, subject to its members fulfilling certain conditions, and following each other in accordance with an exactly regulated order of succession, which has the advantage of preventing any rivalry or uncertainty as to who shall fill the position.

LEGISLATION.

In this country the King does not make laws. All the Royal Proclamations and Orders in Council, and official rules and bye-laws issued in the name of the King or the Government, must, in so far as they have any coercive effect, have been expressly authorised by some Act of Parliament. All laws are made—even in war time—by or under the authority of Parliament, expressed in what are called bills, which are passed by the House of Commons, and usually also by the House of Lords, according to the several forms of these assemblies. Every bill has to be submitted to the King, after it has been passed either by the House of Commons and the House of Lords—or, under the Parliament Act of 1911, by the House of Commons alone—in order that the Royal Assent may be given to it. Not until the King has formally given his assent to it by a message to the Members of both Houses assembled in the House of Lords does the bill become an Act of Parliament and part of the law of the land. But as the Ministry always “advises” the King to assent to any measure which has been passed by both Houses of Parliament, or by the House of Commons alone in accordance with the Parliament Act of 1911, and as the King is bound to act upon such “advice,” the King’s assent to legislation has become merely a solemn formality.

It may be asked what would happen if the King one day took it upon himself to refuse to do what the Ministry told him to do, whether with regard to agreeing to some particular person being appointed to an office, or with regard to giving his assent to some measure passed by both Houses of Parliament (or, as provided by the Parliament Act of 1911, by the House of Commons alone), or with regard to some act of policy to be done in his name. In such a case, assuming that the Ministry enjoyed the support of a majority of the House of Commons,

the King would have failed in his constitutional duty, and would have committed a grave offence. The Ministry would have to resign and appeal to the nation through the House of Commons. The King would have to send for another person, appoint him to be Prime Minister, and charge him to form a new Ministry. If the House of Commons supported the action of the late Ministry and disapproved of the King's recalcitrance—as may be presumed would be the case—it would pass a vote of censure on the new Ministry for taking office, and with it responsibility for the King's breach of the Constitution. If the new Ministry did not at once resign the House of Commons would refuse to vote any taxes, or to authorise any money to be paid out of the National Exchequer, or to pass any of the bills that the Government requires every year in order to carry on affairs. The new Ministry might advise the King to dissolve Parliament and have a General Election. The issue would then be remitted to the people, and would be decided by the result of the voting. In fact, the so-called "Royal Veto" has no longer any constitutional validity in this country, and has not had for centuries. If the King refused to submit to the decision of the people this would be, in itself, an act of revolution, and something very lively would happen. The last King who in any serious way broke the Constitution (James the Second) was deposed by a Convention summoned with all the forms of Parliament. His father, after trial and judgment by a Court of Justice formed for the purpose, was beheaded.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

Nowadays, fortunately, the holder of the crown never raises any constitutional difficulties. But as the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament is necessary to legislation—except in the cases provided for in the Parliament Act of 1911—and as the two Houses of Parliament are frequently not in agreement, it is necessary to say here something about the House of Lords.

The House of Lords (apart from a few "Law Lords" appointed for life to take part in judicial work) is composed of the holders of hereditary peerages conferred by the crown. It is not accurate to speak of them all as sitting merely because they are their father's sons. About a quarter of them sit there by the deliberate choice of the crown—that is, really of the Prime Minister of the time being—either because they are Archbishops or Bishops of the Church of England, who sit so long as they hold their offices, or else as the first holders of hereditary peerages, which have been conferred for various reasons, sometimes because of distinguished public service, sometimes on political grounds, and sometimes, it may be feared, merely for great wealth. It is now a regular part of the political system that peerages should be conferred upon men of great wealth, good character, and not engaged in retail shopkeeping, who have made very large donations to philanthropic objects, and very substantial contributions to the political funds of the party in power, if they press for such recognition of their gifts. In fact, the ordinary way of acquiring a peerage is to buy it. Moreover, 44 of the peers are actually elected to sit in the House of Lords, but elected only by the Scottish and Irish peers respectively, as these are not all legally entitled to sit. The result is a Second Chamber of over 500 members, containing

absolutely no representative of Labour and practically none of the Nonconformist religious denominations, made up entirely of irremovable members, three-quarters of them sitting merely by hereditary right, most of them advanced in years, nearly all of them wealthy, always strongly biassed in favour of the existing order, and, by an overwhelming majority, permanently Conservative in opinion.

When the House of Lords refuses to pass a bill which the House of Commons has passed a constitutional difficulty arises. If the bill is what is called a Money Bill—that is, one solely for authorising the raising of taxes or other revenue for the business of the nation—the House of Lords is now required by law to pass it as a matter of form, without any alteration or delay. But if the bill concerns anything else the House of Lords is entitled to refuse to pass it, and the bill cannot straight away be submitted for the Royal Assent and so become law. What is then the constitutional course? The House of Commons may, if it chooses—it always does so choose when the bill is not of great importance—put up with the rebuff and abandon for the time its legislative project. Or the House of Commons may again pass the bill in its following Session without any alteration, and send it once more to the House of Lords. If the House of Lords rejects the bill for a second time the House of Commons may, in a third consecutive Session, pass it for a third time without alteration. Then (by virtue of the Parliament Act of 1911, which was eventually formally agreed to by the House of Lords, and so became law) the bill three times passed by the House of Commons may be submitted for the Royal assent without ever having been passed by the House of Lords, and the King must give his formal assent to it, so as to make it law.

There is, however, another course which can be resorted to if the House of Lords resists the will of the nation. The King can at any time confer peerages on as many British subjects as he chooses, and these peers (if of the male sex, of full age, not declared of unsound mind, not suffering imprisonment for felony and not undischarged bankrupts) are legally entitled to take their seats in the House of Lords. The Prime Minister, having the support of a majority of the House of Commons, after exhausting all means of inducing a recalcitrant House of Lords to submit to the decision of the House of Commons, is constitutionally entitled, if the issue is really an important one, to “advise” the King to confer peerages on a sufficient number of suitable persons to overcome the adverse majority in the House of Lords. And the King is constitutionally bound—if it is clear that a substantial majority of the House of Commons supports the Ministry, and if he has no reasonable doubt that a new election would again result in such a majority—to do what the Prime Minister thus authoritatively “advises.” Any refusal on the part of the King would be a grave offence and a revolutionary act. But it is generally agreed that the King is entitled, before taking such a strong step as creating new peers for the purpose of overcoming a majority of the House of Lords, and even before allowing it to be announced that he has consented to do this, to express to the Prime Minister any doubt that he may feel as to whether a majority of the voting electorate would be found on a General Election to support the Prime Minister in such a demand. If such a doubt is entertained, it is the duty of the Prime Minister to “advise” the King to dissolve Parliament in order to take the verdict of the electors upon the issue.

This verdict is final. The King is then bound to act on the authoritative "advice" of the Prime Minister thus supported by the voting electorate and to consent to create peers. In practice (as demonstrated on two celebrated occasions within the past 100 years) the mere announcement of the King's intention to create peers is enough to make the majority of the House of Lords give way. It has not been necessary actually to create peers for this purpose since 1711.

THE MINISTRY.

Thus, we come round always, whether it is about legislation or executive business, to the Ministers as the real rulers of the country for the time being. The persons who have the right and duty of "advising" the King, and thus of deciding both the executive government and legislation of the nation, are those who occupy for the time being certain high offices to which they are formally appointed by the King. The King, however, really chooses only the Prime Minister—his choice, even here, being limited to a person practically designated by the opinion of the House of Commons—and the Prime Minister, usually acting in consultation with his principal colleagues, chooses all the others, whose names he submits to the King for formal approval.

The occupants of these offices, about 20 in number, form what is called the Cabinet, which is really the supreme executive committee of the British Empire. Including the immediate assistants of the Cabinet Ministers and the heads of certain minor offices—these always changing with the Cabinet—we have a group of between 40 and 50 men, practically all of them holding seats either in the House of Commons or in the House of Lords, who are called the Ministry. At their head is the real chief ruler of the nation for the time being, the Prime Minister, who nearly always holds the nominal office of First Lord of the Treasury.

Whatever is done in the name of the King, or of the Government, is done by or under the authority of the Cabinet. They are, in effect, the Executive Committee for the whole nation, for the time being supreme in all branches of administration, including war and peace, foreign affairs, the Army and Navy, and the direction of the entire Government service.

It is a fundamental principle of the British Constitution—a principle seldom understood by foreign or even by American democrats, and known as that of "responsible government"—that the members of the Ministry, taken as a whole, and especially the Prime Minister, must always be men who enjoy for themselves and for the policy on public affairs that they are carrying out, **the support of a majority of the House of Commons for the time being.** It is in this way that the majority of the voting electorate control the government of the country.

When the Ministry ceases to have the support of a majority of the House of Commons, especially if this is shown by a vote of that House (either a formal vote of censure or the deliberate rejection of some important Government proposal), the Ministry ought, as soon as is convenient, either collectively to tender to the King its resignation, which is conveyed by the Prime Minister, or, in the alternative, if the Ministry thinks fit, "advise"—that is, require—the King to order a dissolution of Parliament and the election of a

new House of Commons. The King has constitutionally no right to dismiss a Ministry which has the support of a majority of the House of Commons, nor any particular member of such a Ministry. Nor is the King now considered to be entitled to dissolve Parliament except on the advice of the Prime Minister. But, however, the General Election may have come about, if the result is that a majority of the newly elected House of Commons fails to support the Ministry the Ministry is bound at once to tender its resignation.

When the Ministry resigns the King has a moment of freedom. He has to decide, without the authoritative "advice" of any Minister (the King may choose to consult the outgoing Prime Minister, but he is no longer authorised to give any formal advice and can now offer no more than friendly counsel), as to the person whom the King shall appoint to be Prime Minister, and thus trust with the task of forming a new Ministry. But as the new Ministry cannot endure unless it has the support of a majority of the House of Commons, the choice of the King is really very limited. He is driven to appoint as Prime Minister a man whom the House of Commons will support in that office—usually there is, at any moment, only one such man; and this man the King, however much he may dislike him or disapprove of his policy, must appoint to be the head of the Government and the real chief ruler of the nation.

The vast public business of the nation is conducted by the various Government departments, which directly employ, in the aggregate, about 300,000 persons at salaries or wages varying from £3,000 a year, which is the highest salary paid to any permanent civil servant (apart from the judges) down to the charwoman at 5d. per hour. Each department has a permanent official head, who is a lifelong civil servant, called usually either Under-Secretary of State, or Secretary, or Commissioner. But all the principal departments have also their Parliamentary heads, who are Members either of the House of Commons or House of Lords, and of the Ministry already described, and who usually has a Parliamentary Under-Secretary or Assistant. These Parliamentary heads give orders to their departments, and they are both severally and jointly responsible to Parliament for everything that the department does or leaves undone. It is the Minister, the Parliamentary head of the department concerned, or, in his absence, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary or other Ministerial Assistant, who should be attacked for anything that is badly done or that goes wrong—not the Civil Service head, who must always be assumed to have carried out orders given by the Minister. It is to the Minister who is responsible to the House of Commons for the department concerned that complaints and questions should be addressed. This is why it is part of the British Constitution that there must always be some Minister in the House of Commons who accepts responsibility for a department. If no other Minister does so the Prime Minister must. The following list of all the different kinds of business in which the National Government is engaged shows which department and which Minister is responsible for each; and gives some of the principal facts and statistics about them all.

THE KING.

George V., second son of King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra. Born June 3rd, 1865. Ascended the throne May 6th, 1910. Married Princess Victoria Mary of Teck (Queen Mary) July 6th, 1893. They have six children—five sons and one daughter.

THE CIVIL LIST.

This name is given to the sum of money voted by Parliament for the maintenance of the Royal Family. It is not granted annually, but for the sovereign's lifetime, and the amount is fixed at his succession to the throne.

King George V. receives £470,000 a year, in addition to which he has a personal income of £61,000 from the Duchy of Lancaster. (See "Lancashire," page 533.)

The Prince of Wales is not provided for in the Civil List, as he receives about £87,000 annually from the Duchy of Cornwall. (See "Cornwall," page 506.) In the event of his marrying, his wife will receive £10,000 a year, to be increased to £30,000 a year if she survives him.

Each of the King's younger sons receives £10,000 a year when he is 21 years old, to be increased to £25,000 at marriage. The King's daughter (Princess Mary) will receive £6,000 a year when she is 21 years old or at her marriage.

Pensions and annuities to various members of the Royal Family amount to £146,000 a year.

PARLIAMENT.**THE CABINET.**

First Lord of the Treasury	Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith.	
Minister without Portfolio	Rt. Hon. Marquess of Lansdowne.	
Lord Chancellor	Rt. Hon. Lord Buckmaster.	
Lord President of the Council	Rt. Hon. Marquess of Crewe.	
Lord Privy Seal	Rt. Hon. Earl Curzon.	
Secretaries of State.	Home Department ... Rt. Hon. Sir John Simon.	
	Foreign Affairs	Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Grey.
	Colonial	Rt. Hon. A. Bonar Law.
	War	Rt. Hon. Earl Kitchener.
	India	Rt. Hon. J. Austen Chamberlain.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Rt. Hon. Reginald McKenna.	
Minister of Munitions	Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George.	
First Lord of the Admiralty	Rt. Hon. Arthur J. Balfour.	
Secretary for Scotland	Rt. Hon. T. McKinnon Wood.	
President of the Board of Trade ...	Rt. Hon. Walter Runciman.	
President Local Government Board.	Rt. Hon. Walter H. Long.	
President Board of Agriculture	Rt. Hon. Earl of Selborne.	
President Board of Education	Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson.	
Chancellor of the Duchy	Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill.	
Chief Secretary for Ireland	Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell.	
First Commissioner of Works	Rt. Hon. Lewis Harcourt.	
Attorney-General	Rt. Hon. Sir E. H. Carson.	

THE HOUSE OF LORDS .

consists of—

3 Royal Peers :—

The Prince of Wales.

The Duke of Connaught.

The Duke of Albany (Duke of Saxe-Coburg Gotha).

2 Archbishops.

Canterbury and York.

21 Dukes.**25 Marquesses.****126 Earls.****47 Viscounts.****24 Bishops.****367 Barons.****16 Representative Scottish Peers** (elected every new Parliament).**28 Representative Irish Peers** (elected for life).

Total 655 (13 of these are minors).

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Speaker: Right Hon. J. W. Lowther (£5,000).

Chairman of Committees: Right Hon. J. H. Whitley (£2,500).

Deputy Chairman of Committees: Donald Maclean (£1,000).

There are 670 Members of the House of Commons. The following is a list of the Parliamentary constituencies of the United Kingdom, with the names of the Member or Members returned by each, and where there was a contest the figures polled by the candidates at the General Election of December 2nd-19th, 1910, and subsequent bye-elections. The figures after the name of the constituency show the number of electors on the 1914 register:—

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

* Denotes a Member of the last Parliament, and § a change of constituency.

ENGLAND.

LONDON BOROUGHES.

City of London, 30,010.

* Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour,
U. Unop.

* Sir F. G. Banbury, Bt.,
U. Unop.

Battersea, 18,927.

* Rt. Hon. J. Burns, LL.D.
L. 7,836

Maj. Sir J. L. Harrington,
K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O.

C.B., U. 6,544

C. N. L. Shaw, Soc. 487

Bethnal Green.

NORTH-EAST, 7,554.

* Sir E. A. Cornwall, LL.D.,
J. E. Molson, M.D., U. 2,037

SOUTH-WEST, 7,103.

(Bye-election, Feb. 19, 1914.)
Sir M. R. H. Wilson,
Bt., C.S.I., U. 2,828

* Rt. Hon. F. G. Masterman, L. 2,804

J. Scurr, Soc. 316

Camberwell.

NORTH, 11,918.

* Rt. Hon. T. J. Macnamara, LL.D., L. 5,038

S. H. Goldsmid, U. 4,056

DULWICH, 16,478.

F. Hall, U. 7,796

E. Spicer, L. 5,495

PECKHAM, 12,341.

A. H. H. Richardson,
L. 5,027

* H. C. Gooch, U. 4,986

Chelsea, 11,257.

* S. J. G. Hoare, U. 4,968

H. Hoare, L. 3,249

Clapham, 22,611.

* G. D. Faber, C.B., U. 9,560

Sir J. W. Benn, L. 7,636

Deptford, 15,159.

* C. W. Bowerman, Lab. 6,357
S. A. Coats, U. 5,999

Finsbury.

CENTRAL (Clerkenwell), 8,094

* Maj. M. Archer-Shee,
D.S.O., U. 3,335

F. Rosenheim, L. 2,804

EAST, 4,855.

* J. A. Baker, L. 2,023

W. J. P. Mason, U. 1,900

HOLBORN, 18,608.

* J. F. Remnant, U. 4,313

C. R. Cooke-Taylor, L. 1,615

Fulham, 21,000.

* Rt. Hon. W. Hayes-
Fisher, U. 8,252

S. Mayer, L. 6,526

Greenwich, 13,153.

* I. H. Benn, U. 5,697

Hon. J. W. Harris, L. 4,146

Hackney.

CENTRAL, 9,343.

* Rt. Hon. Sir A. Spicer,
Bart., L. 3,954

A. H. Jessel, K.C., U. 3,464

NORTH, 11,789.

* Lt. Col. R. Greene, U. 5,290

W. A. Addinsell, L. 4,126

SOUTH, 14,126.

(Bye-election, May 24, 1912.)
H. Morrison, L. 5,339

J. C. Gibson, U. 4,836

Hammersmith, 14,362.

* Sir W. J. Bull, U. 5,807

G. Blaiklock, L. 4,645

Hampstead, 12,050.

* J. S. Fletcher, U. 5,605

S. L. Dore, L. 3,129

Islington.

EAST, 11,118.

* G. H. Radford, L. 4,503

P. E. Pilditch, U. 4,378

NORTH, 12,677.

G. A. Touche, U. 5,428

* D. S. Waterlow, L. 5,022

SOUTH, 8,268.

* T. Wiles, L. 3,494

L. W. Harris, U. 2,803

WEST, 8,544.

* Rt. Hon. T. Lough, L. 3,549

W. G. Black, U. 2,985

Kensington.

NORTH, 10,100.

* A. H. Burgoyne, U. 4,223

F. M. Carson, L. 3,494

SOUTH, 9,159.

* Lord C. Hamilton, U. 5,093

G. R. Reid, L. 1,033

Lambeth.

BRIXTON, 11,442.

* D. Dalziel, U. 4,770

J. H. Seaverns, L. 3,702

KENNINGTON, 10,088.

* Sir S. Collins, L. 3,565

Col. F. A. Lucas, V.D.,
U. 3,510

A. V. Grayson, Soc. 408

NORTH, 6,440.

* Maj. W. H. Houghton-
Gastrell, U. 2,531

H. Gosling, L. 2,202

NORWOOD, 13,908.

* Sir H. S. Samuel, U. 6,291

G. Shrubsall, L. 4,265

Lewisham, 25,021.

* Maj. Sir E. F. Coates,
Bt., U. 11,179

Sir E. L. O'Malley, L. 6,792

Marylebone.

EAST, 6,759.

* J. Boyton, U. 3,376

R. O. Moon, M.D., L. 1,605

WEST, 8,576.

* Sir S. E. Scott, Bt., U. 3,929

A. H. Spokes, L. 1,925

Newington.

WALWORTH, 8,521.

*J. A. Dawes, L.3,248
R. E. Belilios, U.2,994

WEST, 9,635.

*Capt. C. W. Norton, L. 4,038
W. Brookes, U.3,498

Paddington.

NORTH, 10,945.

*A. Strauss, U.4,251
L. B. Franklin, L.3,662

SOUTH, 6,415.

*H. P. Harris, U.3,210
F. T. H. Henlé, L.1,274

St. George's, Hanover Square, 9,142.

(Bye-election, July 25, 1913.)

Sir A. Henderson, Bt.,
U.Unop.

St. Pancras.

EAST, 9,487.

*Hon. J. Martin, K.C.,
L.3,891

J. W. W. Hopkins, U.3,038
H. Jacobs, Suff.22

NORTH, 9,977.

*Rt. Hon. W. H. Dick-
inson, L.4,407

A. Moon, U.3,230

SOUTH, 5,536

*Capt. H. M. Jessel, U. 2,415
F. M. Guedalla, L.1,744

WEST, 5,589.

F. Cassell, K.C., U.3,384
*Sir W. J. Collins, M.D.
L.3,376

Shoreditch.

HAGGERSTON, 7,936.

*H. G. Chancellor, L.3,046
Hon. Rupt. Guinness,
U.2,641

HOXTON, 8,530.

*C. Addison, M.D., L.3,489
J. Francis, U.2,795

Southwark.

BERMONDSEY, 12,115.

*H. J. Glanville, L.4,911
J. M. T. Dumphreys, U. 3,695

ROTHERHITHE, 9,990.

*H. W. C. Carr-Gomm,
L.4,030

A. Pownall, U.3,026

WEST, 8,060.

E. A. Strauss, L.3,028
*Sir W. H. Dunn, U.3,010

Strand, 8,019.

*Rt. Hon. W. H. Long, U. 4,143
S. R. Earle, L.1,138

Tower Hamlets.

BOW AND BROMLEY, 11,232.
(Bye-election, Nov. 26, 1912.)

R. Blair, U.4,052
*G. Lansbury, Soc. &
Suff.3,201

LIMEHOUSE, 6,405.

*W. Pearce, L.2,557
P. Rose-Innes, U.2,126

MILE END, 5,464.

*Hon. H. L. W. Lawson,
U.2,179
B. S. Straus, L.2,177

POPLAR, 8,857.

(Bye-election, Feb. 20, 1914.)
A. W. Yeo, L.3,548

R. Kerr Clark, U.3,270
T. Jones, Soc.893

ST. GEORGE'S, 3,133.

*W. W. Benn, L.1,401
C. Clifton Brown, U.1,022

STEPNEY, 4,653.

W. S. Glyn Jones, L.1,926
W. R. Preston, U.1,811

WHITECHAPEL, 4,117.

(Bye-election, Apl. 30, 1913.)
*Sir S. M. Samuel, Bart.,
L.1,722

Capt. E. M. Browne, U.1,556

Wandsworth, 39,911.

(Bye-election, June 12, 1913.)
S. Samuel, U.13,425

T. H. Wilson, Ind. Lab. 7,088

West Ham.

NORTH, 15,661

(Bye-election, July 8, 1911.)
Baron de Forest, L.6,807

E. E. Wild, U.5,776

SOUTH, 26,682

*W. J. Thorne, Lab.9,508
Capt. T. W. C. Carthew,
U.4,820

Westminster, 7,284.

*W. L. A. B. Burdett-
Coutts, U.3,397

H. de Pas, L.1,228

Woolwich, 18,536.

W. Crooks, Lab.8,252
*Major W. A. Adam, U.8,016

ENGLISH BOROUGHES.

Ashton-u.-Lyne, 8,595.

Sir W. M. Aitken, U.4,044
*A. H. Scott, L.3,848

Aston Manor, 11,894.

*E. Ceell, U.Unop.

Barrow-in-Furness,
10,478.

*C. Duncan, Lab.4,810
F. Meynell, U.4,290

Bath (Two Mems.), 8,144.

*Lord Alex. Thynne, U.3,875
*Sir C. R. Hunter, Bt. U. 3,841

G. P. Gooch, L.3,631
G. A. Hardy, L.3,585

Bedford, 6,063.

F. G. Kellaway, L.2,773
*W. A. Attenborough,
LL.M., U.2,754

Birkenhead, 18,189.

A. Bigland, U.8,304
*H. H. Vivian, L.7,249

Birmingham.

BORDESLEY, 17,358.

*Rt. Hon. J. Collings, U. Unop.
CENTRAL, 9908.

*E. Parkes, U.4,640
H. J. Maifon, L.1,417

EDGBASTON, 13,383.

*Sir F. W. Lowe, U.Unop.
EAST, 15,244.

*A. H. D. Ramsay-Steel-
Maitland, U.6,639
J. V. Stevens, L.3,190

NORTH, 8,542.

*J. T. Middlemore, U. Unop.
SOUTH, 11,178

(Bye-election, April 3, 1911.)
L. C. M. S. Amery, U. Unop.

WEST, 12,313.

(Bye-election, July 13, 1914.)
§ Rt. Hon. Austen Cham-
berlain, U.Unop.

Blackburn (Two Mems.),
22,572.

*P. Snowden, Lab.10,762
Sir H. Norman, L.10,754

W. B. Boyd-Carpenter
U.9,814

H. L. Riley, U.9,500

Bolton (Two Mems.) 21,224.

(Bye-election, Nov. 23, 1912.)
T. Taylor, L.10,011

A. Brooks, U.8,835
(Bye-election, Sept. 22, 1914.)
Robt. Toothill, Lab.Unop.

Boston, 4,037.

*C. H. Dixon, U.1,875
Hon. F. Hemphill, L.1,712

Bradford.

CENTRAL, 9,848.

*Sir G. S. Robertson,
K.C.S.I., L.4,677

G. Pauling, U.3,381

EAST, 15,879.

*Sir W. E. B. Priestley,
L.7,778

R. Mortimer, U.4,734

WEST, 14,825.

*F. W. Jowett, Lab.7,729
Sir E. F. S. Flower, U. 4,339

Brighton (Two Mems.)
21,427.

*Capt. G. C. Tryon, U. 10,780
(Bye-election, June 29, 1914.)
C. T. Stanford, U.Unop.

Bristol.

EAST, 15,060.

(Bye-election, Nov. 3, 1911.)
*Rt. Hon. C. E. H. Hob-
house, L.4,913

W. Moore, Ind.2,913

NORTH, 13,989.
 *Rt. Hon. A. Birrell, K.C.,
 L. Magnus, U.6,410
 L. Magnus, U.5,084
SOUTH, 16,171.
 *Sir W. H. Davies, L.6,895
 J. T. Francombe, U.6,757
WEST, 10,127.
 *Lt.-Col. G. A. Gibbs, U.4,871
 J. W. Stevens, L.3,595
Burnley, 16,992.
 P. E. Morrell, L.6,177
 *G. A. Arbuthnot, U.6,004
 H. M. Hyndman, Soc.3,810
Bury (Lancashire), 9,657.
 *Sir G. Toulmin, L.4,509
 E. L. Hartley, U.4,254
Bury St. Edmunds, 2,817.
 *Hon. Walter Guinness,
 U.Unop.
Cambridge, 9,392.
 *A. H. Paget, U.4,427
 S. O. Buckmaster, K.C.,
 L.4,084
Canterbury, 3,836.
 F. Bennett Goldney,
 Ind. U.1,635
 J. Howard, U.1,163
 W. J. Fisher, L.623
Carlisle, 7,456.
 *Hon. R. D. Denman, L.3,243
 J. Raymond, U.3,176
Chatham, 15,799.
 *G. F. Hohler, K.C., U.6,989
 L. C. Bernacchi, L.4,302
 F. Smith, Lab.1,103
Cheltenham, 8,353.
 (Bye-election, Mar. 25, 1911.)
 J. T. Agg-Gardner, U.4,043
 Maj. L. Mathias, L.4,039
Chester, 8,102.
 *R. A. Yerburch, U.3,787
 E. Paul, L.3,681
Christchurch, 10,991.
 *H. P. Croft, U.5,275
 *F. W. Verney, L.4,619
Colchester, 7,226.
 *L. W. Evans, U.3,489
 Sir E. Vincent, K.C.M.G.,
 L.2,874
Coventry, 16,463.
 D. M. Mason, L.7,351
 *J. K. Foster, U.6,828
Croydon, 27,350.
 Ian Z. Malcolm, U.11,875
 A. L. Leon, L.10,343
Darlington, 10,997.
 H. Pike Pease, U.4,881
 F. Maddison, L.4,475
Derby (Two Mems.), 20,118.
 *Sir T. Roe, L.9,515
 *J. H. Thomas, Lab.9,144
 A. E. Beck, U.8,160

Devonport (Two Mems.), 12,125.
 *Sir J. Jackson, K.C.V.O.
 U.5,170
 *Sir C. Kinloch-Cooke,
 U.5,111
 S. Lithgow, L.4,841
 G. Baring, L.4,782
Dewsbury, 14,389.
 *Rt. Hon. W. Runciman,
 L.7,061
 E. O. Simpson, U.4,033
Dover, 6,634.
 (Bye-election, June 23, 1913.)
 Visct. Duncannon, U. Unop.
Dudley, 17,483.
 Lt.-Col. Sir A. S. T.
 Griffith-Boscawen, U.8,260
 *A. G. Hooper, L.7,900
Durham, 2,601.
 *J. W. Hills, D.C.L., U.1,313
 C. A. Cochrane, L.877
Exeter, 10,383.
 *H. E. Duke, K.C., U.4,777
 R. H. St. Maur, L.4,776
Gateshead, 19,138.
 *Sir H. Elverston, L.8,763
 Col. H. C. Surtees, C.B.,
 M.V.O., D.S.O., U.5,608
Gloucester, 8,475.
 *H. Terrell, K.C., U.3,903
 H. F. B. Lynch, L.3,899
Grantham, 3,647.
 *Sir A. Priestly, L.1,730
 H. G. Snowden, U.1,697
Gravesend, 6,733.
 *Sir G. Parker, D.C.L.,
 U.3,108
 S. R. Jenkins, L.2,506
Great Grimsby, 18,029.
 (Bye-election, May 12, 1914.)
 T. G. Tickler, U.8,471
 A. Bannister, L.8,193
Halifax (Two Mems.), 15,528.
 *Rt. Hon. J. H. Whitley,
 L.8,778
 *J. Parker, Lab.8,511
 J. H. L. Baldwin, U.4,602
 J. F. W. Galbraith, U.4,420
Hanley, 16,543.
 (Bye-election, July 13, 1912.)
 *R. L. Outhwaite, L.6,647
 G. H. Rittner, U.5,993
 S. Finney, Lab.1,694
Hartlepool, The 13,708.
 (Bye-election, Sept. 21, 1914)
 Sir Walter Runciman,
 Bt., L.Unop.
Hastings, 9,027.
 *A. P. Du Cros, U.4,397
 A. F. W. Johnson, L.3,515

Hereford, 4,066.
 (Bye-election, March 8, 1912.)
 *W. A. S. Hewins, U. Unop.
Huddersfield, 19,021.
 *A. J. Sherwell, L.6,458
 J. H. Kaye, U.5,777
 H. Snell, Lab.4,988
Hull.
CENTRAL, 8,181.
 (Bye-election, July 5, 1911.)
 Sir Mark Sykes, Bt., U.3,823
 Sir R. W. Aske, L.3,545
EAST, 14,687.
 *Rt. Hon. T. R. Ferens,
 L.7,196
 R. M. Sebag Montefiore
 U.5,387
WEST, 22,609.
 *Hon. Guy Wilson, D.S.O.
 L.9,236
 A. L. Ward, U.7,943
Hythe, 6,541.
 (Bye-election, June 11, 1912)
 Sir P. A. G. D. Sassoon
 Bt., U.3,722
 Capt. S. Moorhouse, L.2,004
Ipswich (Two Mems.), 12,641.
 *Sir D. F. Goddard, L.5,931
 (Bye-election, May 23, 1914.)
 F. J. S. Ganzoni, U.6,406
 *Rt. Hon. C. F. G.
 Masterman, L.5,874
 J. Sourr, Soc.395
Kidderminster, 4,579.
 *Capt. E. A. Knight, U.2,188
 E. B. Barnard, L.2,003
King's Lynn, 3,755.
 H. Ingleby, U.1,765
 *T. G. Bowles, L.1,668
Leamington: see Warwick.
Leeds.
CENTRAL, 8,369.
 *R. Armitage, L.3,519
 J. Gordon, U.3,169
EAST, 9,419.
 *J. O'Grady, Lab.4,028
 W. H. Clarke, U.1,892
NORTH, 22,965.
 *R. H. Barran, L.9,324
 J. D. Birchall, U.9,056
SOUTH, 15,723.
 *W. Middlebrook, L.6,064
 W. Nicholson, U.3,804
 J. Badlay, Lab.2,706
WEST, 18,868.
 *T. E. Harvey, L.8,715
 S. Samuel, U.4,445
Leicester (Two Mems.), 26,972.
 *J. R. MacDonald, Lab.12,998
 (Bye-election, June 27, 1913.)
 G. Hewart, L.10,863
 A. M. Wilshe, U.9,279
 E. R. Hartley, Soc.2,580

Lincoln, 11,577.

*C. H. Roberts, L.5,481
Sir R. M. Filmer, Bt.,
U.4,878

Liverpool.

ABERCROMBY, 6,926.

*Col. R. G. W. Chaloner,
U.3,024
F. C. Bowring, L.2,184

EAST TOXTETH, 9,514.

*E. M. Hall, K.C., U.4,087
Capt. Hon. C. Bigham,
C.M.G., L.3,121

EVERTON, 9,308.

*Sir J. S. Harmood-
Banner, U.Unop.

EXCHANGE, 5,602.

L. Scott, K.C., U.2,330
*M. Muspratt, L.2,187

KIRKDALE, 10,361.

(Bye-election, Feb. 15, 1915.)
de F. Pennefather, U. Unop.

SCOTLAND, 5,326.

*T. P. O'Connor, N.2,458
T. O. Ocklestone, U.689

WALTON, 15,670.

*H. Hon. F. E. Smith,
K.C., U.6,383
W. Permewan, M.D., L.5,039

WEST DERBY, 11,467.

*W. W. Rutherford, U.4,908
W. J. Lias, L.2,943

WEST TOXTETH, 9,019.

*R. P. Houston, U.3,938
T. F. Molony, L.2,445

Maidstone, 6,260.

(Bye-election, Feb. 22, 1915.)
Commander Carlyon
Bellairs, U.Unop.

Manchester.

EAST, 12,646.

*J. E. Sutton, Lab.5,524
R. G. Proby, U.4,653

NORTH, 10,284.

*Rt. Hon. Sir C. E.
Swann, Bt., L.4,601
H. E. Howell, U.3,930

NORTH EAST, 9,925.

*J. R. Clynes, Lab.4,313
A. Taylor, U.4,108

NORTH WEST, 11,961.

(Bye-election, Aug. 8, 1912.)
Sir J. S. Randles, U.5,573
J. Hewart, L.4,371

SOUTH, 15,594.

Bye-election, Mar. 5, 1912.)
Capt. P. K. Glazebrook,
U.7,051

*Sir A. A. Haworth, Bt.
L.6,472

SOUTH-WEST, 8,180.

C. T. Needham, L.3,590
H. A. Colefax, U.3,331

Middlesbrough, 21,756.

*Col. P. Williams, V.D.,
L.10,313
Lt.-Col. T. G. Poole,
V.D., U.6,568

Monmouth District,

12,934.

*L. Haslam, L.6,154
G. de L. P. Hargreaves,
U.5,056

Morpeth, 10,010.

*Rt. Hon. T. Burt, D.C.L.,
L.Unop.

Newcastle-u.-Lyme,

10,512.

*J. C. Wedgwood, L.5,280
Capt. E. S. Grogan, U.4,086

Newcastle-on-Tyne

(Two Mems.) 38,534.

*E. Shortt, K.C., L.16,599
*W. Hudson, Lab.16,447
E. Clark, U.12,915
Hon. J. N. Ridley, U.12,849

Northampton (Two

Mems.) 12,580.

*C. A. McCurdy, L.6,179
*Prof. H. B. Lees-Smith,
L.6,025
F. C. Parker, U.4,885
J. V. Collier, U.4,559

Norwich (Two Mems.)

21,607.

(Bye-election, Feb. 6, 1915.)
J. Hilton Young, L.Unop.
*G. H. Roberts, Lab.10,003
W. Dyson, U.7,758

Nottingham.

EAST, 13,218.

(Bye-election, April 19, 1912.)
Sir J. D. Rees, K.C.I.E.,
C.V.O., U.6,482
T. W. Dobson, L.5,183

SOUTH, 14,031.

*Lord Hy. Cavendish-
Bentinck, U.6,151
A. Richardson, L.5,706

WEST, 17,476.

*Sir J. H. Yoxall, L.8,141
B. S. Wright, U.5,949

Oldham (Two Mems.) 35,315

*W. Barton, L.16,949
(Bye-election, Nov. 13, 1911.)
F. R. Bartley Denniss,
U.12,255
Hon. A. L. Stanley, L.10,623
W. C. Robinson, Lab.7,448

Oxford, 9,227.

*Viscount Valentia, U.4,664
J. F. Williams, L.3,318

Penrhyn & Falmouth,

3,215.

*Capt. C. S. Goldman, U.1,585
W. Burt, L.1,291

Peterborough, 6,564.

*G. G. Greenwood, L.3,102
Hon. H. Lygon, U.2,799

Plymouth (Two Mems.)

18,085.

W. W. Astor, U.8,113
A. S. Benn, U.7,944
*C. E. Mallet, L.7,379
*A. Williams, L.7,260

Pontefract, 3,661.

F. H. Booth, L.1,679
Col. J. R. Shaw, U.1,627

Portsmouth (Two Mems.)

33,666.

*Adm. Lord C. Beres-
ford, G.C.B., U.15,125
*B. G. Falle, U.14,856
*E. G. Hemmerde, K.C.,
L.13,146
H. D. Harben, L.13,013

Preston (Two Mems.)

19,521.

*Major Hon. George
Stanley, R.A., U.9,184
(Bye-election, June 11, 1915.)
U. H. Broughton, U. Unop.
H. Young, L.8,193
W. N. Carr, Lab.7,855

Reading, 11,016.

(Bye-election, Nov. 8, 1913.)

*Captain L. O. Wilson,
D.S.O., U.5,144
G. P. Gooch, L.4,013
J. G. Butler, Soc.1,063

Rochdale, 14,909.

*A. G. C. Harvey, L.5,850
N. Cockshutt, U.5,373
D. D. Irving, Soc.1,901

Rochester, 5,629.

Sir E. H. Lamb, C.M.G.,
L.2,609
*S. F. Ridley, U.2,456

St. Helens, 13,068.

R. P. W. Swift, K.C., U.6,016
*T. Glover, Lab.5,752

Salford.

NORTH, 9,850.

*Sir W. P. Byles, L.4,402
C. H. Potter, U.4,163

SOUTH, 8,344.

C. A. M. Barlow, U.3,666
C. Russell, L.3,439

WEST, 15,083.

*Sir G. W. Agnew, Bt., L.6,633
G. E. Raine, U.5,802

Salisbury, 3,386.

*G. L. T. Locker-
Lampson, U.1,750
C. J. Warner, L.1,413

Scarborough, 6,166.

*W. R. Rea, L.2,763
Hon. G. V. A. Monckton-
Arundell, U.2,711

Sheffield.

ATTERCLIFFE, 16,483.
W. C. Anderson, Lab. Unop.

BRIGHTSIDE, 12,564.
 *Sir J. T. Walters, L., 5,766
 D. Vickers, U., 3,902

CENTRAL, 8,684.
 *J. F. Hope, U., 3,455
 A. J. Bailey, Lab., 3,271
ECCLESALL, 13,961.
 *S. Roberts, U., 6,039
 J. Derry, L., 5,849

HALLAM, 13,527.
 *Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
 Wortley, K.C., U., 5,788
 A. Neal, L., 5,593

Shrewsbury, 5,107.
 (Bye-election, April 22, 1913.)
 *G. Butler Lloyd, U., 2,412
 J. R. Morris, Ind., 1,727

South Shields, 18,320.
 *Rt. Hon. Russell Rea, L.,
 unop.

**Southampton (Two
 Mems.), 20,205.**

*Col. Ivor Philipps,
 D.S.O., L., 8,495
 *W. Dudley Ward, L., 8,449
 Maj. K. R. Balfour, U., 7,551
 Lieut. Sir G. E. Arm-
 strong, Bart., R.N., U., 7,535

Stafford, 4,137.
 Sir R. W. Essex, L., 1,992
 Col. J. S. Nicholson,
 C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., U., 1,837

Stalybridge, 7,800.
 *J. Wood, U., 3,807
 A. H. Bright, L., 3,414

**Stockport (Two Mems.).
 13,002.**
 *S. L. Hughes, L., 6,169
 *G. J. Wardle, Lab., 6,094
 J. R. Lort-Williams, U., 5,234
 R. Campbell, U., 5,183

**Stockton-on-Tees,
 11,582.**
 *J. Samuel, L., 5,510
 H. A. Richardson, U., 4,840

**Stoke-upon-Trent,
 15,079.**
 *J. Ward, Lab., 7,049
 S. J. Thomas, U., 5,062

**Sunderland (Two Mems.)
 27,610.**
 Hamar-Greenwood,
 L., 11,997
 F. W. Goldstone, Lab., 11,291
 W. Joynton-Hicks, U., 10,300
 S. Samuel, U., 10,122

Taunton, 3,814.
 (Bye-election, Nov. 11, 1912.)
 Sir Gilbert A. H.
 Wills, Bart., U., 1,882
 J. E. Schunck, L., 1,597

Tynemouth, 10,122.
 *H. J. Craig, L., 4,106
 C. Percy, U., 3,929

Wakefield, 6,326.
 A. H. Marshall, L., 2,837
 *E. A. Brotherton, U., 2,651

Walsall, 14,713.
 *Sir R. A. Cooper, Bt.,
 U., 7,174
 J. Morgan, L., 6,385

Warrington, 10,814.
 H. H. Smith, U., 5,162
 *A. H. Crosfield, L., 4,916

**Warwick and Leam-
 ington, 6,642.**
 *E. M. Pollock, K.C., U., 3,321
 T. H. D. Berridge, L., 2,596

Wednesbury, 13,479.
 *J. N. Griffiths, U., 6,423
 H. A. Baker, L., 5,691

West Bromwich, 11,299.
 *Viscount Lewisham,
 U., 5,010
 A. E. W. Hazel, L.L.D.,
 L., 5,008

Whitehaven, 3,050.
 T. Richardson, Lab., 1,414
 *Lt.-Col. J. A. Jackson,
 U., 1,220

Wigan, 9,577.
 R. J. N. Neville, U., 4,673
 *H. Twist, Lab., 4,110

Winchester, 3,200.
 *Maj. Hon. Guy Baring,
 U., 1,719
 G. W. Ricketts, L., 1,121

Windsor, 3,210.
 *J. F. Mason, U., 1,779
 Hon. G. R. C. Fiennes,
 L., 1,057

**Wolverhampton.
 EAST, 10,238.**
 *G. R. Thorne, L., 5,027
 R. B. Whiteside, U., 3,881

SOUTH, 10,253.
 *Col. T. E. Hickman,
 C.B., D.S.O., U., 4,784
 A. Levy Lever, L., 4,440

WEST, 13,170.
 *A. F. Bird, U., 5,925
 Price, Lewis, L., 5,631

Worcester, 8,412.
 *E. A. Goulding, U., 4,193
 R. R. Fairbairn, L., 3,172

Yarmouth, Great, 9,571.
 *A. Fell, U., 4,210
 Maj. E. Platt, L., 3,887

York (Two Mems.) 14,065.
 *A. S. Rowntree, L., Unop.
 *J. G. Butcher, K.C., U., Unop.

ENGLISH COUNTIES.

Bedford.
**NORTH OF BIGGLESWADE,
 14,031.**

*A. W. Black, L., 6,536
 Maj. G. C. Glynn, D.S.O.,
 U., 5,808

SOUTH OF LUTON, 16,564.
 (Bye-election, July 21, 1911.)
 C. B. Harmsworth, L., 7,619
 J. O. Hickman, U., 7,006

Berkshire.
NORTH OF ABINGDON, 9,255.
 *Maj. H. G. Henderson,
 U., 4,677
 M. H. Sands, L., 3,328

SOUTH OF NEWBURY, 13,063.
 *W. A. Mount, U., 6,485
 Cpt. L. March-Phillips,
 L., 4,278
EAST OF WOKINGHAM, 14,327.
 *E. Gardner, U., Unop.

Buckinghamshire.
MID. OF AYLESBURY, 12,218.
 *L. N. Rothschild, U., Unop.
**NORTH OF BUCKINGHAM,
 13,081.**

*Sir H. C. W. Verney, Bt.,
 L., 6,029
 F. T. H. Bernard, U., 5,702
SOUTH OF WYCOMBE, 16,366.
 (Bye-election, Feb. 19, 1914.)
 W. B. Du Pre, U., 9,044
 T. Mosley, C.B., L., 6,713

Cambridge.
**WEST OF CHESTERTON,
 10,850.**

*Hon. E. S. Montagu, L., 5,011
 G. D. C. Newton, U., 4,640
EAST OF NEWMARKET, 10,731.
 (Bye-election, May 16, 1913.)
 J. Denison Pender, U., 5,251
 G. Nicholls, L., 4,400

NORTH OF WISBECH, 11,713.
 *Hon. Neil Primrose, L., 4,401
 Lord Robert Cecil, U., 4,857

Cheshire.
ALTRINCHAM, 20,860.
 (Bye-election, Apr. 28, 1913.)
 G. C. Hamilton, U., 9,409
 Hon. L. U. Kay-Shuttle-
 worth, L., 8,147

CREWE, 15,866.
 (Bye-election, July 26, 1912.)
 E. Y. Craig, U., 6,260
 H. Murphy, L., 5,294
 J. H. Holmes, Lab., 2,485

EDDISBURY, 11,488.
 *H. Barnston, U., 5,312
 Hon. Arthur Stanley, L., 5,023

HYDE, 12,166.
 *F. Neilson, L., 5,562
 T. Smith, U., 5,268

KNUTSFORD, 12,142.
 *Col. A. J. Sykes, U., 6,127
 J. H. Whitworth, L., 4,658

MACCLESFIELD, 9,306.
 *Col. W. B. Brockle-
 hurst, L.4,410
 B. Dent, U.4,142
NORTHWICH, 13,389.
 *J. F. L. Brunner, [L.6,971
 J. de Knoop, U.5,741
WIRRAL, 22,230.
 *G. Stewart, U.10,043
 A. J. Ashton, L.7,727

Cornwall.

SOUTH-EAST OF BODMIN,
 11,553.
 Lt.-Gen. Sir R. Pole-
 Carew, K.C.B., C.V.O.,
 U.5,021
 I. Foot, L.4,980
NORTH-WEST OF CAMBORNE,
 9,375.
 F. D. Acland, L.4,419
 G. Coates, M.D., U.2,326
NORTH-EAST OF LAUNCESTON,
 9,857.
 *Sir G. C. Marks, L.4,373
 E. Treffry, U.3,249
MID OF ST. AUSTELL, 10,968.
 *Hon. Thomas Agar-
 Robartes, L.Unop.
WEST OF ST. IVES, 9,411.
 *Sir C. J. Cory, Bart., L.4,253
 R. E. L. Vaughan-
 Williams, U.3,338
TRURO, 10,162.
 *G. H. Morgan, K.C., L.4,573
 C. Williams, U.4,176

Cumberland.

COCKERMOUTH, 11,328.
 Sir W. Lawson, Bt., L.5,003
 *Sir J. S. Randles, U.4,492
WESTERN OF EGREMONT,
 10,424.
 *J. A. Grant, U.4,013
 W. E. Mouldsall, L.3,763
NORTH OF ESKDALE, 11,074.
 C. W. H. Lowther, U.4,581
 *Hon. G. Howard, L.4,211
MID OF PENRITH, 8,907.
 *Rt. Hon. J. W. Lowther, U.
 (Speaker), Unop.

Derbyshire.

MID OF BELPER, 13,660.
 *J. G. Hancock, Lab.6,557
 D. Rhys, U.4,287
CHESTERFIELD, 16,995.
 (Bye-election, Aug. 20, 1913.)
 G. Kenyon, L.7,725
 E. Christie, U.5,539
 J. Scurr, Soc.583
NORTH-EAST OF ECKINGTON,
 17,701.
 (Bye-election, May 20, 1914.)
 Maj. H. Bowden, U.6,469
 J. P. Houghton, L.6,155
 J. Martin, Lab.3,669
HIGH PEAK, 12,412.
 S. Hill Wood, U.5,813
 *O. Partington, L.5,629

ILKESTON, 19,467.
 *Col. Rt. Hon. J. E. B.
 Seeley, D.S.O., L.9,049
 M. Freeman, U.7,838
SOUTHERN OF REPTON,
 *Sir H. H. Raphael, Bt.,
 L.7,744
 J. B. M. Smedley, U.7,373
WESTERN OF WIRKSWORTH,
 11,962.
 *The Earl of Kerry,
 M.V.O., D.S.O., U.5,624
 C. F. White, L.4,564

Devonshire.

MID OF ASHBURTON, 11,976.
 Capt. E. F. Morrison
 Bell, U.5,579
 *C. R. Buxton, L.5,225
**NORTH-WEST OF BARN-
 STAPLE, 13,126.**
 (Bye-election, May 6, 1911.)
 *Sir Godfrey Baring,
 Bt., L.6,239
 C. S. Parker, U.5,751
EAST OF HONITON, 10,522.
 *Maj. A. C. Morrison-
 Bell, U.5,348
 H. Geen, L.3,439
NORTH OF SOUTH MOLTON,
 8,700.
 *Rt. Hon. G. Lambert, L.4,224
 Lt.-Col. J. T. W. Per-
 owne, V.D., U.3,217
WEST OF TAVISTOCK, 15,063.
 Sir J. W. Spear, U.6,409
 *H. C. Fownes-Luttrell,
 L.6,019
NORTH-EAST OF TIVERTON,
 9,660.
 *Hon. Lionel Walrond,
 U.5,033
 A. E. Y. Trestrail, L.3,455
TORQUAY, 11,241.
 Col. C. R. Burn, U.5,101
 *Sir F. Layland-Barratt,
 Bart., L.4,971
SOUTH OF TOTNES, 10,107.
 *F. B. Mildmay, U.5,252
 R. Dunston, U.3,040

Dorset.

EAST (Poole), 14,794.
 (Bye-election, Apl. 29, 1911.)
 *Capt. Hon. F. E. Guest,
 L.Unop.
NORTH (Shaftesbury), 8616.
 *Sir R. L. Baker, Bart.,
 U.3,919
 A. W. Willis, L.3,887
SOUTH (Dorchester) 11,440.
 *A. V. Hambro, U.Unop.
WEST (Bridport), 7,576.
 *Col. R. Williams, V.D.,
 U.Unop.

Durham.

BARNARD CASTLE, 12,212.
 *A. Henderson, Lab.5,868
 H. G. Stobart, U.4,423
BISHOP AUCKLAND, 14,552.
 *Sir H. M. S. Havelock,
 Allan, Bart., L.4,531
 W. House, Lab.3,993
 G. E. Markham, U.3,519
CHESTER-LE-STREET, 23,906.
 *J. W. W. Taylor, Lab. Unop.
HOUGHTON-LE-SPRING,
 19,032.
 (Bye-election, Mar. 18, 1913.)
 T. Wing, L.6,930
 T. Richardson, U.4,807
 Ald. W. House, Lab.4,165
JARROW, 18,292.
 *G. M. Palmer, L.5,097
 J. Kirkley, U.4,986
 A. G. Cameron, Lab.4,892
MID (Brancepeth), 15,832.
 (Bye-election, Apl. 29, 1915.)
 S. Galbraith, Lab.Unop.
NORTH-WEST (Lanchester)
 18,361.
 (Bye-election, Jan. 30, 1914.)
 A. Williams, L.7,241
 J. O. Hardicker, U.5,564
 G. H. Stuart, Lab.5,026
SOUTH-EAST (North Tees),
 18,880.
 *E. Hayward, L.8,203
 Col. R. Burdon, V.D., U.7,021

Essex.

MID OF CHELMSFORD, 13,314.
 *E. C. Pretymann, U.Unop.
WEST OF EPPING, 12,164.
 *Col. Rt. Hon. A. R. M.
 Lockwood, C.V.O. U.5,990
 I. A. Symmons, L.3,361
NORTH-EAST OF HARWICH,
 14,285.
 *H. K. Newton, U.6,470
 F. S. Hiley, L.5,008
EAST OF MALDON, 11,571.
 *Sir F. Flannery, Bt. U.5,386
 W. Jardine, L.4,693
SOUTH OF ROMFORD, 54,984
 *Sir J. H. Bethell, Bt.,
 L.22,119
 W. P. Griggs, U.18,850
NORTH OF SAFFRON WALDEN,
 9,187.
 A. C. T. Beck, L.4,071
 Col. D. J. Proby, U.4,031
SOUTH-EAST (Tilbury),
 24,645.
 (Bye-election, Mar. 16, 1912.)
 Hon. R. E. C. L. Guin-
 ness, U.Unop.
WEST OF WALTHAMSTOW,
 39,117.
 *Rt. Hon. Sir J. A. Simon,
 K.C.V.O., K.C., L.16,998
 Lieut. C. W. Bellairs,
 R.N., U.13,275

Gloucestershire.EAST OF CIRENCESTER,
9,934.

- *Lt.-Col. Hon. A. B.
Bathurst, U.4,788
G. H. Beyfus, L.4,007
FOREST OF DEAN, 10,881.
(Bye-election, April 30, 1912.)
H. Webb, L.Unop.
MID OF STROUD, 10,992.
*Rt. Hon. C. P. Allen, L. 5,051
C. E. Fitch, U.4,849
NORTH OF TEWKESBURY,
13,155.1
*Viscount Quenington,
U.5,699
R. A. Lister, L.5,267
SOUTH OF THORNBURY,
14,742.
*A. Rendall, L.6,820
Maj. Cockerill, U.5,537

Hampshire.

- WEST OR ANDOVER, 11,370.
*Capt. W. V. Faber, U. Unop.
NORTH OF BASINGSTOKE,
13,136.
*A. C. Salter, K.C., U. Unop.
SOUTH OF FAREHAM, 18,695.
*A. H. Lee, U.Unop.
ISLE OF WIGHT, 15,969.
*D. B. Hall, U.7,192
C. Scaramanga Ralli, L. 6,969
NEW FOREST, 12,118.
W. F. Perkin, U.Unop.
EAST OF PETERSFIELD,
11,110.
*Col. W. G. Nicholson,
U.Unop.

Hereford.

- NORTH OF LEOMINSTER,
9,689.
(Bye-election, Mar. 18, 1912.)
H. F. Wright, U.Unop.
SOUTH OF ROSS, 10,946.
*Capt. P. A. Clive... U. 4,748
H. Webb, L.4,627

Hertford.

- EAST OF HERTFORD, 11,838.
*Sir J. Rolleston, U.5,594
G. S. Pawle, L.4,226
NORTH OF HITCHIN, 10,883.
(Bye-election, Nov. 23, 1911.)
Lord Robert Cecil, U. 5,542
T. T. Gregg, L.3,969
MID OF ST. ALBANS, 13,929.
*Col. Sir E. H. Carille, U. 6,899
R. C. Phillimore, L.4,777
WEST OF WATFORD, 17,710.
*A. S. Ward, U.8,043
N. Micklem, K.C., L.7,160

Huntingdon.

- SOUTH OF HUNTINGDON,
5,175.
*J. Cator, U.2,287
Hon. Oliver Brett, L. 2,139

NORTH OF RAMSEY, 7,034.

- *O. Locker-Lampson,
U.3,072
A. C. Foster-Boulton, L. 2,954

Kent.

- SOUTH OF ASHFORD, 14,202.
Rt. Hon. L. Hardy, U. Unop.
NORTH-WEST OF DART-
FORD, 21,398.
J. Rowlands, L.9,152
*W. Foot-Mitchell, U. 8,918
NORTH-EAST OF FAVERSHAM,
14,649.
*G. C. H. Wheeler, U.6,897
G. Nicholls, L.5,111
ISLE OF THANET, 12,588.
*N. C. Craig, K.C., U. Unop.
MID OF MEDWAY, 15,181.
*Col. C. E. Warde, U. Unop.
EAST OF ST. AUGUSTINE'S,
16,614.

- (Bye-election, July 7th, 1911.)
R. McNeill, U.Unop.
WEST OF SEVENOAKS, 19,035.
*H. W. Forster, U.Unop.
SOUTH-WEST OR TON-
BRIDGE, 17,116.

- *H. H. Spender-Clay,
U.8,286
A. P. Hedges, L.6,159

Lancashire, North.

- BLACKPOOL, 22,360.
*W. W. Ashley, U.Unop.
CHORLEY, 15,135.
(Bye-election, Feb. 19, 1913.)
Sir H. F. Hibbert, U. 7,573
J. P. T. Jackson, L.5,606
LANCASTER, 14,797.
*N. W. Helme, L.6,186
H. Ramsbottom, U.6,052
NORTH LONSDALE, 9,702.
*G. B. Haddock, U.4,140
J. Bliss, L.4,066

**Lancashire, North-
East.**

- ACCRINGTON, 16,297.
*H. T. Baker, L.8,129
E. Gray, U.6,461
CLITHEROE, 22,368.
A. Smith, Lab.12,107
J. J. Blaney, U.5,783
DARWEN, 17,734.
Col. J. Rutherford,
T.D., U.8,384
*F. G. Hindle, L.8,169
ROSSENDALE, 13,217.
*Rt. Hon. Lewis Har-
court, L.6,619
Lt.-Col. J. Craven-
Hoyle, U.5,206

**Lancashire, South-
East.**

- ECCLES, 18,786.
*Sir G. H. Pollard, M.D.,
L.8,467
J. G. D. Campbell, U. 7,676

GORTON, 18,185.

- *J. Hodge, Lab.7,840
H. White, U.7,187

HEYWOOD, 11,339.

- *H. T. Cawley, L.5,430
R. A. L. Hutchinson,
U.4,641

MIDDLETON, 15,391.

- (Bye-election, Aug. 2, 1911.)
*Sir W. R. D. Adkins, L. 6,863
W. A. S. Hewins, U.6,452

PRESTWICH, 22,123.

- *Sir F. Cawley, Bt., L. 10,355
F. Brocklehurst, U.7,189
RADCLIFFE-CUM-FARN.

WORTH, 14,046.

- *T. C. Taylor, L.6,721
E. A. Bagley, U.5,937
STRETTFORD, 27,629.

- *H. Nuttall, L.11,343
A. M. Samuel, U.10,467
WEST HOUGHTON, 19,751.
*W. T. Wilson, Lab.9,664
G. F. Clarke, U.7,974

**Lancashire, South-
West.**

- BOOTLE, 23,903.
(Bye-election, Mar. 17, 1911.)
Rt. Hon. A. Bonar
Law, U.9,776
M. Muspratt, L.7,782
INCE, 14,107.

- *S. Walsh, Lab.7,117
W. C. Lord, U.5,332

LEIGH, 14,150.

- *P. W. Raffan, L.6,790
W. T. Oversby, U.5,597

NEWTON, 14,803.

- Viscount Womer, U.6,706
*J. A. Seddon, Lab.6,562

ORMSKIRK, 15,511.

- *Hon. Arthur Stanley,
M.V.O., U.Unop.

SOUTHPORT, 16,660.

- *Maj. G. D. White, U. 7,467
H. D. Woodcock, L.6,798

WIDNES, 11,780.

- *Col. W. Hall-Walker,
U.Unop.

Leicestershire.

- WEST OR BOSWORTH, 13,681.
Hon. H. D. McLaren, L. 7,500
Ct. D. B. Garouski, U. 4,120

SOUTH OR HARBOROUGH,

17,921.

- J. W. Logan, L.8,192
Sir H. Marshall, U.7,115

MID OR LOUGHBOROUGH,

13,754.

- *Sir M. Levy, Bt., L.6,488
N. W. Smith-Carring-
ton, U.5,916

EAST OR MELTON, 16,873.

- Col. C. E. Yate, C.S.I.,
C.M.G., U.7,599
Maj. E. M. Dunne, L. 7,257

Lincolnshire.

NORTH LINDSEY OF BRIGG,
14,048.
*Sir A. Gelder, F.R.I.B.A.,
L. 6,506
T. J. Bennett, U. 5,637
WEST LINDSEY OF GAINSBOROUGH, 13,164.
*G. J. Bentham, L. 5,825
Capt. A. F. Weigall, U. 5,745
SOUTH LINDSEY OF HORNCASTLE, 10,508.
(Bye-election, Feb. 17, 1911.)
Capt. W. E. G. A. Weigall, U. 4,995
F. C. Linfield, L. 4,828
EAST LINDSEY OF LOUTH,
10,315.
T. Davies, L. 4,260
*H. L. Brackenbury, U. 4,188
NORTH KESTEVEN OF SLEAFORD, 10,389.
*E. Roysds, U. Unop.
HOLLAND OF SPALDING,
14,846.
*Hon. F. W. S. McLaren, L. 5,337
W. S. Royce, U. 5,070
SOUTH KESTEVEN OF STAMFORD, 10,056.
*Maj. Hon. Claude Heathcote-Drummond-Wil-
loughby, U. 4,545
G. H. Parkin, L. 4,206

Middlesex.

BRENTFORD, 20,701.
(Bye-election, Mar. 23, 1911.)
W. Joynton Hicks, U. Unop.
EALING, 25,073.
*H. Nield, K.C., U. Unop.
ENFIELD, 28,571.
*J. R. Pretymann, U. 11,495
J. Branch, L. 10,559
HARROW, 35,379.
*H. Mallaby-Deeley, U. Unop.
HORNSEY, 23,450.
*Earl of Ronaldshay, U. 11,066
R. E. Dummett, L. 7,613
TOTTENHAM, 29,620.
*P. Alden, L. 12,046
E. V. Sturdy, U. 10,945
UXBRIDGE, 17,634.
*Hon. Charles Mills, U. 9,005
M. C. Mallik, L. 4,286

Monmouth.

NORTHERN, 15,711.
*Rt. Hon. R. McKenna, L. 7,722
Lt.-Col. D. E. Williams, U. 4,586
SOUTHERN, 19,134.
Mal-Gen. Sir I. J. C. Herbert, Bt., C.B., L. 5,597
L. Forestier-Walker, U. 6,566

WESTERN, 20,399.

*T. Richards, Lab. Unop.

Norfolk.

EAST (North Walsham),
11,560.
*Sir R. J. Price, L. 5,265
F. C. Meyer, U. 3,865
MID (Dereham), 9,984.
*W. L. Boyle, U. 4,345
W. R. Lester, L. 4,308
NORTH (Aylsham), 11,169.
*N. E. Buxton, L. 5,187
H. D. King, U. 4,491
NORTH-WEST (Freebridge),
11,613.
(Bye-election May 31, 1912.)
*E. G. Hemmerde, K.C., L. 5,613
N. P. Jodrell, U. 4,965
SOUTH (Diss), 9,779.
*A. W. Soames, L. 4,740
T. S. Timmis, U. 3,212
SOUTH-WEST (Thetford),
9,045.
*Sir R. Winfrey, L. 4,176
Capt. A. E. S. Clarke, M.V.O., U. 3,745

Northampton.

EAST (Wellingborough),
17,470.
L. G. Chiozza-Money, L. 7,430
Sir A. R. de Capell-Brooke, Bt., U. 6,676
T. F. Richards, Lab. 1,431
MID, 14,189.
*H. Manfield, L. 6,281
T. F. G. Paget, U. 6,031
NORTH, 10,767.
*H. L. C. Brassey, U. 5,272
J. R. Wilkinson, L. 4,221
SOUTH, 9,290.
*Hon. Edward Fitzroy, U. 4,340
A. A. Thomas, L. 3,827

Northumberland.

BERWICK-ON-TWEED, 9,420.
*Rt. Hon. Sir E. Grey, Bart., K.G., L. 4,612
C. H. Hoare, U. 2,926
HEXHAM, 11,151.
*R. D. Holt, L. 5,124
A. H. Chaytor, U. 4,334
TYNESIDE, 25,667.
*J. M. Robertson, L. 11,693
H. M. Robertson, U. 6,857
WANSBECK, 18,959.
*Rt. Hon. C. Fenwick, L. Unop.

Nottingham.

BASSETLAW, 12,012.
*W. E. Hume-Williams, K.C., U. 5,436
W. Stopford-Brooke, L. 5,221

MANSFIELD, 21,075.

*Sir A. B. Markham, Bt., L. 11,383
P. Cockerill, U. 4,200
NEWARK, 11,320.
*J. R. Starkey, U. 5,049
R. B. Wallis, L. 4,307
RUSHLIFFE, 19,640.
L. S. Jones, L. 9,186
C. R. Disraeli, U. 6,580

Oxford.

NORTH OF BANBURY, 8,021
Hon. Eustace Twistleton-Wykeham Fienes, L. 3,629
*Capt. R. B. Brassey, U. 3,538
SOUTH OF HENLEY, 10,536.
*V. Fleming, U. 5,340
G. C. N. Nicholson, L. 3,701
MID OF WOODSTOCK, 10,525.
*A. St. G. Hamersley, K.C., U. 4,773
E. N. Bennett, L. 4,381

Rutland.

4,128.
*Col. J. Grettton, V.D., U. 2,169
J. N. Emery, L. 1,367

Shropshire.

SOUTH OF LUDLOW, 10,530.
*R. Hunt, U. Unop.
NORTH OF NEWPORT, 10,886.
*B. Stanier, U. Unop.
WEST OF OSWESTRY, 10,151.
*W. C. Bridgeman, U. 4,867
E. Powell, L. 4,121
MID OF WELLINGTON, 8,751.
*C. S. Henry, L. 4,404
Capt. Hon. G. C. B. Weld-Forester, U. 3,286

Somerset.

BRIDGWATER, 10,341.
*Maj. R. A. Sanders, U. 5,160
H. C. Hicks, L. 3,779
EAST, 9,791.
*E. Jardine, U. 4,748
J. W. H. Thompson, L. 3,875
FROME, 13,168.
*Sir J. E. Barlow, Bt., L. 5,944
C. T. Foxcroft, U. 5,366
NORTHERN, 13,492.

*J. King, L. 6,299
F. B. Beauchamp, U. 5,378
SOUTHERN (Yeovil), 10,164.
(Bye-election, Nov. 21, 1911.)
Hon. A. Herbert, U. 4,878
H. Vivian, L. 4,730
WEST OF WELLINGTON, 10,209
(Bye-election, July 21, 1911.)
Col. D. F. Boles, U. 5,025
C. H. Dudley Ward, L. 4,421

Wells.

12,642.
*Capt. G. J. Sandys, U. 6,178
A. O. Wills, L. 4,094

Stafford.

BURTON, 11,878.
*Lt.-Col. R. F. Ratcliff, V.D., U. 5,877
H. Rylett, L. 3,784

HANDSWORTH, 25,937.
 *Maj. E. C. Meysey-
 Thompson, U.....Unop.
KINGSWINFORD, 14,076.
 *H.S.Staveley-Hill, U.Unop.

LEEK, 12,079.
 R. Pearce, L.....5,742
 Lt.-Col. W. Bromley-
 Davenport, D.S.O.,
 T.D., U.....5,152

LICHFIELD, 10,703.
 *Col.Sir T.C.T. Warner,
 Bart., C.B., L.....5,058
 A. Chetwynd, U.....4,213
NORTH-WESTERN, 16,498.
 *A. Stanley, Lab.....8,125
 L. de Gruyther, K.C., U.4,940

WESTERN, 12,197.
 *G. A. Lleyd, U.....5,602
 W. Meaken, L.....5,123

Suffolk.
NORTH-EAST OF EYE, 10,621.
 *Maj. Hon. Weetman
 Pearson, L.....4,927
 G. Borwick, U.....4,157
NORTH OF LOWESTOFT,
15,034.
 Sir E. Beauchamp, Bt.,
 L.....6,248
 *H. S. Foster, U.....5,983

NORTH-WESTERN OF STOW-
MARKET, 11,190.
 *F. B. H. Goldsmith, U.4,995
 R. L. Barclay, L.....4,804

SOUTH OF SUDBURY, 10,036.
 *Sir W. E. C. Quilter,
 Bart., U.....Unop.
SOUTH-EAST OF WOOD-
BRIDGE, 12,308.

*Capt. R. F. Peel, U....5,704
 W. R. Elliston, L.....5,144

Surrey.
NORTH-WEST OF CHERTSEY,
16,723.
 *D. Macmaster, K.C. U. Unop.
MID OR EPSOM, 18,821.
 (Bye-election, Mar. 21, 1912.)
 K. Keswick, U.....Unop.

SOUTH-WEST OF GUILDFORD,
16,020.
 *W. E. Horne, U.....8,463
 Hon. A. J. Davey, L....4,832

KINGSTON, 19,649.
 *G. Cave, K.C., U.....Unop.
SOUTH-EAST OF REIGATE,
15,636.

*Col. R. H. Rawson, U.7,710
 H. W. Goldberg, L....5,194
NORTH-EAST OF WIMBLEDON
27,810.

*Rt. Hon. H. Chaplin,
 U.....Unop.

Sussex.
SOUTH-WEST OF CHICHE-
STER,* 12,147.
 *Lord Edmund Talbot,
 D.S.O., U.....5,900
 R. Reiss, L.....2,985

NORTH OR EAST GRINSTEAD,
11,562.
 *H. S. Cautley, U.....5,926
 H. N. Spalding, L.....3,531

SOUTH OR EASTBOURNE,
14,172.
 *R. S. Gwynne, U.....6,873
 H. Morison, L.....4,920

NORTH-WEST OF HORSHAM,
11,484.
 *Earl Winterton, U...Unop.

MID OR LEWES, 17,277.
 *W. R. Campion, U...Unop.
EAST OR RYE, 13,746.
 *Capt. G. L. Courthope,
 U.....6,673
 St. J. Hutchinson, L....4,461

Warwick.
NORTH-EAST OF NUNEATON,
17,451.
 *W. Johnson, L.....8,199
 H. Maddocks, U.....7,501

SOUTH-EAST OR RUGBY,
12,275.
 *J. L. Baird, C.M.G., U.5,712
 A. F. B. Williams, L.4,941

SOUTH-WEST OF STRAT-
FORD-ON-AVON, 10,835.
 *P. S. Foster.....U.5,147
 W. King, L.....3,462

NORTH OF TAMWORTH, 18,228
 *F. A. Newdigate-New-
 digate, U.....Unop.

Westmorland.
NORTH OF APPLEBY, 6,656.
 *L. Sanderson, K.C., U.3,258
 P. W. Wilson, L.....2,679

SOUTH OF KENDAL, 6,575.
 (Bye-election, Mar. 18, 1913.)
 Col. J. H. Weston, U.3,261
 W. H. Somervell, L....2,684

Wiltshire.
NORTH-WEST OF CHIPPEN-
HAM, 9,175.
 *G. Terrell, U.....4,739
 B. Freeman, L.....4,113

NORTH OR CRICKDALE,
15,203.
 R. C. Lambert, L.....6,937
 *Col. T. C. P. Calley,
 C.V.O., C.B., U.....6,809

EAST OR DEVIZES, 9,277.
 *B. E. Peto, U.....4,408
 S. J. Pocock, L.....3,670

WEST OR WESTBURY, 10,411
 (Bye-election, Feb. 22, 1911.)
 Hon. Geoffrey Howard,
 L.....5,073
 G. L. Palmer, U.....4,492

SOUTH OR WILTON, 9,072.
 *C. Bathurst, U.....4,356
 F. E. N. Rogers, L....3,739

Worcestershire.
WEST OF BEWDLEY, 10,638
 *S. Baldwin, U.....Unop.
MID OR DROITWICH, 11,200
 *Hon. John Lyttelton,
 U.....4,880
 C. Brookes, L.....4,808

EASTERN, 23,269.
 (Bye-election, July 16, 1914.
 F. Laverton Harris,
 U.....Unop.

SOUTH OR Evesham, 10,416
 *Lient. B. M. Byres-
 Monsell, R.N., U...Unop.

NORTHERN, 18,200.
 *Rt. Hon. J. W. Wilson,
 L.....7,894
 D. Timins, U.....7,625

Yorkshire, North
Riding.
CLEVELAND, 14,811.
 *Rt. Hon. H. L. Samuel,
 L.....6,870
 J. W. Lewis, U.....5,343

RICHMOND, 10,485.
 *Hon. William Orde-
 Powlett, U.....Unop.
THIRSK AND MALTON, 13,363
 *E. R. Turton, U.....Unop.

WHITBY, 11,200.
 *Hon. W. G. Beckett,
 U.....4,960
 W. H. S. Pyman, L....4,508

Yorkshire, East
Riding.
BUCKROSE, 10,652.
 *Sir L. White, L.....4,867
 Maj. M. Sykes, U.....4,635

HOLDERNESSE, 10,850.
 *A. S. Wilson, U.....4,861
 S. Arnold, L.....4,480

HOWDENSHERE, 10,597.
 (Bye-election, Feb. 10, 1915.)
 Lt.-Col. Hon. F. S.
 Jackson, U.....Unop

Yorkshire, West
Riding.
BARKSTON ASH, 10,871.
 *G. R. Lane-Fox, U....5,066
 F. Horne, L.....4,372

BARNSELEY, 20,861.
 *Sir J. Walton, Bt., L.Unop.
COLNE VALLEY, 12,489.
 *C. Leach, L.....5,147

Capt. A. B. Boyd-Car-
 penter, U.....4,847
DONCASTER, 21,511.
 *Sir C. N. Nicholson,
 Bart, L.....9,240
 C. W. Whitworth, U.6,696

ELLAND, 13,956.
 *C. P. Trevelyan, L....6,613
 G. T. Ramsden, U....4,549

HALLAMSHIRE, 19,935.
 *J. Wadsworth, Lab....8,708
 D. T. Smith, U.5,837
 HOLMFIRTH, 12,788.
 (Bye-election, June 20, 1912.)
 S. Arnold, L.4,749
 R. G. Ellis, U.3,379
 W. Lunn, Lab.3,195
 KEIGHLEY, 13,373.
 (Bye-election, June 29, 1915.)
 Sir Swire Smith, L...Unop.
 MORLEY, 15,823.
 *G. A. France, L.....Unop.
 NORMANTON, 16,466.
 *F. Hall, Lab.....Unop.
 OSGOLDCROSS, 18,286.
 *Rt. Hon. Sir J. Compton-
 Rickett, L.....8,518
 M. Campbell-Johnston,
 U.4,347
 OTLEY, 13,397.
 *J. H. Duncan, L.6,151
 W. W. Thompson,
 L.L.B., U.4,892
 PUDSEY, 15,071.
 *F. Ogden, L.6,518
 J. J. Oddy, U.5,888
 RIFON, 12,860.
 *Hon. Edward Wood, U. 5,894
 H. N. Rae, L.5,020
 ROTHERHAM, 20,487.
 *Rt. Hon. J. A. Pease, L. 9,385
 J. H. Dransfield, U. ...4,511
 SHIPLEY, 16,329.
 (Bye-election, Feb. 9, 1915.)
 O. Partington, L. ...Unop.
 SKIPTON, 13,864.
 *W. Clough, L.....6,151
 R. F. Roundell, U.....6,100
 SOWERBY, 12,805.
 *J. S. Higham, L.....Unop.
 SPEN VALLEY, 11,631.
 *Rt. Hon. Sir T. P.
 Whittaker, L.....5,041
 F. A. Kelly, U.4,545

ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES

Oxford (Two Mems), 6,895.
 *Lord H. Cecil, U. ...Unop.
 (Bye-election, June 30, 1914.)
 R. E. Prothero, M.V.O.,
 U.Unop.
Cambridge (Two Mems.),
 7,145.
 Bye-election, Feb. 16, 1911.)
 *J. F. P. Rawlinson,
 K.C., U.Unop.
 Sir J. Larmor, B.Sc.,
 F.R.S., U.2,308
 H. Cox, Ind. U.1,954
 T. Page, Ind. U.354
London, 6,070.
 *Sir P. Magnus, U.2,579
 Sir V. Horsley, F.R.C.S.
 L.1,857

WALES.

WELSH BOROUGHS.

Cardiff District, 28,723.
 Lord N. Crichton-
 Stuart, U.12,181
 Sir C. G. Hyde, L... 11,887
Cardiff District,
 6,772.
 *W. L. Williams, L...Unop.
 (Elected Mar. 16, 1915.)
Carnarvon District,
 5,717.
 *Rt. Hon. D. L. George,
 L.3,112
 A. L. Jones, U.1,904
Denbigh Boroughs,
 5,130.
 *Hon. William Ormsby-
 Gore, U.2,385
 G. C. Rees, L.....2,376
Flint Boroughs, 4,350.
 (Bye-election, Jan. 21, 1913.)
 T. H. Parry, L.2,152
 J. H. Roberts, U.1,941
Merthyr Tydfil (Two
 Mems.), 23,219.
 *E. R. Jones, L.12,258
 *J. K. Hardie, Lab... 11,507
 H. Watts, U.5,277
Montgomery District,
 3,354.
 Col. E. Pryce-Jones, U. 1,522
 A. Humphreys-Owen,
 L.1,468
Pembroke and Haver-
ford, West District,
 7,338.
 § Maj. Hon. H. Guest, L. 3,357
 J. F. L. Phillips, U. ...2,792
Swansea District, 12,983.
 (Bye-election, Feb. 6, 1915.)
 T. J. Williams, L.....Unop.
Swansea Town, 12,935.
 *Rt. Hon. Sir A. M.
 Mond, Bt., L.....6,503
 D. V. Meager, U.....4,257

WELSH COUNTIES.

Anglesey, 10,341.
 *Rt. Hon. E. J. Griffith,
 K.C., L.Unop.
Brecknock, 13,432.
 *S. Robinson, L.5,511
 C. Lloyd, U.3,631
Cardigan, 13,333.
 *M. L. Vaughan-Davies
 L.Unop.
Carmarthen.
 EAST, 12,268.
 (Bye-election, Aug. 22, 1912.)
 Rev. G. Towyn Jones,
 L.6,082
 M. Peel, U.3,354
 J. H. Williams, Lab...1,089

WEST, 9,433.

J. Hinds, L.....5,076
 J. W. J. Cremllyn, U...2,036

Carnarvon.

NORTH OF ARFON, 10,153.
 (Vacant.)

SOUTH OF EIFION, 9,455.

*E. W. Davies, L. ...Unop.

Denbigh.

EAST, 11,911.

E. T. John, L.6,449
 A. Hood, U.3,186

WEST, 9,920.

*Sir J. H. Roberts, Bt.,
 L.Unop.

Flint, 12,774.

*Rt. Hon. J. H. Lewis,
 L.Unop.

Glamorgan.

EAST, 23,979.

A. C. Edwards, L.....9,088
 F. H. Gaskell, U.5,603
 C. B. Stanton, Lab.4,675

GOWER, 14,712.

*J. Williams, Lab.5,480
 W. F. Phillips, U.....4,527

MID, 20,017.

J. H. Edwards, L.....7,624
 V. Hartshorn, Lab. ...6,102

RHONDDA, 17,640.

*Rt. Hon. W. Abraham,
 Lab.9,073
 H. Lloyd, U.3,701

SOUTHERN, 22,953.

*W. Braae, Lab.10,190
 L. Morgan, U.7,252

Merioneth, 9,305.

*H. H. Jones, L.Unop.

Montgomery, 7,928.

*D. Davies, L.....Unop.

Pembroke, 11,750.

*W. F. Roche, L.5,689
 E. M. Samson, U.2,996

Radnor, 5,971.

Sir F. Edwards, Bt., L. 2,224
 *C. L. Dillwyn-Ven-

ables-Llewellyn, U..2,182

SCOTLAND.

SCOTTISH BURGHS.

Aberdeen.

NORTH, 10,331.

*Capt. D. V. Pirie, L....4,282
 R. Scott-Brown, U. ...2,546

SOUTH, 13,496.

*G. B. Esslemont, L....5,862
 W. C. Smith, K.C., U...3,997

Ayr Burghs, 8,067.

*Sir G. Younger, Bt., U. 3,852
 W. Robertson, L.3,620

Dumfries, 4,307.

*J. W. Gulland, L.2,315
 Maj. J. B. Pollok-
 McCall, U.1,596

Dundee (Two Memes.),
19,374.

*Rt. Hon. W. S.
 Churchill, L.9,240
 *A. Wilkie, Lab.8,957
 Sir G. W. Baxter, LL.D.,
 U.5,685
 J. S. Lloyd, U.4,914
 E. Scrymgeour, Ind.1,825

Edinburgh.**CENTRAL, 7,005.**

*C. E. Price, L.3,771
 G. R. Y. Radcliffe, U.1,947
EAST, 12,544.

(Bye-election, Feb. 2, 1912.)
 J. M. Hogge, L.5,064
 J. G. Jameson, U.4,139

SOUTH, 20,433.

*Hon. C. H. Lyell, L.9,576
 C. D. Murray, K.C., U.7,986

WEST, 9,758.

*J. A. Clyde, K.C., U.4,952
 J. H. Morgan, L.4,252

Elgin Burghs, 5,301.

*J. E. Sutherland, L. Unop

Falkirk District, 12,889.

*J. A. M. MacDonald,
 L.6,276
 D. H. L. Young, U.4,245

Glasgow.

BLACKFRIARS AND HUTCHES-
ONTOWN, 8,481.

*G. N. Barnes, Lab.4,162
 A. H. B. Constable,
 K.C., U.2,884

BRIDGETON, 10,144.

A. McC. Scott, L.4,759
 W. Hutchison, U.3,816

CAMLACHIE, 9,661.

*H. J. Mackinder, U.3,479
 J. M. Hogge, L.3,453
 J. O'C. Kessack, Lab.1,539
 W. J. Mirrlees (Suff.) 35
CENTRAL, 14,768.

COLLEGE, 14,208.

*H. A. Watt, L.6,291
 R. G. C. Glynn, U.5,932

ST. ROLLOX, 19,581.

(Bye-election, Feb. 26, 1912.)

*Rt. Hon. T. McK. Wood,
 L.8,530
 F. A. MacQuisten, U.8,061

TRADESTON, 9,664.

(Bye-election, July 6, 1911.)
 J. D. White, L.3,869
 J. H. Watts, U.2,783

Greenock, 7,853.

*G. P. Collins, L.4,338
 S. Chapman, U.2,913

Hawick District, 6,030.

*Sir J. N. Barran, Bt.,
 L.Unop.

Inverness, 4,547.

*J. A. Bryce, L.2,367
 P. J. Ford, U.1,812

Kilmarnock, 16,467.

(Bye-election, May 26, 1910.)
 Hon. Alex. Shaw, L. Unop.

Kirkcaldy, 8,425.

*Rt. Hon. Sir J. H.
 Dalziel, L.Unop.

Leith, 17,351.

(Bye-election, Feb. 26, 1914.)

G. W. Currie, U.5,152
 M. Smith, L.5,143
 J. N. Bell, Lab.3,346

Montrose Burghs, 8,414.

*R. V. Harcourt, L.3,878
 W. Low, U.2,155

Paisley, 12,179.

*Sir J. M. McCallum,
 L.6,039
 A. R. Jephcott, U.3,350

Perth, 5,433.

*A. F. Whyte, L.2,852
 Lt.-Col. C. T. E. D.
 Telfer-Smollett, U.1,878

St. Andrews District,
3,481.

Maj. W. Anstruther-
 Gray, U.1,675
 *J. D. Millar, L.1,626

Stirling, 8,147.

*A. A. W. H. Pensonby,
 L.Unop.

Wick District, 3,018.

(Bye-election, Dec. 8, 1913.)
 *R. Munro, K.C., L.1,577
 A. J. Mackenzie, U.1,134

SCOTTISH COUNTIES.**Aberdeen.****EAST, 12,635.**

*W. H. Cowan, L.6,152
 W. Craighead, U.3,772
WEST, 10,898.

*J. McD. Henderson,
 L.5,415
 G. Smith, U.3,232

Argyll, 11,025.

*J. S. Ainsworth, L.4,280
 G. A. Clark-Hutchinson
 U.4,023

Ayr.**NORTH, 16,453.**

(Bye-election, Dec. 20, 1911.)
 Capt. D. F. Campbell,
 D.S.O., U.7,318
 *A. M. Anderson, K.C.,
 L.7,047

SOUTH, 18,272.

*Sir W. P. Beale, Bart.
 K.C., L.8,715
 T. W. McIntyre, U.6,835

Banff, 8,181.

*Capt. W. Waring, L. Unop.

Berwick, 5,674.

*Rt. Hon. H. J. Tennant,
 L.3,005
 Capt. Hon. J. B. Camp-
 bell, U.2,000

Bute, 3,562.

*H. Hope, U.1,569
 R. Mitchell, L.1,316

Caithness, 3,944.

*R. L. Harmsworth, L.2,718
 A. McLeod, U.87

Clackmannan and
Kinross, 8,103.

*Rt. Hon. E. Wason,
 L.Unop.

Dumbarton, 18,399.

A. A. Allen, L.8,579
 W. T. Shaw, U.7,267

Dumfries, 9,651.

*P. A. Molteno, L.4,708
 W. Murray, U.4,146

Edinburgh: see Mid-
lothian.

Elgin and Nairn, 5,748.

*Sir A. Williamson,
 Bart., L.Unop.

Fife.**EAST, 10,372.**

(Bye-election, April 8, 1914.)
 *Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith,
 K.C., L.Unop.

WEST, 17,267.

W. Adamson, Lab.6,128
 *J. D. Hope, L.5,425

Forfar, 13,175.

*J. Falconer, L.6,449
 J. B. Duncan, U.4,397

Haddington, 7,961.

(Bye-election, April 19, 1911.)
 J. Deans Hope, L.3,652
 B. H. Blyth, U.3,184

Inverness, 9,951.

*Sir J. A. Dewar, Bt., L. Unop.

Kincardine, 7,179.

*Capt. Hon. Arthur
 Murray, L.Unop.

Kirkcudbright, 5,878.

Maj. G. McMicking,
 C.M.G., L.2,817
 R. McNeill, U.2,625

Lanark.**GOVAN, 17,994.**

(Bye-election, Dec. 22, 1911.)
 D. T. Holmes, L.7,508
 G. Balfour, U.6,522

MID, 17,803.
 *J. H. Whitehouse, L. 6,033
 H. S. Keith, U. 5,702
 R. Smillie, Lab. 3,847

NORTH-EAST, 21,811.
 (Bye-election, March 9, 1911.)
 J. D. Millar, K.C., L. 7,976
 P. Goff, U. 6,776
 J. Robertson, Lab. 2,879

NORTH-WEST, 20,274.
 *W. M. R. Pringle, L. 9,315
 A. S. Pringle, U. 8,486

PARTICK, 23,300.
 *Maj. Sir R. Balfour,
 Bart., L. 10,535
 A. W. Maconochie, U. 10,190

SOUTH, 10,618.
 (Bye-election, Dec. 12, 1913.)
 Hon. W. Watson, K.C.,
 U. 4,257
 G. Morton, L. 4,006
 T. Gibb, Lab. 1,674

Linlithgowshire, 11,810.
 (Bye-election, Nov. 7, 1913.)
 J. W. Pratt, L. 5,615
 J. Kidd, U. 5,094

Lothians:

EAST, see Haddington.
MID, see Midlothian.
WEST, see Linlithgow.

Midlothian (Edinburgh),
 17,141.

(Bye-election, Sept. 10, 1912.)
 Maj. J. A. Hope, U. 6,021
 Hon. Alex. Shaw, L. 5,989
 R. Brown, Lab. 2,413

Orkney and Shetland,
 7,115.

*J. C. Wason, L. Unop.

Peebles and Selkirk,
 4,032.

D. Mclean, L. 1,965
 S. S. Steel, U. 1,764

Perth.

EAST, 7,902.

*W. Young, L. 3,658
 A. N. Skelton, U. 2,826

WEST, 8,547.

*Marquess of Tullibardine, M.V.O., U. 4,027
 G. F. Barbour, L. 3,637

Renfrew.

EAST, 20,947.

*Maj. J. Gilmour, U. 10,063
 J. I. Macpherson, L. 8,883

WEST, 13,900.

*Col. J. W. Greig, C.B.,
 K.C., L. 6,366
 H. Mehan, U. 6,082

Ross and Cromarty, 8,211

(Bye-election, June 14, 1911.)

J. I. Macpherson, L. 3,717
 W. P. Templeton, U. 1,253

Roxburgh, 6,025.

*Sir J. Jardine, K.C.I.E.,
 L. 2,908
 N. K. Cochran-Patrick,
 U. 2,704

Stirling, 20,144.

*W. A. Chapple, M.D., L. 9,183
 R. S. Horne, U. 6,487

Sutherland, 3,055.

*A. C. Morton, L. 1,464
 Marquess of Stafford,
 U. 1,277

Wigton, 5,683.

*Viscount Dalrymple,
 U. Unop.

SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES.

**Edinburgh (9,927) and St.
 Andrews (1,392), 11,319.**

*Rt. Hon. Sir R. B.
 Finlay, G.C.M.G., U. Unop.

**Glasgow (7,382) and
 Aberdeen (4,332), 11,714.**

*Sir H. Craik, K.C.B.,
 U. Unop.

IRELAND.

IRISH BOROUGHES.

Belfast.

EAST, 16,330.

(Bye-election, April 6, 1914.)

Col. R. J. Sharman-
 Crawford, U. Unop.

NORTH, 11,829.

*R. Thompson, U. Unop.

SOUTH, 10,622.

*J. Chambers, K.C., U. 5,585
 T. H. Sloan, Ind. U. 2,722

WEST, 8,891.

*J. Devlin, N. 4,543
 Capt. Sir J. Smiley, Bt.,
 U. 4,080

Cork (Two Mems.) 13,797.

*M. Healy, Ind. N. 5,269

(Bye-election, Feb. 18, 1914.)

*W. O'Brien, Ind. N. Unop.

Dublin.

COLLEGE GREEN, 8,739.

(Bye-election, June 11, 1915.)

N. J. Nugent, N. 2,445
 T. Farnen, Lab. 1,816

HARBOUR, 9,038.

*W. Abraham, N. 3,244
 J. Brady, Ind. N. 631

ST. PATRICK'S, 8,882.

*W. Field, N. Unop.

ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, 7,099.

*P. J. Brady, N. 3,594
 Capt. Lord Herbert,
 M.V.O., U. 2,765

Galway, 2,306.

*S. L. Gwynn, N. 1,062
 J. L. Wanklyn, Ind. U. 203

Kilkenny, 1,742.

*P. O'Brien, N. Unop.

Limerick, 4,470.

*M. Joyce, N. 2,452
 J. H. Rice, Ind. N. 682

Londonderry, 5,470.

(Bye-election, Nov. 30, 1914.)
 Rt. Hon. Sir J. B.

Dougherty Unop.

Newry, 2,021.

*J. J. Mooney, N. Unop.

Waterford, 3,104.

*J. E. Redmond, N. Unop.

IRISH COUNTIES.

Antrim.

EAST, 8,761.

(Bye-election, Feb. 19, 1913.)

Maj. R. C. A. McCal-
 mont, U. Unop.

MID, 7,219.

Capt. Hon. H. O'Neill,
 U. Unop.

NORTH, 7,516.

P. Kerr-Smiley, U. 3,557
 W. Macafee, L. 2,974

SOUTH, 9,900.

*C. C. Craig, U. Unop.

Armagh.

MID, 7,072.

*Sir J. B. Lonsdale, Bt.,
 U. Unop.

NORTH, 7,581.

*W. Moore, K.C., U. Unop.

SOUTH, 6,810.

C. O'Neill, M.B., N. 2,890
 S. H. Moynagh, Ind. N. 1,003

Carlow, 5,905.

*M. Melloy, N. Unop.

Cavan.

EAST, 8,981.

*S. Young, N. Unop.

WEST, 8,605.

*V. P. Kennedy, N. Unop.

Clare.

EAST, 8,709.

*W. H. K. Redmond, N. Unop.

WEST, 8,834.

*A. A. Lynch, N. Unop.

Cork.

EAST, 6,316.

(Bye-election, July 15, 1911.)
 F. Muldoon, N. Unop.

MID, 6,599.

*D. D. Sheehan, Ind. N. 2,738
 T. Corcoran, N. 2,115

NORTH, 6,655.

(Bye-election, Nov. 4, 1913.)
 J. Guiney, Ind. N. Unop.

NORTH-EAST, 6,634.
(Bye-election, July 15, 1911.)
T. M. Healy, Ind. N. Unop.

SOUTH, 6,199.
J. Walsh, Ind. N.2,346
*E. Barry, N.2,184

SOUTH-EAST, 6,734.
*E. Crean, Ind. N.2,408
J. Ahearn, N.1,872

WEST, 5,737.
*J. Gilhooly, Ind. N.2,218
D. O'Leary, N.1,959

Derry.

NORTH, 9,349.
*H. T. Barry, U.4,960
W. H. Brown, L.2,217

SOUTH, 8,313.
*J. Gordon, K.C., U.3,845
W. J. Johnston, L.3,512

Donegal.

EAST, 6,454.
*E. T. Kelly, N.Unop.

NORTH, 6,650.
*P. O'Doherty, N.Unop.

SOUTH, 6,091.
*J. G. S. MacNeill, K.C.,
N.Unop.

WEST, 6,642.
*H. A. Law, N.Unop.

Down.

EAST, 7,895.
*Capt. J. Craig, U.4,110
J. Williamson, L.2,412

NORTH, 9,912.
*W. Mitchell-Thompson,
U.Unop.

SOUTH, 7,753.
*J. McVeagh, N.3,668
J. W. Johnston, U.3,040

WEST, 8,253.
*W. J. McG. MacCaw,
U.Unop.

Dublin.

NORTH, 13,044.
*J. J. Clancy, N.Unop.

SOUTH, 12,009.
W. F. Cotton, N.5,223
*Capt. B. Cooper, U.5,090

Fermanagh.

NORTH, 4,895.
*G. Fetherstonhaugh,
K.C., U.2,402
Capt. A. P. Tod Collum,
L.2,055

SOUTH, 5,317.
P. Crumley, N.Unop.

Galway.

CONNEMARA, 6,248.
*W. O'Malley, N.Unop.

EAST, 7,242.
(Bye-election, Dec. 5, 1914.)
J. Cosgrove, N.Unop.

NORTH, 7,713.
(Bye-election, July 10, 1914.)
*R. Hazleton, N.Unop.

SOUTH, 6,292.

*W. J. Duffy, N.Unop.

Kerry.

EAST, 5,766.
T. O'Sullivan, N.2,561
P. Guiney, Ind. N.1,308

NORTH, 5,536.
*M. J. Flavin, N.Unop.

SOUTH, 5,858.
*J. P. Boland, N.2,895
T. B. Cronin, Ind. N.451

WEST, 5,848.
*T. O'Donnell, N.Unop.

Kildare.

NORTH, 4,711.
*J. O'Connor, N.Unop.

SOUTH, 4,958.
*D. Kilbride, N.Unop.

Kilkenny.

NORTH, 4,847.
*M. Meagher, N.Unop.

SOUTH, 4,985.
*M. Keating, N.2,265
N. J. Murphy, Ind. N.287

King's.

BIRK, 4,140.
*M. Reddy, N.2,123
F. W. Ryan, Ind. N.624

TULLAMORE, 4,472.
(Bye-election, Dec. 9, 1914.)
E. J. Graham, Ind. N.1,667
P. J. Adams, N.1,588

Leitrim.

NORTH, 6,282.
*F. E. Meehan, N.Unop.

SOUTH, 5,727.
*T. F. Smyth, N.Unop.

Limerick.

EAST, 7,455.
*T. Lunden, N.3,715
H. O'Connor, Ind. N.1,381

WEST, 7,550.
*P. J. O'Shaughnessy,
N.3,052
D. D. Sheehan, Ind. N.1,285

Londonderry:

See Derry.

Longford.

NORTH, 3,632.
*J. P. Farrell, N.Unop.

SOUTH, 3,691.
*J. Phillips, N.Unop.

Louth.

NORTH, 5,810.
(Bye-election, Mar. 15, 1911.)
R. Roche, N.Unop.

SOUTH, 4,802.
*J. Nolan, N.Unop.

Mayo.

EAST, 7,816.
*J. Dillon, N.Unop.

NORTH, 6,977.

*D. Boyle, N.Unop.

SOUTH, 8,110.

J. Fitzgibbon, N.Unop.

West, 8,261.

*W. Doris, N.3,931
W. O'Brien, Ind. N.1,082

Meath.

NORTH, 5,662.
*P. White, N.Unop.

SOUTH, 5,584.
*D. Sheehy, N.Unop.

Monaghan.

NORTH, 6,435.
*J. C. R. Lardner, N.3,365
M. E. Knight, U.1,937

SOUTH, 6,449.
*J. McKean, Ind. N.Unop.

Queen's.

LEIX, 4,785.
(Bye-election, June 3, 1913.)
P. J. Meehan, N.Unop.

OSSELY, 4,786.
*W. Delany, N.Unop.

Roscommon.

NORTH, 8,528.
*J. J. O'Kelly, N.Unop.

SOUTH, 8,362.
*J. P. Hayden, N.Unop.

Sligo.

NORTH, 7,993.
*T. Scanlan, N.Unop.

SOUTH, 7,096.
*J. O'Dowd, N.Unop.

Tipperary.

EAST, 5,610.
*T. J. Condon, N.Unop.

MID, 6,105.
*J. Hackett, N.2,440
M. O'Dwyer, Ind. N.1,716

NORTH, 5,421.
(Bye-election, June 17, 1915.)
Lt. J. E. Esmonde, N.1,693
P. Hocter, I.1,293
R. P. Gill, I.1,192

SOUTH, 4,917.
*J. Cullinan, N.Unop.

Tyrone.

EAST, 6,526.
W. A. Redmond, N.3,108
D. D. Reid, U.2,968

MID, 6,512.
R. McGhee, N.3,102
*G. F. Brunskill, K.C., U.2,379

NORTH, 6,572.
(Bye-election, Oct. 6, 1911.)
Rt. Hon. T. W. Russell,
L.3,104
E. C. Hardman, U.3,086

SOUTH, 6,059.
*A. L. Horner, K.C., U.2,962
R. N. Boyd, L.2,662

Waterford.

EAST, 4,229.

(Bye-election, Jan. 15, 1913.)

M. J. Murphy, N. Unop.

WEST, 4,139.

*J. J. O'Shee, N. 2,402

M. F. Healy, Ind. N. 727

Westmeath.

NORTH, 5,245.

*L. Ginnell, Ind. N. Unop.

SOUTH, 6,775

*Sir W. R. Nugent, Et.,

N. Unop.

Wexford.

NORTH, 8,835.

*Sir T. H. G. Esmonde,
Et., N. Unop.

SOUTH, 8,557.

*P. Ffrench, N. 3,578
J. Cummins, Ind. N. 1,164**Wicklow.**

EAST, 4,710.

(Bye-election, July 13, 1911.)

*Capt. A. J. C. Donelan,
N. Unop.**WEST, 4,417.**

(Bye-election, Aug. 20, 1914.)

*J. T. Donovan, N. Unop.

IRISH UNIVERSITY.**Dublin, 5,020.***Rt. Hon. Sir E. H.
Carson, K.C. U. Unop.
*Rt. Hon. J. H. M.
Campbell, K.C., U. Unop.**THE LAW.**

Only in a limited sense can there be said to be any law or legal system of the British Empire, or even of the United Kingdom. Each part of the Empire, even each part of the United Kingdom, has its own law and its own legal system. Wales is, in this respect, but little different from England; Ireland more so, whilst Scotland, the Isle of Man, and the Channel Isles use each a completely different phraseology and terminology, and have evolved distinct legal systems. Under the influence of mutual intercourse and the pressure of a common industrial and commercial system these local systems of law have, however, tended steadily to approximate in substance if not in phrase.

The law of England may be classified according to its origins as (a) common law, (b) equity, (c) statute law. **Common law** is the ancient law of the country, which has been handed down in the judgments recorded in the cases tried, and is thus inevitably modified by the judges to meet altered conditions from time to time. **Equity** is nearly as old as the common law, and originated in the instructions given by the King or his Chancellor to meet cases of hardship for which the common law did not provide. It also provided different remedies, *e.g.*, the common law would only award damages for a wrong, but equity would also provide by an **injunction** that the wrongdoer should refrain from committing an injury. **Statute law** can be divided into (1) Acts of Parliament and (2) subsidiary legislation. No limits can be set to an Act of Parliament: it can make new law, and declare, or modify, or reverse both equity and the common law. Subsidiary legislation, such as the bye-laws of local authorities and railway companies and the regulations of Government departments, is limited by the Acts of Parliament which authorise such legislation being made.

Law may also be divided into **civil law** and **criminal law**. A wrong by one person against another is a civil wrong. A wrong against the State is a crime, and may be either a **felony**, a **misdemeanour**, or an **offence**. Formerly all felonies were punishable by death, but now that the death penalty has been abolished in many cases, a misdemeanour may sometimes be punished more severely than a felony. A private wrong may thus be both a civil wrong and a crime, *e.g.*, a criminal libel, or an assault which is also a breach of the peace.

PERSONS ADMINISTERING THE LAW IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

The **Lord Chancellor** is the head of the legal system. He is a member of the Government and his appointment is both political and

legal. He acts as Speaker to the House of Lords. The **Lord Chief Justice** is the permanent head of the judiciary. The lowest judges are the **County Court judges**; above them are the **judges of the High Court**; and above them are the **Lords Justices of Appeal**, and, finally, the **Law Lords** in Session in the **House of Lords**. The **Attorney-General** and the **Solicitor-General** advise the Government on all matters of law, and appear for the crown in important cases, whilst the **Director of Public Prosecutions** puts the criminal law in motion in such cases. **Magistrates** (the well-known **Justices of the Peace**) are mostly unpaid except in London (outside the City) and in some of the large provincial cities, where **Stipendiary magistrates** are appointed by the crown (title, **His Worship**). These, like the judges and law officers, must be trained in the law as **barristers**. Barristers, who are either **King's Counsel** (**K.C.**), or junior barristers, may alone plead in all the courts, but **solicitors** also may plead in the police courts and county courts. Persons wishing to take legal proceedings must, in practice, employ a solicitor. They are not allowed to consult a barrister except through the medium of a solicitor.

The **police** are under the control of the local authorities except in London; in London both police and police courts are under the Home Office. The lowest criminal court is the police court or **Petty Sessions** (a stipendiary or two unpaid magistrates), which can deal summarily with a number of petty offences, and can commit for trial, to a higher court, persons accused of the more serious offences. These are tried either at **Quarter Sessions** in each county, when jurisdiction is, however, limited, or at the **Assizes**. The Chairman of the Quarter Sessions in the larger towns is a trained lawyer, called a **Recorder**. The Assizes are presided over by a judge of the High Court or by a Special Commissioner, and these officers make journeys known as **circuits** round England at stated times. In London these Assizes are held at the Old Bailey. Appeals from these courts are heard at the **Court of Criminal Appeal**, sitting in London, composed of three or more judges of the High Court. This court can reconsider questions of fact or of law, or both, and on an important question of law a case may, on the authority of the Attorney-General, be carried up to the House of Lords. **Petty Sessions** have some jurisdiction in civil matters, but **County Courts**, each presided over by a salaried County Court judge (title **His Honour**) deal with the great mass of less important civil cases. These courts are limited in their jurisdiction by the amount of the damages claimed and by the nature of the case; *e.g.*, they cannot entertain petitions for divorce. The more important cases, together with all divorce cases, are dealt with by the **High Court of Justice** in London, divided into the King's Bench Division, the Chancery Division and the Probate, Admiralty and Divorce Division. From this court an appeal lies, first, to the **Court of Appeal**, and then, finally, to the House of Lords. The **House of Lords** as a court of justice is composed only of judges of eminence, some of whom are specially appointed to their office, and others, not so appointed, who happen to be members of the House. Nominally it is an ordinary sitting of the House of Lords, but none but these legal peers are recognised as being present or allowed to take part. It may also be remembered that both Houses of Parliament are in theory courts of justice, and have considerable powers to commit and punish for contempt (as in the case of other courts), but these powers are rarely

exercised. For any felony a peer of the realm can be tried only by the House of Lords.

Juries are employed for a number of purposes. They must be employed in the grave criminal cases, and their use is optional in civil cases. The **grand jury** is the body which considers, somewhat perfunctorily, whether a *prima facie* case exists against an accused person; and the **petty jury** has to decide on the facts given in evidence at the trial whether the prisoner is guilty or not guilty. In civil cases the jury may be a **special jury** or a **common jury**. These are chosen from different persons, but their functions are the same in each case. They have to decide, according to the evidence, either for the plaintiff or for the defendant.

THE LAW COURTS.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Lord High Chancellor (Lord Buckmaster), £10,000.

The House of Lords is the supreme court of appeal, both civil and criminal, for the United Kingdom. It is composed of the Lord Chancellor, the six Lords of Appeal in Ordinary—Lords Shaw, Atkinson, Moulton, Parker, Dunedin, and Sumner (each £6,000)—and such other peers of Parliament as have held high judicial office (that is to say, ex-Lord Chancellors and such members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and such retired judges, as happen to be members of the House of Lords).

For the

JUDICIAL COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL

see page 542.

THE SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE FOR ENGLAND AND WALES.

COURT OF APPEAL.

The Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice of England (Lord Reading, £8,000), the Master of the Rolls (Right Hon. Lord Cozens-Hardy, £5,000), and the President of the Probate Division (Sir Samuel Evans, £5,000), Sir H. B. Buckley, Sir W. R. Kennedy, Sir C. F. Eady, Sir W. G. F. Phillimore, Bart., and Sir W. Pickford (each £5,000).

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE.

CHANCERY DIVISION.

The Lord Chancellor, Sir M. Ingle Joyce, Sir T. R. Warrington, Sir R. Neville, Sir H. T. Eve, Sir C. H. Sargeant, and Sir J. M. Astbury (each £5,000).

KING'S BENCH DIVISION.

Lord Reading (£8,000), Sir E. Ridley, Sir C. J. Darling, Sir R. Bray, Sir A. T. Lawrence, Lord Coleridge, Sir T. E. Scrutton, Sir J. Eldon Bankes, Sir H. E. Avory, Sir T. G. Horridge, Sir C. M. Lush, Sir S. A. T. Rowlatt, Sir Clement Bailhache, Sir J. R. Atkin, Sir Montague Shearman, and Sir J. Sankey (each £5,000).

PROBATE, DIVORCE, AND ADMIRALTY DIVISION.

Sir S. Evans (President) and Sir H. Bargrave Deane (each £5,000).

Other judges are: **Court of Arches**, Sir Lewis T. Dibdin; **Consistory Court**, Sir A. B. Kempe; **Bankruptcy Court**, Sir T. G. Horridge (£5,000); **Railway and Canal Commission**, Sir A. T. Lawrence, Lord Mackenzie, Mr. Justice Madden, the Hon. A. E. Gathorne-Hardy, and Sir J. T. Woodhouse.

IRELAND.

The Final Court of Appeal is the House of Lords. There is a **Supreme Court**, divided into a Court of Appeal and a High Court of Justice, the latter being subdivided into (1) the Chancery Division (including the Landed Estates Court), and (2) the King's Bench Division (including the Courts for Probate and Matrimonial Causes, Admiralty and Bankruptcy).

County Courts.—These have jurisdiction in matters of contract and tort up to £50, in equity and probate up to £500, and in lunacy up to £700. There is an appeal, in equity, to the Chancery Division or to a Judge of Assize, and in common law to a Judge of Assize.

Criminal Courts.—There are (1) the **Court of Crown Cases Reserved**, and (2) the **Assize Courts**, similar to those of England; also (3) **Courts of Quarter Sessions** (presided over by a County Court judge), with wider jurisdiction than in England; (4) the **Courts of Summary Jurisdiction and Petty Sessions** for preliminary inquiries and minor offences.

SCOTLAND.

The Final Court of Appeal is the House of Lords. The principal Scottish Courts of Law having civil jurisdiction are (1) **The Court of Session**, sitting in Edinburgh, with its two main divisions, **The Inner House** and **the Outer House**; (2) **the Sheriff Courts**.

The principal courts having criminal jurisdiction are (1) **the High Court of Justiciary**; (2) **the Sheriff Courts**.

The Inner House hears appeals from the **Lords Ordinary**, who are the judges of the **Outer House** sitting singly. **The Sheriff Courts** are territorial courts which try actions on contract, however great their value, and actions relating to heritable right or title, if the subject matter is not more than £50 a year or £1,000 in value, but not actions relating to status. In most cases there is a right of appeal to the **Inner House**.

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS.

The organisation of the public business of the United Kingdom, and especially its arrangement by offices and departments, is very defective. It is the exception to find any one subject wholly within the sphere of any one Minister, and it is seldom easy to ascertain which office is responsible for any particular blunder. In consulting the lists of offices and departments in the ensuing pages the following considerations should be borne in mind* :—

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, as constituted by the "Act of Union" of 1800, includes Great Britain (in which both England and Scotland, together with Berwick-on-Tweed, had been merged by the earlier Act of Union in 1707); Ireland, and certain islands in the British seas, namely, the Isle of Man and the Channel Isles. Just as Scotland and England had, in 1707, been merged in Great Britain, so Great Britain and Ireland were, in 1800, merged in the United Kingdom. It is, therefore, incorrect, strictly speaking, to use either England or Britain when the whole United Kingdom is meant, and equally incorrect to describe its inhabitants as either English or British. There is, however, no adjective corresponding to the United Kingdom. The language commonly spoken is correctly named English.

There is, strictly speaking, no single administration for the whole of the United Kingdom, as the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands have for all purposes separate governments. The King alone, together with the House of Lords as the final Court of Appeal, and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council for certain legal appeals, are over them all. In matters of civil administration relating to the Isle of Man and the Channel Isles the King is "advised" by the Home Secretary, but the action taken is not that of the Home Office. Any formal decisions by the King relating to the Isle of Man or the Channel Isles take the form of "Orders in Council," made in the Privy Council of the United Kingdom.

For certain matters all the rest of the United Kingdom is under a single undivided Administration (Army and Navy, Customs and Excise, stamps and taxes, all branches of the Post Office, factory and mines' inspection, Labour Exchanges and unemployment insurance, the administration of the Trade Boards Act, patents, merchant shipping, friendly societies and Trade Unions, etc.).

For a few other matters Great Britain has one undivided administration and Ireland another (Public Works Loan Board).

For many purposes there are three separate administrations for Scotland, Ireland, and England (including Wales and Berwick-on-Tweed), such as education, police, prisons.

* The heads of the several Government Departments are variously designated, but this difference of title has become unimportant. Many departments (Treasury, Admiralty, and those dealing with agriculture, education, local government, trade, etc.) are nominally under Boards composed of half-a-dozen or more members, often including various great dignitaries. This has usually become a mere formality. For the most part the Boards never meet. Action is taken and orders are given by the Chairman or principal member, or by the Secretary, or occasionally by other active members. In a few cases (such as the Trustees of the British Museum and the Local Government Board for Scotland) the Board still meets.

Finally, there are some matters in which there are four separate administrations for England (including Berwick-on-Tweed), Wales, Scotland, and Ireland (such as the National Health Insurance scheme).

If we consider the administration of particular subjects the confusion is as great. Thus, the Local Government Board in London deals only with a fraction of local government, and the local government officials have to go elsewhere for direction with regard to most of it—to the Board of Education as regards most schools; to the Home Office as regards police and lunatic asylums, and also industrial and reformatory schools; to the Board of Trade as regards tramways, gas and water and electricity, harbours and unemployment; to the Insurance Commissioners as regards provision for tuberculosis; as regards loans to the Public Works Loans Board or the Development Commissioners; as regards highways to the Road Board; and as regards small holdings, housing in rural districts, and fisheries to the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries; whilst local government officials in Scotland and Ireland have their own series of distinct departments in Edinburgh and Dublin, rivalling the Local Government Boards for Scotland and Ireland respectively. Education might be supposed to be the concern of the Board of Education exclusively. But there are schools under the War Office, schools under the Admiralty, and schools under the Home Office, and schools under the Local Government Board, with which the Board of Education is not allowed to interfere, to say nothing of the schools controlled by the Scottish Education Department and those under the several different departments for which the Chief Secretary for Ireland is finally responsible, both of which are entirely independent of the Board of Education at Whitehall. As for Labour, its business is found scattered among practically all the offices, and forming the main concern of none of them. It is the Board of Trade that deals with labour statistics, the cost of living, unemployment insurance, the Labour Exchanges, the inspection of merchant shipping and enforcement of statutory conditions of employment therein, the inspection of railways, and the prevention of excessive hours of labour and of accidents upon them, and the fixing and enforcement of the minimum wage under the Trade Boards Act. But it is the Home Office which deals with the fixing and enforcement of the minimum wage under the Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Act, as it does with the inspection of factories and workshops, mines, dockyards, and shops, and the enforcement of the Factory, Workshops, Mines, and Shop Acts, and of the Children Act. For the affairs of their own organisations the workmen have to go to neither of these offices, but to the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies (who deals also with Trade Unions and Building Societies). Perhaps even more important in this connection are the National Health Insurance Commissioners for England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales respectively.

There is no department, other than the Treasury, responsible for the conditions of employment of the 300,000 men and women directly engaged in the National Government service, but the Post Office, War Office, Admiralty, and Home Office are the most extensive employers; whilst the India Office has a considerable staff in this country which is not even under Treasury control.

In the following account of the several departments it is shown to which office inquiries or complaints should be addressed.

ADMIRALTY—UNITED KINGDOM.

THE ADMIRALTY,

Whitehall, S.W.

The Admiralty is that department of the Government which controls all matters in connection with the Royal Navy; the building and manning of ships for the Fleets; the Dockyards and Naval Victualling and Equipment Stores; the Coastguard and Naval Reserve Forces; the Marine Transport of Troops; and the appointment, pay, promotion, and pensions of all branches of these services. The Admiralty is administered by a Board of Commissioners, known as Lords of the Admiralty, who replace the ancient dignitary, the Lord High Admiral.

First Lord, Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P. (£5,000, with house allowance).

First Sea Lord, Admiral of the Fleet Sir Henry B. Jackson (with house, £1,500*).

Second Sea Lord, Vice-Admiral Sir Frederick T. Hamilton (£1,500*).

Third Sea Lord, Rear-Admiral Frederick C. T. Tudor (£1,500*).

Fourth Sea Lord, Commodore Cecil F. Lambert (£1,500*).

Civil Lord, Right Hon. the Duke of Devonshire (£1,000).

Additional Civil Lord, Right Hon. Sir Francis J. S. Hopwood (£3,000).

Parliamentary and Financial Secretary, Right Hon. T. J. Macnamara, M.P. (£2,000).

Permanent Secretary, Sir W. Graham Greene (£2,000).

The distribution of Admiralty business is as follows:—

First Lord.—General direction of all business and sole responsibility to the King and the Cabinet for all decisions.

First Sea Lord.—Organisation for war and distribution of the Fleet.

Second Sea Lord.—Manning and training of the Fleet, Coastguard, and Reserve.

Third Sea Lord.—*Matériel*. Design of ships, armour, and aeroplanes.

Fourth Sea Lord.—Stores and Transport, Pensions.

Civil Lord.—Works, Buildings, and Greenwich Hospital.

Additional Civil Lord.—Contracts and Dockyard business.

Parliamentary Secretary.—Finance.

Permanent Secretary.—The Direction of all Admiralty business.

Estimates of Administration (1914-15), £483,500.

THE ADMIRALTY WAR STAFF.

Chief of the War Staff.

The Chief of the Staff is primarily responsible to the First Sea Lord, and works under him as his principal assistant and agent. The

* In addition to Naval half-pay.

Staff has three main divisions, dealing respectively with war plans and war arrangements. The Intelligence Division acquires the information on which action may be taken; the Operations Division deliberates on the facts so obtained in relation to the policy of the State and reports thereon; the Mobilisation Division enables the final decision of the superior authority to be put into actual effect.

The functions of the War Staff are purely advisory. The decision as to accepting or rejecting the advice of the Staff, wholly or in part, and in what to counsel the Board and the First Lord rests with the First Sea Lord, whose place it is, as a Commander-in-Chief of the Navy, to formulate policy on the grand issues of naval warfare, subject to the supreme responsibility to the King and the Cabinet of the First Lord.

The total number of officers, seamen, and boys: Marines and Coastguards, estimated for in 1914-15, was 216,458, an increase of 7,529 on 1913-14.

Navy Estimates for 1914-15	£ 51,550,000
Of this figure wages of seamen, etc., represent	8,800,000
Victualling and clothing represent	3,092,000
Shipbuilding, etc., represent	25,365,000
Armaments represent	5,544,300

THE NAVIES OF THE WORLD COMPARED.

1. *Matériel*.—A Parliamentary Return, dated February 20th, 1914, was published on March 6th, 1914, showing the Fleets of Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary, United States of America, and Japan. The Return omits all battleships and armoured cruisers over 20 years old from date of launch; in the case of other classes, all vessels are shown which still retain their armaments and are not for sale. The information is brought up to January 1st, 1914:—

BUILT.

	Great Britain.	France.	Russia.	Germany.	Italy.	Austria-Hungary.	United States.	Japan.
Battleships.....	58	21	8	35	9	14	30	17
Coast defence ships, armoured.	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	..
Battle cruisers ..	9	..	..	4	..	..	..	1
Cruisers	47	24	12	9	9	2	17	15
„ light ..	65	8	2	43	14	9	18	19
Torpedo vessels..	25	3	..	..	3	11	2	3
Torpedo-boat destroyers.....	201	80	80	133	30	15	52	51
Torpedo boats ..	106	153	25	80	94	58	21	33
Submarines	69	50	25	24	18	6	29	13
	580	339	152	328	177	115	179	152

BUILDING.

	Great Britain.	France.	Russia.	Germany.	Italy.	Austria-Hungary.	United States.	Japan.
Battleships.....	14	10	7	6	5	2	6	2
Battle cruisers ..	1	..	4	3	..	..	..	3
Cruisers .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ light ..	20	..	8	6	4	3	..	..
Torpedo vessels..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
Torpedo-boat destroyers.....	36	7	45	12	16	3	8	2
Torpedo boats ..	..	..	..	..	1	27	..	..
Submarines	29	26	18	14 ?	2	5	17	2
	101	43	82	41	28	40	33	9

TOTAL NAVAL EXPENDITURE (GROSS).

Year.	Great Britain.	Germany.	France.	Russia.
	£	£	£	£
1912-13 ..	45,560,213	22,215,000	19,072,945	17,681,213
1913-14 ..	49,625,636	23,030,633	21,292,422	25,392,784
1914-15 ..	52,261,703	23,284,531	25,387,306	26,149,294

Year.	Italy.	Austria-Hungary.	United States.	Japan.
	£	£	£	£
1912-13 ..	10,054,505	7,332,703	25,902,577	9,533,997
1913-14 ..	13,333,762	3,889,420*	29,482,991	9,938,433
1914-15 ..	10,313,009	7,408,196	30,331,364	10,023,919

* Six months, owing to change of financial year.

NAVY PAY.

Exclusive of Allowances, etc.

	Per annum.
Admiral of the Fleet	£2,190
Admiral	£1,825
Vice-Admiral	£1,460
Rear-Admiral	£1,095
Commodore (1st class)	£1,095
Captain of the Fleet	£1,095
Captain, first 80	£602
Captain, second 80	£502
Captain, remainder	£403
Commander	£401
Lieutenant on Staff of Adm. of Patrols.....	£400 to £430
Lieutenants (late Commissioned Warrant Officers or Warrant Officers)	£237 to £273
Lieut.-Commander	£201 to £310
Lieutenant	£182 to £292
Sub-Lieutenant	£72 to £91
Midshipman	£32

	Per annum.
Naval Cadet	£18
Carpenter Lieutenant	£237 to £273 15s.
Commissioned Warrant Officers	£183 to £219
Chief Gunner, Boatswain, and Carpenter	£183 to £219
Various Warrant Officers.....	£101 to £191
Head Wardmaster.....	£127 8s. to £163 16s.
Various ratings—Able, Ordinary, and Leading Seamen	£12 13s. to £160
Engineer Rear-Admiral	£1,095
Engineer Captain	£639 to £730
Engineer Commander	£328 to £602
Engineer Lieutenant	£182 to £365 or £256 to £291
Chief Artificer Engineer	£202 to £252
Artificer Engineer	£163 to £191
Chaplain	£219 to £401
Secretary	£183 to £780
Paymaster-in-Chief	£682
Paymaster	£273 to £602
Assistant Paymaster	£91 to £237
Clerk.....	£73
Assistant Clerk	£46
Naval Instructor.....	£219 to £401
Surgeon-General.....	£1,300
Deputy Surgeon-General	£766
Fleet Surgeon	£492 to £656
Staff Surgeon	£365 to £457
Surgeon	£256 to £328

SEPARATION ALLOWANCES FOR THE DEPENDANTS OF SEAMEN, MARINES, AND NAVAL RESERVISTS BORNE ON THE BOOKS OF H.M.'s SHIPS.

It has been decided that for the period of the war separation allowances will be paid to members of the family of a Naval Rating, Marine, or Reservist who was actually dependent on him, wholly or partially, before the war, provided he is willing to continue his own contribution by making an allowance.

The rate of a separation allowance payable would depend in each case on the amount the man was in the habit of contributing and the amount he is now allotting or is prepared to allot, but in no case will the separation allowance be reduced in consequence of the man increasing his allotment.

In the case of men serving at home, the necessary information will be obtained in the first place from the man, and no action is necessary until he or she receive a form from the Admiralty or a Naval Marine Division.

In the case of men serving abroad dependants who wish to claim an allowance will have to prove that the man actually contributed to their support, and they should ask at a post office for a form to fill up and send to the Accountant-General of the Navy.

The same form should be used in making a claim by the wife of any man who is serving abroad but has not declared an allotment in her favour. These allowances will be paid weekly through the Post Office.

ADMIRALTY DOCKYARD EMPLOYEES.

The rates of pay in Admiralty dockyards do not correspond with those settled between employees and Trade Unions in profitmaking establishments, and comparison is rendered difficult by the differences in grading and the pensions and allowances made to some of the Government employees. As will be seen from the table below, the rates per week for labourers are from 1s. to 3s. below the current Trade Union rate.

RATES OF PAY.

Skilled labourers (about 13,400 employed; these include shipwrights, fitters, platers, etc.).

Time Rate.

Probationary Rate	23s.
Normal Scale	24s. to 28s.
Special Rates	29s., 30s., 33s.

A skilled labourer who is secured his time wages may, when employed on piecework, earn from 25 to 50 per cent. additional.

Unskilled labourers (about 4,600 employed).

Time Rate	23s.
(At Haulbowline, Ireland)	22s.

The minimum wage of adult men employed in London is 25s. per week.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF RATES OF WAGES AND RELATIVE COST OF LIVING IN DOCKYARD TOWNS.

Town.	Rates of wages of labourers.				Cost of living.*		
	Government employees	Corporation employees	Co-operative societies' employees	Trade Union district rate.	Food and coal.	Rent.	Food, rent & coal combined.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.			
London (ship-building and engineering Centre)	25 0	30 0	25 0	0 6½ and 0 7	100	100	100
Chatham	23 0	25 6	24 0	0 6	101	57	92
Portsmouth	23 0	24 0	24 0	0 6	100	61	92
Devonport	23 0	24 0	24 0	0 6½	99	81	95
Sheerness	23 0	23 0	24 0	0 6	102	67	95

* In the above table London is taken as the standard, and the cost of living (rents and prices) in other towns is reckoned as a percentage of the cost in London. Thus, food and coal are 1 per cent. dearer in Chatham than in London, while rents are 43 per cent. cheaper.

PRESENTATION OF EMPLOYEES' GRIEVANCES.

Any Admiralty employee can submit a complaint with regard to rates of wages, conditions of service, etc., in the following manner:—

The complaint should be made—

- (1) To the responsible local officers.

(2) If not satisfied with the results of such representations appeal may be made to the Admiral or Captain Superintendent.

(3) In the last resort the matter may be placed directly before the Board of Admiralty in a petition.

Once a year an opportunity is given for the employees to present petitions, requests, or statements of grievances to the Board of Admiralty : and after these have been received deputations representing employees can be accorded interviews with the Financial Secretary.

In questions affecting all the employees in any yard, after the formal petition has been presented, a limited number of representative employees are invited to interview with the Financial Secretary and Admiralty officers in London. Such representatives of employees are paid ordinary time wages and travelling expenses whilst on a deputation.

The maximum number of directly elected representatives of the skilled and ordinary labourers who are permitted to attend the interviews in London is as follows :—

Portsmouth ...	4	representatives.	Sheerness ...	2	representatives.
Devonport ...	4	"	Haulbowline ...	1	"
Pembroke ...	2	"	Greenock.....	1	"
Chatham	4	"			

No decision is ever given at these interviews, and, though the representatives may be questioned, they are not permitted to ask any questions, nor is anything in the nature of discussion allowed. The Admiralty admits no bargaining, collective or otherwise. Some months after the interview the decision of the Admiralty is published in the form of an order.

A considerable proportion of the Admiralty employees are members of Trade Unions, but the Admiralty still refuses to recognise or admit that any Trade Union has a right to speak for its members. It does, however, consent to receive deputations, on grievances affecting Admiralty employees, from the Trades Union Congress, though not from any individual Trade Union.

AGRICULTURE—ENGLAND AND WALES.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES.

Address: 4, 5, 6 and 8, Whitehall Place, S.W. (Other offices at 3 and 21, St. James' Square, S.W.; 43-54, Parliament Street, S.W.; and Craven House, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.)

The Board of Agriculture and Fisheries controls all matters connected with farming, diseases of animals and plants, agricultural education, forestry, small holdings and allotments, and fisheries throughout England and Wales. It collects the annual returns of acreage and produce of crops, live stock, etc., and makes reports thereupon.

President, Right Hon. the Earl of Selborne (£2,000).

Permanent Secretary, Sir Sydney Olivier (£1,500).

Parliamentary Secretary, Right Hon. F. D. Acland, M.P. (£1,200).

There are five sub-divisions :—

(1) The Animals Division, dealing with their diseases, transport, import, and export.

(2) Fisheries Division.

(3) Intelligence Division, dealing with general farming subjects, agricultural education in England and Wales, and forestry.

(4) Land Division, dealing with small holdings and allotments.

(5) Statistical, Tithe and Establishment Division, dealing with statistics of acreage, produce, etc.

The agricultural output of Great Britain, 1913, was valued at £150,800,000. Number of persons employed, 1,840,000.

The Agricultural output of Ireland, 1913, £45,574,000. Number of persons employed, 984,000.

Of the total area of the United Kingdom—76,646,977 acres—19,414,166 acres were under crops in 1914 and 27,349,650 under permanent grass.

FISHERIES.

In 1911 the number employed in industry	102,000
the number of sailing ships	21,827
the number of steamships	3,155
Total value of fish caught in 1913	£14,229,000

LOCAL FISHERIES AUTHORITIES.

There are eleven Local Fisheries Authorities in England and Wales regulating the sea fishing within three miles of the shore. The largest area of jurisdiction is about 490 miles; the smallest about 80 miles. The chief powers are as follows :—

To control, restrict, or prohibit any particular method of sea fishing.

To prohibit or regulate the deposit of any substance likely to hurt sea fish.

To fix the sizes at which shell fish may not be taken from a fishery.

To protect shell fish laid down for breeding.

These local authorities include practical fishermen, or persons chosen by them as their representatives.

In Scotland all the fisheries are controlled by the Fishery Board for Scotland.

In Ireland fisheries are administered by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, while on the West Coast the Congested District Board takes care of the development and improvement of fishing.

The expenditure on fisheries for the United Kingdom during the year ended March 31st, 1913, was as follows :—

Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (England and Wales).	Fishery Board for Scotland.	Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland.	Congested Districts Board for Ireland.
£	£	£	£
23,019	37,234	33,872	34,125

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION.

England and Wales are divided into eleven educational provinces, each containing an agricultural college, where training can be obtained in all matters connected with agriculture. In 1912-13 1,269 students attended full courses at these institutes, while 570 took shorter courses. Technical advice is also given to farmers, and local problems are investigated. Day courses and evening schools in counties where there are no farm schools, and travelling dairy schools and instruction in manual processes are other activities undertaken by the Board of Agriculture.

SMALL HOLDINGS AND ALLOTMENTS.

The Small Holdings and Allotments Commissioners, in their latest report, state that up to December 31st, 1913, 179,204 acres had been actually acquired for small holdings by **County Councils** in England and Wales, of which 124,917 acres had been purchased for £4,074,885, and 54,287 acres leased for rents amounting to £65,442. Of this land, 157,883 acres had been actually let to 11,021 individual small holders and 476 acres sold to 42 small holders. In addition, 8,037 acres had been let to 61 Co-operative Small Holdings Associations, who had sublet the land to 1,424 of their members, and 3,314 applicants had been provided with over 44,000 acres by private landowners direct, mainly through the instrumentality of the Councils. The land that had been acquired, but which is not yet let in small holdings, will probably provide for another 917 applicants, and the Councils of County Boroughs have acquired 2,636 acres, of which 996 acres are let to 209 individual small holders and 97 members of Co-operative Associations. It appears, therefore, that the Act has resulted in the provision of land for 17,055 applicants in six years.

During 1913 fresh applications were received by County Councils from 3,982 individuals and 15 associations. The total quantity applied for was 69,622 acres, showing an increase on 1912. During the six years since the Act came into operation applications have been received from 43,245 individuals and 89 associations, and the **total quantity applied for** amounts to 723,497 acres. A considerable number of the applicants, especially of those who applied in the first year, proved to be unsuitable for various reasons, mainly owing to lack of necessary capital, but 25,567 applicants have been provisionally approved as suitable, though it does not necessarily follow that it is possible to obtain holdings for them at rents which they are prepared to pay. A striking feature of the applications received is the continually increasing demand in certain counties in which it has been encouraged by an efficient County Council.

The average price of the land purchased in 1913 was £32 12s. 5d. an acre, and the average rent of the land leased £1.4s. an acre.

Norfolk maintains the lead with 1,045 tenants, followed by Cambridge with 931, the Isle of Ely with 870, Bedfordshire with 607, Somerset with 569, and Worcester with 496. Every Council, except that of London, has provided some holdings, but the following have not succeeded in doing much in that direction, viz., Westmorland with 9, Middlesex with 12, and West Sussex with 15. It is very largely true to say that the demand increases in proportion to the activity shown in administering the Act.

HOW TO GET A SMALL HOLDING.

The County Councils vary very much in the way they deal with applicants for land, but no one is likely to secure a holding from a Council unless he has some experience of cultivation, and can find capital up to somewhere about £5 an acre. This capital need not all be in money; stock will be counted in according to its value. Moreover, competent applicants, who have not sufficient money, would be able to get land if they could obtain the money needed through a credit bank or some other source. If a man who wants a small holding has some experience, and can put his hand on the capital, he should apply to the Clerk of the County Council of the county in which he desires to take land. A form asking for particulars of his requirements and qualifications will then be sent him, and when he has filled this in and returned it he will probably be interviewed by some members of the Council's Small Holdings Committee; if the interview passes off satisfactorily he will be put on the list of approved applicants, and land should be found for him. If the Council does not quickly find him land, the applicant can appeal to the District Commissioner, to his local member of the County Council, or to the local Member of Parliament. The best course for applicants in any district is to band themselves together into groups, for it is far easier for the Council to deal with groups than with individuals.

HOW TO GET AN ALLOTMENT.

Any working man can apply for an allotment to his Parish Urban District or Borough Council, or to the parish chairman in small parishes where there are no Councils. These local Councils do not, as a rule, hold special inquiries, nor ask the applicant about his capital unless he needs a considerable holding of, say, four or five acres. No one has yet persuaded a Parish Council to build cottages on allotments as they have power to do, but it is to be hoped they will do so in the near future. If the local Council is not favourable, difficulties can be put in the way of applicants; so they also should, if possible, form a group. It is worth knowing that any public elementary school can be obtained free for a meeting to consider any questions relating to allotments.

The Board of Agriculture have prepared leaflets on "The Administration of the Small Holdings Act," "How to Obtain an Allotment or a Small Holding," and "Agricultural Credit Banks," and have also published reports on the working of a number of holdings.

AGRICULTURE—SCOTLAND.**BOARD OF AGRICULTURE FOR SCOTLAND,**

29, St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh.

Minister responsible to Parliament, the Secretary of State for Scotland.

Chairman, Sir Robert P. Wright (£1,200 to £1,500).

This department deals, for Scotland, with the same agricultural business as the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries does for England and Wales. There is a separate Fishery Board for Scotland.

AGRICULTURE—IRELAND.**BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION FOR IRELAND,**

4, Upper Merrion Street, Dublin.

Vice-President (Minister responsible to Parliament), Right Hon. T. W. Russell, M.P. (£1,350).**Secretary,** T. P. Gill.**Inspector for Irish Agricultural interests in Great Britain,** R. M. Bowen-Colthurst (£500).**CONGESTED DISTRICTS BOARD,**

23, Rutland Square, Dublin.

This Board was established in 1891 to attend to the problem of large congested areas of the West of Ireland, and to buy and deal with land, especially very poor or neglected estates. It also constructs roads and bridges, opens fish-curing stations, develops female industries by means of training schools for lace, crochet, knitting, weaving, and domestic economy, and provides lessons in practical agriculture.

ARMY—UNITED KINGDOM.**THE WAR OFFICE,**

Whitehall, S.W.

The War Office controls all matters in connection with the conduct of war, the upkeep of the Army, pensions to retired soldiers, their widows and children, and the manufacture of munitions and aircraft.

The executive authority is the Secretary of State for War, acting by the advice of the Army Council.

The responsibility for organising the defence of the Empire, and for co-ordinating the Army, Navy, and Colonial Forces, rests with the Imperial Defence Committee. This body, first appointed in Mr. Balfour's Ministry of 1900-5, consists of the Prime Minister and such other Ministers and high officials as may from time to time be invited. It always includes the Secretaries of State for War and the Colonies and the First Lord of the Admiralty.

Secretary of State for War, Right Hon. Earl Kitchener (£5,000).**Permanent Secretary,** Sir R. H. Brade (£2,000).**Parliamentary Under-Secretary,** Right Hon. H. J. Tennant, M.P. (£1,500).**Financial Secretary,** H. W. Forster, M.P. (£1,500).**ARMY COUNCIL.****Secretary of State for War,** Right Hon. Earl Kitchener (£5,000).**Chief of the Imperial General Staff (First Military Member),** Lieut.-General Sir J. W. Murray (£3,000).

Adjutant-General to the Forces (Second Military Member),
Lieut.-General Sir H. C. Sclater (£2,500).

Quartermaster-General to the Forces (Third Military Member),
Major-General Sir J. S. Cowans (£2,000).

Master-General of the Ordnance (Fourth Military Member), Major-General Sir S. B. von Donop (£2,000).

Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State (Civil Member), Right Hon. H. J. Tennant, M.P. (£1,500).

Financial Secretary (Finance Member), H. W. Forster, M.P. (£1,500).

Secretary, Sir R. H. Brade (Permanent Under-Secretary of State) (£2,000).

ROYAL ARMY CLOTHING FACTORY,

Grosvenor Road, S.W.

Chief Ordnance Officer, Colonel R. W. M. Jackson (£826).

Medical Officer, Major H. A. L. Howell, R.A.M.C. (£493).

ROYAL AIRCRAFT FACTORY,

South Farnborough.

Superintendent, M. O'Gorman (£1,400).

ROYAL ORDNANCE FACTORIES' CENTRAL STAFF,

Woolwich.

Chief Superintendent Ordnance Factories, Vincent L. Raven.

Civil Assistant, J. T. La Brooy.

Paymaster, C. Sendey.

ROYAL GUN AND CARRIAGE FACTORIES.

Superintendent, Colonel C. P. Martel.

ROYAL LABORATORY.

Superintendent, Colonel Sir H. W. W. Barlow.

Officers in Charge of Danger Buildings, Captains G. F. B. Turner and W. L. Browne.

BUILDING WORKS DEPARTMENT.

Superintendent, Major N. M. Hemming.

Traffic Manager, Lieutenant L. H. Becher (temporary).

Engineer (Railways), N. W. T. Gibson.

Surveyor, G. J. Burns.

Assistant Manager, H. G. Assister.

MECHANICAL ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT.

Superintendent, G. H. Roberts.

ROYAL GUNPOWDER AND SMALL ARMS FACTORIES,

Waltham Abbey and Enfield Lock.

Superintendent, Brevet Lieut.-Colonel F. T. Fisher.

The following relates to the Army as before the European War, and is here inserted for the purpose of comparison.

ARMY ORGANISATION, COST, AND ESTABLISHMENTS.

The British Army was organised by Lord Haldane in two lines only: (1) **The Regular Army**, with its Reserve and Special Reserve (the latter replacing the old militia); and (2) **the Territorial Force**, constituted out of the Yeomanry and the former Volunteers. The object of the First Line is to furnish garrisons and field forces for India, Egypt, South Africa, and other places; to maintain at home a sufficiency of troops to supply drafts for the troops serving abroad, and out of the troops at home to constitute an Expeditionary Force, to be completed to war strength by the Reserve, while the Special Reserve takes up the work of making good the wastage of war. The object of the Second Line is to provide a force for home defence, with no obligation to serve abroad, but with the possibility that individuals and units may volunteer to serve abroad in case of hostilities.

ARMY ESTIMATES, 1913 AND 1914.

EFFECTIVE SERVICES.

	Net Estimate, 1913-14.		Net Estimate, 1914-15.
Pay, etc., of Army	8,623,000	..	8,705,000
Medical Establishments—Pay, etc.	440,000	..	437,000
Special Reserve (including Officers' Training Corps)	715,000	..	724,000
Territorial Forces	2,815,000	..	3,086,000
Establishments for Military Education..	146,000	..	156,000
Quartering, Transport, and Remounts ..	1,694,000	..	1,732,000
Supplies and Clothing	4,507,000	..	4,388,000
Ordnance Department—establishments and general stores	720,000	..	621,000
Armaments, Aviation, and Engineer Stores.....	1,677,000	..	1,732,000
Works and Buildings	2,435,000	..	2,791,000
Miscellaneous Effective Services.....	66,000	..	59,000
War Office	443,000	..	457,000
	<u>£24,281,000</u>		<u>£24,888,000</u>

NON-EFFECTIVE SERVICES.

	Net Estimate, 1913-14.		Net Estimate, 1914-15.
Non-effective Charges for Officers	1,849,000	..	1,846,000
Non-effective Charges for Men, etc.	1,950,000	..	1,977,000
Civil Superannuation, Compensation, and Compassionate Allowances	140,000	..	134,000
Total Non-effective Services....	<u>£3,939,000</u>		<u>£3,957,000</u>
Total Effective and Non-effective Services	<u>£28,220,000</u>		<u>£28,845,000</u>

ARMY PAY.

DAILY PAY (BRITISH ESTABLISHMENT), EXCLUSIVE OF ALLOWANCES.

According to Regiment.	From		To	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
Colonel or Lieutenant-Colonel	18	0	24	9
Major	16	0	18	6
Captain.....	11	7	15	0
Lieutenant	6	6	9	0
Second Lieutenant.....	5	3	7	8
Adjutant	10	0	18	0
Riding Master.....	10	6	12	0
Quartermaster.....	9	6	10	6
Sergeant (Corporal) Major	5	0	6	0
Bandmaster	5	0	5	6
Quartermaster-Sergeant (Corporal-Major)	4	0	4	6
Battery Sergeant-Major, do. Quartermaster-Sergeant	4	2	4	4
Squadron and Company Sergeant (Corporal) Major..	3	9	4	6
Farrier Quartermaster-Corporal (Sergeant).....	4	0	4	6
Saddler Staff-Corporal (Sergeant)	3	8	4	0
Sergeant (Corporal of Horse)	2	4	3	4
Corporal	1	8	2	8
Bombardier, Second Corporal.....	2	2	2	5
Wheeler, Saddler, Artificer	1	9½	2	2
Shoeing and Carriage Smith	1	2	2	3
Trumpeter, Bugler, Drummer, and Fifer.....	1	1	1	11
Gunner, Sapper, Private	1	0	1	9
Driver	2		1	3

ARMY SEPARATION ALLOWANCES.

RATES FOR WIVES AND CHILDREN OF SOLDIERS

(including, from February 1st, 1915, the wives and families, not on the strength, of soldiers on the Indian Establishment, and the wives of soldiers married after enlistment).

The rates of payment for children have been increased with effect from 1st March, 1915. The total payment to the family, if the soldier makes the usual allotment from his pay, will be as shown in the following table. Any allotment above the usual rate which a soldier may make will be paid in addition.

The usual allotment is as follows: Soldiers not below the rank of sergeant: Wife, 5s. 10d. per week. Other soldiers: Wife, 3s. 6d. per week.

No allotment is required for children whether in the care of their mother or motherless.

The allotment is compulsory in the case of a soldier serving abroad. In the case of a soldier serving at home the allotment may be at a lower rate or withheld altogether, providing the wife's income would

still reach the standard in the table below. If the husband objects to making the usual allotment, the paymaster will notify the wife and tell her what to do.

WEEKLY RATES OF SEPARATION ALLOWANCE, INCLUDING THE USUAL ALLOTMENT OF PAY.

	RANK OF SOLDIER.				
	Corporal and Private.	Sergeant.	Colour-Sergeant.	Regimental Quarter-master Sergeant.	Warrant Officer. (Class I.)
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Wife	12 6	15 0	16 6	22 0	23 0
Wife and 1 child	17 6	20 0	21 6	27 0	28 0
Wife and 2 children..	21 0	23 6	25 0	30 0	31 6
Wife and 3 children..	23 0	25 6	27 0	32 6	33 6
Motherless child	and so on, 5 0	with an add 5 0	dition of 2s. 5 0	for each add 5 0	itional child 5 0
Deduction if in public quarters with fuel and light	6 0	6 0	7 6	13 0	14 0

NOTE.—From February 1st, 1915, separation allowance is payable for all children up to the age of 16 years.

It may also be paid for children suffering from mental or physical infirmity up to the age of 21, and, on the recommendation of the Local Education Authority, for apprentices receiving not more than a nominal wage, or children over 16, while in attendance as day pupils at secondary schools, technical schools, or universities.

The extra 3s. 6d. a week issuable to London families in certain circumstances and the special compensation allowance granted in September, 1914, to families on the married establishment will continue to be paid as at present.

SEPARATION ALLOWANCE FOR DEPENDENTS OF SOLDIERS.

If an unmarried soldier* supported a dependent for a reasonable period up to the beginning of the war (or the date of enlistment if later), and wishes to continue the support he gave, the Government will help, during the war, by making a grant of separation allowance, provided he will contribute part of his pay.

A dependent means any person who is found as a fact to have been dependent on the soldier. But the support must have been given to make, or help to make, a home for one to whom the soldier was bound by some natural tie, and must not have been a matter of wages, as to a paid housekeeper, or a payment of an ordinary business kind, as to a landlady.

When it has been settled how much the soldier used to pay for the dependent's support, the following tables show the share of that

* This applies also to a widower and to a married soldier separated from his wife, if no separation allowance is admissible for the wife.

amount which the soldier **must** give from his pay, and also the limit of the weekly payment to which the Government will contribute :—

1.—Private or Corporal.

Weekly amount formerly given for dependent's own support.				Share now to be given by soldier out of his pay.			
s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.	
From	..	up to	3 0	0	7	per week.	
"	3 0	"	5 0	1	2	"	
"	5 0	"	7 6	1	9	"	
"	7 6	"	9 6	2	4	"	
"	9 6	"	11 6	2	11	"	
"	11 6	"	12 6	3	6	"	

Limit for the dependent of a private or corporal :—

2.—Higher ranks.

Weekly amount formerly given for dependent's own support.				Share now to be given by soldier out of his pay.			
s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.	
From	..	up to	2 6	0	7	per week.	
"	2 6	"	4 0	1	2	"	
"	4 0	"	5 6	1	9	"	
"	5 6	"	7 0	2	4	"	
"	7 0	"	8 6	2	11	"	
"	8 6	"	10 0	3	6	"	
"	10 0	"	11 6	4	1	"	
"	11 6	"	13 0	4	8	"	
"	13 0	"	14 6	5	3	"	
"	14 6	"	15 0	5	10	"	

Limit for the dependent of a sergeant :—

The limit is raised to 16s. 6d. in the case of a colour-sergeant, to 22s. in the case of a regimental quartermaster-sergeant, and to 23s. in the case of a warrant officer, Class 1.

PENSION FOR DISABILITY.

Men disabled through war service are eligible for pensions varying according to rank and degree of incapacity. The rate for a private soldier totally incapable of earning a livelihood will be 25s. a week, with 2s. 6d. a week for each child (under age 16) born before discharge.

PENSIONS FOR WIDOWS, CHILDREN, AND DEPENDENTS.

Widows and children of men killed in action or dying of wounds or injuries received on military duty, or of disease contracted or commencing on active service, are eligible for pensions. The private widow's rate is 10s. a week, with an addition of 2s. 6d. a week at the age of 35s., and a further 2s. 6d. at 45. The first child (under age 16) receives 5s. a week, the second 3s. 6d., and each other child 2s. Motherless children receive 5s. a week each.

Pensions or gratuities will be payable in certain circumstances to other dependents of deceased soldiers, but the details are not yet settled.

The Army in India consists of British Regular Forces, Indian Regular Forces, the various local corps, British Volunteers, Indian Army Reserves, Imperial Service Troops, and Military Police.

Recruiting is voluntary for three years, but the soldier usually re-engages, and often secures a career for life.

During recent years Indian military expenditure has averaged about £19,500,000 annually.

The Indian Forces of the second line are: the **Volunteers**, about 35,400 strong; the **Imperial Service Troops**, maintained by the Native States; the **Frontier Militia** on the north-west frontier; and the **Military Police** on that frontier and in Assam and Burma. The Militia and Police are under the civil power.

The Territorial Force—Establishment and Strength.—The following figures show the establishment and strength, excluding permanent staff, of the Territorial Force, all ranks, provided for in the 1914-15 Estimates:—

Establishment, 316,551; strength, 252,458.

THE DEFENCE FORCES OF THE DOMINIONS.

Colonial Military Systems are all framed primarily for home defence, no man being liable for service outside his country.

Canada.—Under the provisions of the Canadian Militia Act, 1904, every Canadian between the ages of 18 and 60 is liable to military service, but there is no compulsion.

The Australian Defence Acts, 1909 and 1910, amended the Acts of 1903 and 1904, and were measures having for their object to enforce compulsory service on all able-bodied males.

New Zealand.—The principle of compulsory military training was adopted by the Defence Act of 1909.

South Africa.—A sum of £85,000 annually is contributed by the Union of South Africa towards the general maintenance of the British Navy.

By the Defence Act, 1912, liability to military service in any part of South Africa is imposed upon the whole white male population up to the age of 60.

Newfoundland.—Towards the maintenance of a branch of the Royal Naval Reserve Newfoundland contributes £3,000.

AUDIT—UNITED KINGDOM.

EXCHEQUER AND AUDIT DEPARTMENT,

Victoria Embankment, E.C.

Comptroller and Auditor-General, Sir H. J. Gibson (£2,000).

The important work of auditing the public accounts is done by this department.

The Treasury obtains its money through the agency of the Comptroller-General, who, upon the Sovereign's order, countersigned by two Lords of the Treasury, gives the Lords of the Treasury a credit upon the Exchequer account at the Bank of England. The amount is then transferred by the Bank to the credit of the Paymaster-General.

The Paymaster-General makes all payments required by the various Government Departments out of the money handed to him by the

Comptroller-General, as stated above. He is an unpaid official, and acts through the Paymaster-General's office.

The Comptroller-General examines and audits the accounts of the various departments to see that the credit given to the Treasury is spent in accordance with the Parliamentary grants, his report being presented to the Public Accounts Committee of the House of Commons. He occupies a position of great independence. He is not under the control of the Treasury, or subject to any direction by the Cabinet. He is responsible solely and directly to the House of Commons.

Estimated expenses of the department for 1914-15 were £68,235.

BRITISH MUSEUM.

Bloomsbury, W.C., and South Kensington, S.W.

Director and Principal Librarian, Sir F. G. Kenyon (£1,500).

The British Museum, subject only to the control of the Treasury as regards expenditure, is under the separate administration of a Board of Trustees, of whom the three principal are the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Speaker of the House of Commons.

This is one of the few cases in which the Board, as a form of administration, has remained a reality. The trustees of the British Museum really meet and give orders.

The British Museum contains one of the biggest and most valuable collections of books, manuscripts, antiquities, and natural history specimens in the world. It is open every day free to the public (except Christmas Day and Good Friday). It is estimated that about a million persons visit the Museum in the year.

The reading-room contains about four million volumes, occupying over 40 miles of shelving, and the number of books is increasing at the rate of 60,000 per annum.

Any person over 21 years of age can apply to the Director for a reader's ticket for the reading-room for any purpose of study, but he or she must state the kind of work that it is wished to do there, and must enclose a recommendation from a London householder.

The natural history specimens (mineralogy, geology, botany, zoology, and anthropology) are in a separate building at South Kensington.

The annual cost of the maintenance of the British Museum was estimated at £195,273 for 1914-15.

CHARITY COMMISSIONERS.

Ryder Street, St. James's, S.W.

The Charity Commission was created in 1853 "for the better administration of charitable trusts in England and Wales." Moneys left by will for charitable purposes, without any requirement for permanent investment, are administered by the Commissioners.

Aggregate income for 1913, £934,533.

Chief Commissioner, Sir Charles Cook (£1,500).

Commissioners, A. F. Leach (£1,200) and Right Hon. C. P. Allen, M.P. (unpaid).

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,

Burlington Gardens, W.

Until 1855 appointments to the Civil Service were made by nomination only, but from that date qualifying examinations were introduced. In 1870 the principle of open competition was adopted. During the year 1914 60,643 candidates entered for examination.

Estimated Expenditure, 1914-15, £51,885.

First Commissioner, S. M. Leathes (£1,500).

Commissioner, H. W. Paul (£1,200).

COLONIES.

THE COLONIAL OFFICE,

Downing Street, S.W.

Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, Right Hon. A. Bonar Law, M.P. (£5,000).

Parliamentary Under-Secretary, A. D. Steel-Maitland, M.P. (£1,500).

Permanent Under-Secretary, Sir John Anderson (£2,000).

The salaries, etc., of the Colonial Office are estimated at £61,510 for 1914-15.

The Colonial Office is responsible for the administration of our Colonies and dependencies (not including the Isle of Man and the Channel Isles, as to which the Home Secretary is responsible; nor yet India (with Aden and Perim), which is under the Secretary of State for India; nor yet the Island of Ascension, which is under the First Lord of the Admiralty; nor yet the Egyptian Protectorate, which is under the Foreign Office).

The Colonial Office is organised in three branches.

I. The Dominions Division, dealing with the affairs of the self-governing dominions of the Empire, and with those Crown Colonies and Protectorates in the Pacific and in South Africa, which are intimately connected with the self-governing dominions. Emigration questions are dealt with by this department. Linked to it is the **Secretariat of the Imperial Conference**.

II. The Crown Colonies Division, dealing with the administration and political work of the Crown Colonies and Protectorates.

III. The General Department, dealing with the general routine business of the office and various matters common to all the Colonies, especially the Crown Colonies, such as currency, banking, postal, and telegraph matters, education, etc.

The total trade of the British Empire with foreign countries was:—

	1890		1911		1912
	£		£		£
Imports	408,053,000	.....	732,881,000	.....	822,957,000
Exports	319,795,000	.....	619,358,000	.....	669,160,000

The trade of the United Kingdom with British Colonies and possessions was :—

	1890 £	1911 £	1912 £
Imports	101,080,000	215,540,000	236,316,000
Exports	106,518,000	192,374,000	218,267,000

The Inter-Colonial trade was :—

	1890 £	1911 £	1912 £
Imports	34,697,000	77,531,000	83,585,000

ESTIMATED CAPITAL WEALTH.

	£
United Kingdom	15,000,000,000
Canada	1,350,000,000
Australasia	1,100,000,000
India	3,000,000,000
South Africa	600,000,000
Remainder of Empire	1,200,000,000

Total £22,250,000,000

BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS.

The area of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, exclusive of India, is 9,451,000 square miles—78 times the area of the United Kingdom. The population at the 1911 census was 56,845,000, the population of the United Kingdom being then 45,217,000.

COLONIES IN EUROPE.

Name of Colony.	Governor, Resident, Commissioner, etc.	Mail Transit from England.	Single Fares from England.
Gibraltar	Gen. Sir Herbert Miles (Governor and Com- mander-in-Chief)	4 days..	..
Malta	Gen. Sir Leslie Rundle (Governor and Com- mander-in-Chief)	4 days..	£9 to £14
Cyprus	Major Sir J. E. Clauson (High Commissioner)	7 days..	..

COLONIES IN ASIA.

Aden (under India Office)	Major-Gen. Sir James A. Bell (Political Resident); Lt.-Col. H. F. Jacobs (1st Assistant)	10 days..	£21 to £38
Bahrein Islands (under India Office)	Major S. G. Knox (Resi- dent in Persian Gulf, Bushire)	..	..

Name of Colony.	Governor, Resident, Commissioner, etc.	Mail Transit from England.	Single Fares from England.
British North Borneo	C. W. C. Parr (Governor)	24 days..	..
Brunei	F. W. Douglas (Resident)	..	..
Ceylon (Capital: Colombo)	Sir Robert Chalmers (Governor)	16 days..	£14 to £52
Hong Kong	Sir Francis Henry May (Governor)	27-30 dys	£30 to £65
Sarawak	Hon. I. Kirkpatrick Caldicot, Hon. R. Stair Douglas (Residents)	25-30 dys	..
Wei-hai-wei.....	Sir J. H. Stewart Lockhart (Commissioner)	..	..

STRAIT SETTLEMENTS.

Singapore	R. J. Wilkinson (Colonial Secretary)	22 days..	..
Labuan.....	Capt. Sir A. H. Young (Governor and Com- mander-in-Chief)	..	..
Penang	A. T. Bryant (Resident Councillor)	20 days..	..
Malacca	L. E. P. Wolferstan (Resi- dent)	23 days..	..

THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

Perak (Capital: Taiping)	..	..	..
Selangor .....	..	..	..
Negri Sembilan ....	..	..	..
Pahang .....	..	..	..
Kelantan (Capital: Kota Bharu)	W. Langham - Carter (British Adviser—act- ing)	..	..
Trengganu (Capital: Trengganu)	W. D. Scott (British Agent)	..	..
Kedah (Capital: Alor Star)	W. G. Maxwell (British Agent)	..	..
Perlis (Capital: Kangar)	G. M. Laidlaw (British Adviser—acting)	..	..
Johore	Capt. Sir Arthur Young (High Commissioner)	21 days via Penang	£26 to £60

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Governor-General, Viscount Buxton (£10,000).

Premier, General the Right Hon. Lewis Botha.

High Commissioner in London, Hon. W. P. Schreiner.

Secretary, T. Slingsby Nightingale, 32, Victoria Street, S.W.

Area, 473,100 square miles.

Population (census 1911), 5,973,394, of whom 1,276,242 are European, 4,019,006 natives, and 678,146 other coloured inhabitants.

By the South Africa Act, 1909, the Colonies of the **Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange River Colony** were united in a Legislative Union under one Government under the name of **The Union of South Africa**. There is an **Executive Council** to advise the Governor-General in the government of the Union. The Parliament consists of a **Senate and House of Assembly**. **Cape Town** is the seat of Legislature, **Pretoria** the seat of the Executive Government. The membership of the Union House of Assembly (as adjusted in accordance with the census of 1911) is: Cape, 51; Natal, 17; the Transvaal, 45; and the Orange Free State, 17. The membership of both Houses is limited to **persons of European descent**.

The control and **administration of native affairs and matters affecting Asiatics** in the Union is vested in the Governor-General in Council.

Bills passed by the Union Parliament require the assent of the Governor-General, and may be disallowed within one year by the King. There is to be **Free Trade within the Union** as soon as the Parliament shall have made provision for it. The Union assumed the Colonial debts and the control of railways, ports, and harbours. In each of the provinces an Administrator, appointed for five years by the Governor-General in Council, represents the executive authority. There is a Council for each province, consisting of 25 members, or as many more as the number of members the province is entitled to send to the Union Parliament. Four members are elected by each Provincial Council to form, with the Administrator of the province, an executive committee. The election of senators and of members of the executive committees of the Provincial Councils is according to the principle of **proportional representation**, each voter having one transferable vote.

Colonies.	Capitals.	Resident Commissioners and Administrators.
The Cape	Cape Town	Hon. Sir Nicholas F. de Waal.
Natal	Pietermaritzburg	Hon. C. J. Smythe
Orange Free State ..	Bloemfontein ..	De A. E. W. Ramsbottom.
The Transvaal	Johannesburg ..	Hon. J. F. B. Rissik.
Basutoland	Maseru	Sir H. C. Sloley (Resident Commissioner).
Bechuanaland Protec- torate	Mafeking	Lieut.-Col. Panzera (Resident Commissioner).
Swaziland	Mbabane	R. T. Coryndon (Resident Commissioner).
Rhodesia .....	.....	F. Drummond Chaplin (Administrator of Southern Rhodesia); L. A. Wallace (Administrator of Northern Rhodesia).

Mail transit to Cape Town 17 days.

ORDINARY FARES.

	Second class or saloon.	Third class.			
		Closed cabin.		Open berths (men only)	
	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	
Cape Town (17 to 20 days)	From 22 10	From 9 9		10 10	
Mossel Bay and Port Elizabeth (About 23 days)	„ 24 3	12 12 to 18 18		11 11	
East London..... (About 25 days)	„ 25 4	13 13 to 19 19		12 12	
Durban	„ 26 5	14 14 to 21 0		12 12	

EMIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA.

NOTE.—Owing to the war the labour market in South Africa is disorganised, and no one should go there now.

In 1913 10,919 emigrants left the United Kingdom to settle in South Africa; and 10,534 persons left South Africa to settle in the United Kingdom.

Assisted Passages.—On application by persons who are connected with the farming industry and are *bond-fide* residents of the Union, the Minister of the Interior will be prepared, in his discretion, to arrange passages to the Union for European agriculturists and farm employees, together with their wives and children.

Nominated Passages.—The Union Government grants reduced or assisted passages to the Union to the wives and children (excluding male members over 18 years of age) of persons permanently employed or established in the Union whose means are such that they require assistance to enable them to bring their families to South Africa.

Working Out Passages.—Emigrants cannot work out their passages, except by leave of the shipping companies, which is seldom given.

No Repayment Necessary.—Emigrants receiving assisted passages are not called upon to repay their passage money, and are perfectly free to work where and for whom they please, except when they have already entered into agreements for service.

Best Time for Arriving.—In a climate like that of South Africa any time of the year is suitable for arriving—September perhaps for preference. December to February are the summer months, the seasons being the opposite to what they are in the United Kingdom.

Demand for Labour.

Appointments and Employments.—The High Commissioner in London cannot entertain applications from clerks, school teachers, engineers, or others desirous of appointments in South Africa; nor is he in a position to assist persons to obtain employment there. Appointments can only be obtained by personal application in South Africa.

Farm Labourers.—The labour employed upon farms—whether agricultural or pastoral—is almost exclusively that of Kaffir and other coloured races. The men are paid 10s. to 20s. a month, with food and sleeping accommodation. Very few farmers are willing to offer such wages or furnish such accommodation as would satisfy Europeans, for whom, therefore, whether as shepherds or farm labourers, there is, generally speaking, little or no demand unless they are willing to accept 2s. to 3s. a day, with board and lodging. British emigrants must also remember that in many farming districts of the Union the Dutch language is usually spoken.

Shares System.—There is, however, a fair number of vacancies for experienced farm hands with a little capital on the “halves” system, by which the owner of the land provides the necessary land, implements, and stock, and receives a half-share of all sales of produce, etc.

Farmers.—There are fair openings in fruit growing, in stock farming, and in general farming for farmers with capital, but it is essential that everyone should have some experience of the country and local conditions before investing in land. Intending settlers requiring further information regarding agriculture should apply to the Department of Agriculture, Pretoria.

General Labourers and Lads.—The same remarks apply to general as to farm labourers. There is very little market for unskilled British labourers; natives at 3s. to 3s. 6d. a day, and to some extent foreigners are generally employed. There are, however, considerable numbers of white labourers now employed on the railways doing work formerly performed by coloured labour. There is no opening whatever for men looking for work of a light nature, or for handymen, or for youths without a trade; many such persons are out of work, and have no prospect of getting any.

Miners.—At Johannesburg miners have an increasing difficulty in finding work, and it must be remembered that only about 12 per cent. of the employees are whites. The diamond mines in the Cape, Transvaal, and Orange Free State Provinces employ many hundreds of skilled miners when they are at full work; the supply of miners at the present time is more than equal to the demand. At the coal mines coloured labour is mainly used, and the demand for white men is limited. Copper miners, when they are wanted at Ookiep in Namaqualand (Cape Province), where the principal copper mines of South Africa are situated, are procured from here on engagements of three years, and no one should go there unless engaged, as the local supply is quite equal to, or in excess of, the demand.

Mechanics.—Most of the industries in South Africa are still undeveloped, and there is only a small margin between an under-supply and an over-supply of skilled labour. At Johannesburg many mechanics and others are out of work, and there is much distress. At Pretoria there is no demand; new arrivals in search of work should register their names with the Registrar Officer. In the Cape Province the demand for labour is poor. In Natal and the Orange Free State there is no demand for more labour. All mechanics, therefore, are cautioned against going to South Africa now.

Coloured Labour.—It should be remembered that large numbers of Malays and other coloured men (not including natives), especially in the Cape Province, now compete with whites as skilled mechanics at lower wages. The best class of white competes successfully with the coloured man, but the inferior classes of white workmen are not up to the average of the coloured men. The shoemaking and tailoring trades at Cape Town are largely in the hands of Malays and foreigners. Many blacksmiths also in all parts of the Union are coloured men, as well as large numbers of harness makers, brickmakers, navvies, gardeners, coachmen, upholsterers, stonecutters, bricklayers, plasterers, etc. As a general conclusion, it may be stated that competition between white and coloured labour in skilled or semi-skilled trades is greatest in the Cape Province, and, secondly, between white and Indians in Natal; in the Transvaal and Orange Free State skilled coloured men are relatively few.

Trades.—Emigrants should remember also that trades are not so sharply defined as in this country; a carpenter, for instance, should be ready to act as wheelwright or cooper; or a plumber as a slater; or a bricklayer as plasterer, mason, or stonecutter.

Shopmen and Clerks.—Clerks, shopmen, storekeepers, and others without a manual trade are warned against emigrating unless they have situations to go to, or have special experience in a particular line of business, or have means of their own.

Railwaymen.—Railwaymen should not go out unless they are advertised for in this country. Wages per day are: Drivers, 10s. 6d. to 15s.; firemen, 6s. to 9s. 6d.; guards, 8s. to 11s.; porters, 6s. to 9s.; signalmen, 7s. 6d. to 12s.; and white labourers, 3s. to 5s.

Female Domestic Servants.—For thoroughly good female domestic servants there is a demand at Cape Town, Kimberley, Johannesburg, Durban, and other towns, but the fact of native competition and of a strong prejudice held by European girls against this kind of service must be kept in view, male coloured labourers being usually employed as cooks and general servants and for laundry work. It may be stated, however, that any female servant, if of good character and industrious, especially if she is also a good plain cook, will have no difficulty in getting employment. In most houses a native or other coloured labourer is kept to do the more menial kind of domestic work.

Governesses, Clerks, Shop Assistants, etc.—There is little demand for women teachers who are uncertificated, governesses, lady clerks, dressmakers, nurses, shop assistants, typists, working housekeepers, ladies' maids, companions, lady helps, or lady housekeepers. Women emigrants, whether school teachers, governesses, clerks, etc., should not emigrate to South Africa without first communicating with the South African Colonisation Society, 23, Army and Navy Mansions (No. 2), 115, Victoria Street, S.W.

COST OF LIVING.

As an offset against the high rates of wages in South Africa, it must be noted that the average cost of living is double that in England.

EMPLOYMENT.

The Emigrants' Information Office does not find employment for emigrants.

FURTHER INFORMATION.

For further particulars as to crown lands, farming, mining, etc., see the Union of South Africa Handbook, with map, published by and to be obtained from, the Emigrants' Information Office, price 1d., post free. Or apply to the Chief Clerk at the Emigrants' Information Office, 34, Broadway, Westminster, S.W.; or to the High Commissioner of the Union of South Africa, 32, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

Protectorates.	Capitals.	Governors, Commanders-in-Chief, etc.
Egypt	Cairo ....	..
Nyasaland	Blantyre ..	Sir George Smith (Governor and Commander-in-Chief).
East Africa	Nairobi ..	Sir Henry Conway Belfield (Governor and Commander-in-Chief).
Uganda	Entebbe ..	Sir Frederick J. Jackson (Governor and Commander-in-Chief).
Zanzibar	Zanzibar ..	Sir Henry Conway Belfield (High Commissioner); Major Francis Barrow Pearce (British Resident).
Somaliland	Berbera ..	Geoffrey F. Archer (Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief).

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

Colonies.	Capitals.	Governors, Governors-General, etc.
Gambia.....	Bathurst ..	Edward John Cameron (Governor).
Gold Coast Colony....	Accra	Sir Hugh Charles Clifford (Governor).
Nigeria	Lagos	Sir Frederick John Dealtry Lugard (Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief).
Sierra Leone	Freetown ..	Sir Edward M. Merewether (Governor).

CANADA.

The Dominion of Canada consists of the northern portion of the North American continent, except part of Labrador, which belongs to Newfoundland, and Alaska, which belongs to the United States. Its area is 3,729,665 square miles (nearly as large as Europe), of which 125,755 are water.

Federal Capital: Ottawa, in Ontario.

The population of the dominion at the 1901 census was 5,371,315. At the 1911 census it was 7,206,643. The French-speaking part of the population number 1,649,371, the large majority of them residing in Quebec; the Germans, 309,741. The Indians number 111,043.

The Federal Parliament consists of two Houses. The Upper House is called the Senate, and its members are nominated for life. Twenty-four members are from Ontario, 24 from Quebec, 10 from Nova Scotia, 10 from New Brunswick, 6 from Manitoba, 3 from British Columbia, 4 from Prince Edward Island, 6 from Alberta, and 6 from Saskatchewan. The House of Commons is elected every

five years; it will consist at the next election of 234 members, 82 coming from Ontario, 65 from Quebec, 16 from Nova Scotia, 11 from New Brunswick, 13 from British Columbia, 3 from Prince Edward Island, 15 from Manitoba, 12 from Alberta, 16 from Saskatchewan, and one from the Yukon Territory. Senators and representatives are paid £500 per annum, with a deduction of £3 for every day that a member is absent. The **Governor-General**, representing the King, receives £10,000 yearly, and is assisted by a Privy Council chosen by himself. The **Prime Minister** receives £2,400 and **Cabinet Ministers** and the **Leader of the Opposition** £1,400 each. In each of the provinces a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Governor-General in Council, represents the executive authority.

Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, Field-Marshal H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, etc. (salary £10,000), to be succeeded when the European War is over by H.S.H. Prince Alexander of Teck.

Premier and President of Privy Council, Right Hon. Sir Robert Laird Borden.

High Commissioner for the Dominion of Canada, G. H. Perley (acting), 17 and 19, Victoria Street, London, S.W. **Secretary**, W. L. Griffith.

Imports, 1911, £109,470,000; 1912, £129,109,430; 1913, £135,960,000.

Exports, 1911, £63,000,000; 1912, £75,618,798; 1913, £86,317,931.

Public Debt, 1913, £59,511,619.

PROVINCES OF CANADA.

Province.	Capital.	Lieut.-Governor.	Agent-General.
Ontario	Ottawa (Dominion Capital, Toronto (Provincial Capital))	Colonel Hon. J. S. Hendrie	Richard Reid, 163, Strand, W.C.
Quebec	Quebec	Sir Francois Langelier	Lieut.-Colonel P. Pelletier, 36, Kingsway, W.C.
Nova Scotia ..	Halifax	Hon. J. D. McGregor	John Howard, 57a, Pall Mall, S.W.
New Brunswick	Fredericton	Hon. Josiah Wood	(Vacant), 37, Southampton Street, Strand, W.C.
Manitoba	Winnipeg	Hon. Sir D. C. Cameron	—
British Columbia ..	Victoria	Thomas Wilson Paterson	J. H. Turner, Salisbury House, Finsbury Circus, E.C.
Prince Edward Island	Charlottetown	Benjamin Rogers	Harrison Watson, 73, Basinghall Street, E.C.
Saskatchewan..	Regina	G. W. Brown	—
Alberta	Calgary	Hon. G. H. V. Bulyea	John A. Reid, 1, Charing Cross, W.C.

TERRITORIES.

Territory.	Commissioner.
The North-West Territories	F. White, Ottawa.
The Yukon Territory	Hon. George Black.

Mail transit, seven to ten days.

ORDINARY FARES.

From Glasgow, Liverpool, and London to Quebec and Montreal (from about April to November only), and to Halifax, Nova Scotia, or St. John, New Brunswick :—

Third class or steerage	£6 10s. to £7
Second cabin	£10

Children, in the second cabin, from 1 to 12 years, half-fare; under 1 year, £1 10s.; in the third class or steerage, from 1 to 12 years, half-fare; under 1 year, 10s.

EMIGRATION TO CANADA.

In 1913 190,903 emigrants left the United Kingdom to settle in Canada and Newfoundland, and 26,401 persons left Canada and Newfoundland to settle in the United Kingdom.

There are no **free, assisted, or nominated passages** given by the Canadian Government.

According to numerous reports received from all parts of Canada, large numbers of skilled and unskilled labourers are out of work in the dominion at the present time, and it is undesirable for any emigrants, except competent farm labourers and female servants, to go there now.

FREE GRANTS OF LAND.

A free grant of 100 to 200 acres of forest land is made on conditions of residence and cultivation to any settler over 18 years of age by the Provincial Governments of New Brunswick and Ontario, and of 160 acres of prairie land in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Yukon, and some parts of British Columbia by the Dominion Government. Land may also be bought at moderate prices. The settler should have 35s. per acre for working capital. A settler should know something of Canadian climate, soil, and methods of farming **before taking up land**, otherwise he is most likely to lose both time and money. He would do well to work for wages on a farm at first in order to learn the ways of the country, and when such knowledge has been gained to make entry for free grant land. For particulars of these free grants, farming, price of land, working expenses, etc., emigrants should consult the Canada Handbook, 1915, with maps, price 1d. post free, which may be obtained from the Chief Clerk at the Emigrants' Information Office, 34, Broadway, Westminster, S.W.

CANADIAN GOVERNMENT AGENTS.

The High Commissioner for Canada is charged with the supervision of all Canadian Government business in the United Kingdom, and inquiries on matters relating to Canada should be addressed to him through the Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, 17, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

Demand for Labour.

Farmers.—There are good openings for farmers and others with a little money; improved farms can be bought in all parts at various prices, and in many parts free grants of land can also be obtained. There is no demand for farm bailiffs or managers as such, because farmers look after and work their own farms themselves.

Farm Labourers.—There is generally a large demand in the spring and summer and during the hay and grain harvests for capable men and boys who understand farm work, milking cows, looking after cattle, horses, sheep, or pigs, killing and dressing animals, etc., but this year the local supply is larger. Even inexperienced hands may get places in the spring, provided they are willing to learn and are strong and able; their wages at first will be about £2 1s. 3d. a month, but board and lodging will be supplied free. It is within the reach of all steady men to possess farms of their own after a few years. Intending settlers should consult the Emigrants' Information Offices, 34, Broadway, Westminster.

Wages of Farm Hands.—Wages with board and lodging for experienced single men average, during seven or eight months in the year, 20dols. to 40dols. per month (£4 2s. 6d. to £8 5s.).

Married couples are wanted everywhere if accommodation can be had. They receive, if they are first-class farm hands, about 200dols. to 350dols. a year, with house and use of plot of land for growing vegetables, the wife doing general house work and the man working on the farm; less experienced couples receive from 180dols. a year.

Mechanics.—Manufacturing conditions are poor, and there are very many factory employees, both male and female, who are out of work.

Wages of Mechanics.—The ordinary wages per day for mechanics, such as iron moulders, iron workers, boilermakers, machinists, blacksmiths, and sheet metal workers, without board, vary from 6s. to 20s. according to the province.

Miners.—There is no demand for gold miners at present, and very little for coal or other miners.

General Labourers.—The present average wages of general labourers, without board, are 8s. to 11s. per day of nine or ten hours. There is generally a good demand for these classes during the spring and summer only, but at the present time large numbers are out of work.

Railway Servants.—There is little or no opening for drivers, firemen, signalmen, porters, stationmasters, etc.; the demand is not large, and the supply on the spot is generally quite sufficient to meet it.

WOMEN AND GIRLS.

(a) **Domestic Servants.**—Female domestic servants, and especially general servants, or "cook generals," are in great demand in most districts, both in towns and on farms.

Domestic servants' wages per month in the cities, with board and lodging included, range from £2 to £4 in the East, and from about £3 to £5 in the West. Charwomen at Winnipeg get 20 cents an hour, with meals.

Lady Helps.—There is a limited demand for lady helps in British Columbia. They are treated as members of the family, but are

expected to do more in the way of house work, looking after the children, etc., than they would do in Great Britain or Ireland. The pay in British Columbia is from^a about £3 to £5 a month, where a companion help is often expected to do the whole work of the house, including cooking, baking, and washing.

(b) **Milliners and Dressmakers.**—Milliners and dressmakers are in demand in most of the larger centres, but they are not advised to go out without getting special information unless they go to join friends.

(c) **Female Factory Hands.**—The demand for female factory hands is not good at the present time, and many factories have reduced staffs or are running short time.

Best Time for Arriving.—Early in April is the best time for the ordinary emigrant to arrive in Canada.

Vaccination.—Every person entering Canada must furnish evidence, to the satisfaction of a quarantine officer, of having been vaccinated or having had small-pox.

Cost of Living.—The necessities of life, except fuel and clothing, are generally cheaper than in the United Kingdom and the luxuries dearer.

Persons Who should not Emigrate.—Clerks (unless they know shorthand and typewriting), shopmen, storekeepers, men servants, women above the grade of servants—such as governesses, boarding-housekeepers, typists, telephone clerks, shop assistants, nurses, stenographers, professional women (except teachers), etc.—and persons having no particular trade or calling, or otherwise unfit for manual labour, should not emigrate unless they have situations offered to them, or have means of their own to support them till they find employment. The demand for all these classes (except perhaps teachers) is now even less than usual owing to the war.

Further Information.—For further particulars apply to the Chief Clerk, Emigrants' Information Office, 34, Broadway, Westminster, S.W.

NORTH ATLANTIC COLONIES.

Colony.	Capital.	Governor.	Mail transit
Bermuda Islands	Hamilton	Lieut.-General Sir George Mackworth Bullock	9 days
British Guiana..	Georgetown (Demerara)	Sir Walter Egerton	15½ days
British Honduras ..	—	Wilfred Collett	13 days
Newfoundland.	St. John's	Sir Walter Edward Davidson	—
Labrador	—	—	—

WEST INDIES.

Fares: £10 to £30.

Islands.	Capital.	Governor, Governor-in-Chief, Commander-in-Chief, or Captain-General.	Mail transit.
Bahama Islands	New Providence	Governor and Commander-in-Chief.	—
Barbadoes	Bridgetown	Governor: Sir Leslie Probyn	

Islands.	Capital.	Governor, Governor-in-Chief, Commander-in-Chief, or Captain-General.	Mail transit.
Jamaica	Kingston	Capt.-General & Governor-in-Chief: Sir Wm. Henry Manning	
Trinidad and Tobago	Port-of-Spain	Governor: Sir G. R. Le Hunte	
Leeward Islands	St. John (Antigua)	Governor: Sir H. Hesketh Bell	
Windward Islands	—	Governor: G. B. Haddon Smith	

Islands in the Leeward groups are: Antigua, St. Kitts-Nevis, Dominica, Montserrat, and Vergin Islands.

Islands in the Windward groups are: Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

The colonies of Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania, combined as original States to form, as from January 1st, 1901, a Federal Commonwealth under the title of the **Commonwealth of Australia**.

Australia is the largest island in the world, its area being nearly three-fourths of the area of Europe. Area computed at 2,974,581 square miles, or 25 times the size of Great Britain and Ireland. **Population** at the census of 1911 numbered 4,455,005—very nearly the same as that of Ireland.

The government of Australia is vested in a Federal Parliament, consisting of a Governor-General, a Senate, and a House of Representatives.

The Governor-General, who represents the King, has power to assent to, or withhold assent from, any proposed law passed by the two Houses, to reserve the law for the King's pleasure, or return it to the Parliament with amendments. He receives a salary of £10,000 per annum. He is assisted by an Executive Council of seven Ministers, whose salaries may not exceed in all £12,000 per annum.

The **Senate** consists of 36 members, six for each State.

The House of Representatives consists of 75 members directly elected for three years by the people of the Commonwealth, the number of members being, as nearly as practicable, twice the number of Senators. New South Wales has 27 members, Victoria 21, Queensland 10, South Australia 7, Western Australia 5, and Tasmania 5. Senators and members of the House of Representatives receive an allowance of £600 a year. The election of both Houses is on the basis of universal adult suffrage, thus including women as voters.

Governor-General, the Right Hon. Sir R. C. Munro-Ferguson.

Ministry.—Prime Minister and Treasurer, Right Hon. A. Fisher.

Commonwealth Offices in London, 72, Victoria Street, S.W. High Commissioner, Right Hon. Sir George H. Reid.

In 1914, at the **sixth General Election** since 1901, the Labour Party was returned, for the third time, with 41 supporters, against 33 Liberals and one Independent. The Senatorial results gave 31 Labour and five Liberal members.

At present Parliament sits at Melbourne, but a site for the **Federal capital** has been appropriated by the Government at Canberra in New South Wales, and is in course of construction.

Imports, 1911, £66,860,000; 1912, £78,158,600; 1913, £79,749,653.

Exports, 1911, £79,484,000; 1912, £79,096,090; 1913, £78,523,769.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

Capital: Sydney.

Governor: Sir Gerald Strickland (salary £5,000).

Agent-General in London: Sir T. A. Coghlan, 123-7, Cannon Street,
E.C. Secretary, T. G. White.

Mail Transit: Sydney, 32 days.

NORFOLK ISLAND.

Capital: Kingstown.

QUEENSLAND.

Capital: Brisbane.

Governor: Major Sir Hamilton J. Goold Adams.

Agent-General in London: Major Sir T. B. Robinson. Secretary,
P. J. Dillon, 400, Strand, W.C.

Mail Transit: Brisbane, 33 days.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

Capital: Adelaide.

Governor: Sir H. L. Galway (£4,000).

Agent-General in London: (vacant) Secretary and Registrar of
Stock, J. B. Whiting, 85, Gracechurch Street, E.C.

Mail Transit: Adelaide, 30 days.

TASMANIA.

Capital: Hobart.

Governor: Right Hon. Sir W. G. Ellison-Macartney.

Agent-General in London: Hon. Sir John McCall, 56, Victoria
Street, S.W.

Mail Transit: Hobart, 30 days.

VICTORIA.

Capital: Melbourne.

Governor: Sir A. Lyulph Stanley.

Lieut-Governor: Hon. Sir John Madden.

Agent-General in London: Hon. Peter McBride. Secretary,
H. G. W. Neale. Offices, Melbourne Place, Strand, W.C.

Mail Transit: Melbourne, 31 days.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

Capital : Perth.

Governor : Major-General Sir Harry Barron.

Agent-General in London : Lieut.-Colonel Sir Newton J. Moore.
Office, 15, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

NORTHERN TERRITORY.

Capital : Darwin.

Administrator : J. A. Gilruth.

THE TERRITORY OF PAPUA.

Capital : Port Moresby.

ORDINARY FARES.

The lowest ordinary fares by British steamer to Australia are :—

To.	Saloon.	Third-class.
	£	£
Adelaide (South Australia)	42	18
Melbourne (Victoria)	42	18
Sydney (New South Wales)	42	18
Brisbane (Queensland)	44	19
Fremantle (Western Australia)	42	19
Hobart (Tasmania)	38 to 43	19 to 23
		or from £18 by change at Melbourne.

EMIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA.

NOTE.—Labour conditions are unsettled owing to the war and the drought, and there is no present demand for more labour, except for female servants. Assisted emigration to South Australia and Western Australia has been stopped, but the other States still grant reduced passages to emigrants. But in order to avoid interference with recruiting for the war assisted passages to New South Wales, Victoria, or Queensland are not available, except under special circumstances, for men between the ages of 18 and 35. The demand for experienced female servants continues, and specially cheap passages are offered by New South Wales and Victoria to young women who will take up domestic service. There are at present no signs of improvement in labour conditions in Australia.

In 1913 56,799 emigrants left the United Kingdom to settle in Australia, and 12,290 persons left Australia to settle in the United Kingdom.

For particulars as to assisted or nominated passages see under each State. **No repayment necessary.** Emigrants receiving nominated or assisted passages are not called upon to repay that portion of their passage money which is granted by the Government, and are perfectly free to work in the State or Dominion to which they are assisted, where and for whom they please.

Land and Farming.—Free grants of 160 acres (a small office and survey fee only being payable) may be obtained in Western Australia, and conditional purchase land at from 3s. 9d. per acre. Other Government land may be obtained at 2s. 6d. per acre for homesteads.

of 640 acres in Queensland, at 5s. per acre and upwards in South Australia, at 10s. per acre and upwards in Western Australia and Tasmania, and up to £1 in New South Wales and Victoria. Nearly all of it is uncleared land. Payment may be made by instalments; cultivation and residence are generally required. There is a demand for fruit growers and farmers with a capital of £200 to £500 everywhere. They should know something of local farming before buying or taking up land. They will gain experience and good wages by working for a year in Australia as farm labourers.

Clerks, etc.—Clerks, shopmen, shopwomen, and warehousemen are especially advised not to emigrate on the chance of employment.

Further Information.—Intending emigrants to Australia may apply for further information to the Chief Clerk, Emigrants' Information Office, 34, Broadway, Westminster, S.W., and also to the Agents-General. (Addresses: See under each State.)

NEW SOUTH WALES.

Agent-General for New South Wales, 123 and 125, Cannon Street, London. All communications in regard to immigration matters concerning either New South Wales or Victoria should be addressed to the Assistant Superintendent, Immigration Department for New South Wales and Victoria, Melbourne Place, Strand, London, W.C.

Passages and Fares.—1. Nominated passages: Persons resident in New South Wales may nominate for a reduced passage qualified residents of the United Kingdom and Europe, provided that the nomination is approved of by the Superintendent of Immigration.

2. Assisted passages: Assisted passages to New South Wales are granted, subject to the approval of the Superintendent of Immigration, on the following terms and conditions:—

Farmers and farm hands (under 45 years of age): Third class from London or Liverpool to Sydney, viz.: £8 for passage in cabins with six or more berths, with reduced railway fares (when available) to London or Liverpool.

Female domestics (under 35 years of age), viz.: £6 for passage in cabins with six or more berths.

SPECIAL NOTE.—At the present time, owing to the recruiting for the war, assisted passages are not available, except under special circumstances, for men between the ages of 18 and 38.

Demand for Labour.

Rural.—Up country there are excellent openings for farmers with a little capital, for wheat and dairy farmers on shares, for farm labourers (20s. to 25s.), for men on sheep and cattle stations (24s. to 35s.), for lads (12s. 6d.), and especially for dairymen (20s. to 25s.). But most farmers are unwilling to employ married men with young families, as they have no proper accommodation for them. The above weekly wages is supplementary to board and rations.

Trades.—Many of the mechanics at work are employed on broken time only. Mining is dull, and numbers of miners are out of work.

Women.—Domestic servants (wages average 20s. to 27s. 6d. per week, with board and lodging) continue to be in steady demand, and

competent emigrants of this class can obtain immediate employment. At the present time there is a good demand for tailoresses in clothing factories.

VICTORIA.

The address of the Agent-General for Victoria is Melbourne Place, Strand, London. All communications in regard to immigration matters concerning Victoria or New South Wales should be addressed to the Assistant Superintendent, Immigration Department for New South Wales and Victoria, Melbourne Place, Strand, London, W.C.

Passages.—1. Assisted passages: Assisted passages are granted, subject to the approval of the Assistant Superintendent of Immigration, on the following terms and conditions:—

(a) Farm settlers and farm workers (under 45 years of age): Third class from London or Liverpool to Melbourne, £8 for passage in cabins with six or more berths.

(b) British lads (between 16 and 20 years of age) for farm work: £7 for passage in cabins with six or more berths; or £10, of which £2 is payable before embarkation, and the balance is repaid to the Government out of the first year's wages.

NOTE.—In addition to the amount stated, farm labourers and British lads must lodge £1 as deposit. This sum will be refunded to the immigrant after arrival in Melbourne.

Farm settlers who take up Government land in Victoria within six months of arrival are refunded £2 of the passage money they have paid, provided their capital exceeds £150.

No repayments are required from assisted passengers towards the cost of the passages.

SPECIAL NOTE.—At the present time, owing to recruiting for the war, assisted passages (a) and (b), except under special circumstances, are not available for men between the ages of 18 and 35.

(c) Female domestics: £3 for passage in cabins with six or more berths.

(d) Nominated Passages: Persons resident in Victoria may nominate for a reduced passage qualified residents of the United Kingdom, provided that the nomination is approved by the Assistant Superintendent of Immigration. These nominated passages are restricted to persons under 45 years of age.

Employment.—The Government guarantees employment to farm workers, British lads, and domestics.

Demand for Labour in Victoria.

Men.—There is usually a demand for competent farmers, dairy farmers, and fruit growers with capital, for experienced farm and general labourers (20s. to 30s.), for men accustomed to work in orchards and vineyards (20s. to 35s.), for men on sheep or cattle stations (15s. to 30s.), and for British lads from 16 to 20 years old on farms. As in all other parts of Australia, the war is seriously affecting the demand for labour, and there is no sign of improvement in labour conditions.

Women.—General female servants (15s. to 20s.), able to do cooking, washing, and housework, are in good demand throughout the State,

and cooks (20s. to 30s.), housemaids (12s. to 17s.), nurses (10s. to 17s. 6d.), etc., in the larger towns. The number of females employed in factories has considerably increased in recent years. The above weekly wages are supplementary to board and lodgings.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

The address of the Agent-General for South Australia is 85, Gracechurch Street, London, E.C.

Passages.—The Agent-General has been instructed by his Government to cease operations in connection with assisted emigration to South Australia.

Demand for Labour.

Mechanics.—There is no demand for more labour. Mechanics who emigrate should have with them enough money to live upon until they secure work.

Farm Labourers, General Labourers, etc.—Between October and February there is usually a demand for experienced married couples (£75 to £100 per annum), agricultural labourers (20s. and 40s.), and lads on farms (15s.). The above weekly wages are supplementary to lodging and rations.

Miners.—There is no demand for more miners, the copper mines being well supplied with men. Wages average 8s. to 8s. 6d. per day.

Female Servants.—There is great scarcity of useful female domestic servants, and especially of general servants (10s. to 16s., with good board and lodging).

Female Factory Operatives.—There is, generally speaking, a shortage of female labour in the following industries: Dressmaking, boots and shoes, tailoring (order work), millinery, whitework, and especially in ready-made clothing. But, considering the cost of living, it would not be advisable for any female factory operatives—not being a member of an emigrant family group—to emigrate unless she was guaranteed a wage of 27s. 6d. a week.

QUEENSLAND.

The address of the Agent-General for Queensland is 409, Strand, London, W.C.

Passages.—Assisted, nominated, and contract passages: Passages may be granted to approved immigrants at the following rates:—

	£	s.	d.
Males of 12 years of age and upwards	7	0	0
Females of 12 years of age and upwards	3	0	0
Immigrants' children (under 12 years of age)	1	10	0

Maximum Age.

Males, married women, and widows	45 years.
Single women	35 „

Demand for Labour.

There is a fair demand for general farm labourers (20s. to 40s.), especially for dairy hands and for lads for milking and general farm

work, for married couples without young children, or with working boys or girls, and for good stockmen. Good openings exist for experienced farmers, with some capital, to take up selections on favourable terms after they have learned local conditions of climate and soil. There is no demand for more mechanics or miners. Female servants are in demand in many parts, especially general servants who can cook (8s. and 20s.).

Wages in the north are higher than in the south, but the cost of living is greater and the climate is hotter.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

The address of the Agent-General for Western Australia is Savoy House, 115-116, Strand, London, W.C.

SPECIAL NOTE.—Assisted emigration to Western Australia is at present practically suspended owing to the war. The particulars given below apply to normal times.

Passages.—(a) Assisted passages: Experienced single female domestic servants between 18 and 35 years of age are granted, subject to the approval of the Agent-General, assisted passages to Western Australia for £3.

Assisted passages at a minimum of £6 per adult are also granted to single and married men (not over 45 years old) who are bonâ-fide farmers, farm labourers, orchardists, or vigneron. The assisted passage rate for the female members of the family of an approved emigrant is at a minimum of £3, children of both sexes under 12 years at a minimum of £1 10s., and one infant under 3 years free.

In addition, a deposit of £3 for each assisted emigrant (except in the case of domestics) will be required to be lodged with the shipping company by whose vessel the emigrant is booked to travel, such deposit being refunded by the Government after the emigrant lands in Western Australia.

(b) Nominated passages (important to those who have friends in the State): Assistance is granted to approved emigrants nominated to the Colonial Secretary in Perth, Western Australia, by persons residing in the State.

Demand for Labour.

Emigrants should make for the south-west districts. In the hot north-west districts of the State the openings for white labour are very few. It is difficult for clerks, accountants, bookkeepers, and that class of labour to find employment anywhere.

Women.—There is at all times a good demand for domestic servants, especially cook-laundresses (20s. to 25s.), and general domestic servants (15s. to 20s.) who can do cooking.

Farm Labourers.—There is a demand for skilled farm labour (25s. to 40s.) in the agricultural districts in the south-west of the State, and men who are able to plough and work farm machinery, or are otherwise specially competent, can nearly always get work.

The above weekly wages are supplementary to board and lodging.

Gold and Coal Miners.—The gold and coal mines employ considerable numbers of miners; the local supply is sufficient.

Mechanics.—The supply of mechanics in the building and other trades is quite sufficient. No assisted passages are granted to this class.

TASMANIA.

The address of the Agent-General for Tasmania is Queen's Mansions, 56, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

Passages.—Nominated passages: The Tasmanian Government contributes towards the fare of a nominated emigrant the following sums: £6 in the case of a male adult; £9 in the case of a female adult; £4 10s. in the case of each child under 12 years of age.

Demand for Labour.

Miners.—There is no demand for more miners; in some cases wages have been reduced and mines have been closed down.

Mechanics.—There is no demand for mechanics.

Farm Labourers.—The supply of farm labourers (10s. to 30s. per week, with board and lodging) is not quite sufficient, and skilled men can get work in the season (November to April). At New Norfolk there is a demand in summer from January to April for fruit and hop-pickers.

General Labourers.—There is no demand for general labourers at the present time.

Women.—There is a fair demand in most districts for women and girls as domestic servants (16s. to 46s.), sempstresses, dressmakers, machinists, etc., but not for shop assistants or those accustomed to work at a trade.

NEW ZEALAND.

The Dominion of New Zealand consists of a group of islands in the South Pacific, about 1,200 miles E. by S. from Australia. There are two large islands: **North Island** and **South Island**; also **Stewart Island**, **Chatham**, **Auckland**, and other islands at some distance E. and S. Area of dominion, 104,354 square miles; population (1914), 1,089,825, exclusive of the Maoris, who number 49,844. Capital, **Wellington**.

Government is carried on by a **Governor**, who is advised by a responsible Ministry. Of the two Houses of Parliament, the **Legislative Council** consists of 42 members nominated by the Governor for life (except those nominated subsequently to September 17th, 1891, after which date all appointments are for seven years only), the **House of Representatives** of 80 (including four Maoris) members elected triennially on an adult suffrage. Thus women vote, and in many of the electorates they outnumber the male voters. Members of the Lower House receive £300, and of the Upper House £200 a year.

Revenue, 1912-13, £11,734,002; 1913-14, £12,224,339. **Expenditure**, 1912-13, £11,082,038; 1913-14, £11,825,864.

Imports, 1912-13, £21,959,828; 1913-14, £22,288,303. **Exports**, 1912-13, £23,043,589; 1913-14, £22,986,722.

Governor and Commander-in-Chief, The Earl of Liverpool.

High Commissioner in London, Hon. Thomas Mackenzie, 13, Victoria Street, S.W. Secretary, C. Wray Palliser.

ORDINARY FARES.

The lowest ordinary fares by British steamer to New Zealand are : To Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, etc. : Saloon, £38 to £43 ; third class, £18 to £23.

EMIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND.

NOTE.—During the war reduced-rate passages are only granted to married farmers and farm hands and bona-fide female domestic servants, but these concessions are also given to single farmers and farm hands who are not eligible for military service.

In 1913 14,244 emigrants left the United Kingdom to settle in New Zealand, and 2,441 persons left New Zealand to settle in the United Kingdom.

No Repayment Necessary.—Emigrants receiving nominated or assisted passages are not called upon to repay that portion of their passage money which is granted by the Government, and are perfectly free to work in the State or Dominion to which they are assisted, where and for whom they please.

In approved cases the New Zealand Government will advance, if desired, the rail-fare to port of embarkation, the passage money to the dominion, and the capital qualification to suitable domestic servants, but these advances would have to be refunded to the New Zealand Government from the wages of the applicants in New Zealand at the rate of not less than 10s. a month.

Applications for reduced-rate passages must be made to the High Commissioner for New Zealand (Emigration Department), 13, Victoria Street, London, S.W., who will also forward particulars of fares for passages at ordinary rates.

Cost of Living.—The cost of living, as compared to wages earned, is low.

Demand for Labour.

Farm Labourers.—Fair demand. Wages, 20s. to 40s., with board and lodging.

Mechanics.—Artisans and mechanics are not in demand in New Zealand at the present time, many trades having been adversely affected by the war. In ordinary times a capable man, if he has a little money to keep him at first, should be able to find profitable employment.

Miners.—There is a fair demand for a limited number of good coal miners. Wages, 9s. to 12s. per day without board.

Domestic Servants.—A great demand exists in all districts for experienced female domestic servants, especially for those who are able to do general housework and cook. Wages, 15s. to 20s. per week, with board and lodging.

Persons Who Should not Emigrate.—Clerks, shopmen, music teachers, governesses, and highly educated but penniless men and women should not emigrate unless they have secured employment beforehand, as such places are filled by local candidates. Colonial

experience is considered to be essential for clerks, and there is always a surplus of men awaiting engagements. The person also who knows no trade and has no money is of no use in New Zealand.

TERRITORY IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC.

High Commissioner, Sir Ernest B. Sweet-Escott.

Fanning Island.	Phoenix Group.
Fiji.	Pitcairn Group.
Gilbert and Ellice	Solomon Islands.
Island Protectorate.	Tonga Isles.
Ocean Island.	Union of Tokelau Island.

OTHER ISLAND POSSESSIONS.

Ascension Island.	Mauritius.
Falkland Islands.	Seychelles Islands.
St. Helena.	

DUCHY OF CORNWALL.

Office: Buckingham Gate, S.W.

Cornwall was created a Duchy by Edward III. for the support of his eldest son, and the eldest son of the sovereign has since that time been born Duke of Cornwall. It is now a valuable property in lands, royalties, fees, etc.

There is a Council of eight persons, of whom the Lord Balfour of Burleigh is the acting chairman, to administer this property and discharge the public duties attaching to the Duchy.

The revenue of the Duchy of Cornwall in the year ended December 31st, 1913, was £164,115, and was derived principally from rents and profits of courts.

The payments include £19,868 outlay for the benefit of the estate; £20,841 deductions under various Acts; £5,695 allowances, donations, and charities; and £10,039 expenses of management.

The sum of £85,719 was paid to the account of the Prince of Wales.

CUSTOMS—UNITED KINGDOM.

BOARD OF CUSTOMS AND EXCISE.

Lower Thames Street, E.C.

Chairman, Sir Laurence N. Guillemaud (£2,000).

Deputy Chairman, F. Sydney Parry (£1,500).

Commissioners, Sir Richard F. Crawford, Sir Arthur J. Tedder, and Noel E. Behrens (£1,200).

Estimates, 1914-15, £2,488,765.

Nineteen Inspectors, First Class (£700-£800).

Seven Superintendent Inspectors (£800-£850).

Twenty Inspectors, Second Class (£500-£650).

Inspector-General of Waterguard, Captain John I. Graham, R.N. (£850 to £1,000).

Collector and Chief Registrar of Shipping, London, Lewis S. Blomfield (£1,100).

Collector, London Port, F. Wood.

Superintendent of Waterguard (London), J. A. Hawkins (£600-£650).

This office has charge of the collection of customs and excise duties (including also liquor licences, patent medicine stamps, and the railway passenger duty) for the whole United Kingdom (except the Isle of Man and the Channel Isles), and, incidentally, for the inquiry into all claims for old age pensions.

THE PRINCIPAL CUSTOMS DUTIES.

Beer, 25s. 6d. for every 36 gallons of 1,055deg. sp. gr.

Chicory, raw, 19s. 10d. per cwt.; roasted, 3d. per lb.

Cocoa, 1½d. per lb.

Coffee, 21s. per cwt.; roasted or ground, 3d. per lb.

Currants, 2s. per cwt.

Figs, French plums, prunes, raisins, 10s. 6d. per cwt.

Motor spirit, 6d. per gallon; motor ambulances are exempt in respect of this duty.

Spirits, brandy, rum, gin, etc., 15s. 1d. and 15s. 2d. per proof gallon; 1s. per gallon extra if imported in bottle; additional duties in respect of immature spirits.

Soap, transparent, in the manufacture of which spirit has been used, 3d. per lb.

Sugar, exceeding 98deg. polarisation, 9s. 4d. per cwt.

Tea, 1s. per lb.

Tobacco, unmanufactured, 5s. 6d. and 6s. 2d. per lb.; cigars, 10s. 6d. per lb.; cigarettes, 8s. 6d. per lb.; Cavendish or Negrohead, 7s. and 8s. per lb.

Wine in cask, 1s. 3d. to 3s. per gallon, and 3d. for every degree above 42deg. proof spirit.

Wine in bottles (still), 1s. and (sparkling) 2s. 6d. a gallon additional.

THE CHIEF EXCISE DUTIES.

Beer, 25s. for every 36 gallons of 1,055deg. sp. gr.

Chicory, grown in United Kingdom, 18s. 8d. per cwt.

Coffee mixtures, ¼d. per ¼lb.

Glucose, solid, 7s. 1d. per cwt.; liquid, 5s. 1d. per cwt.; **saccharin**, 3s. 7d. the oz.

Motor spirit, 6d. per gallon.

Railway passengers, 5 per cent. on all fares exceeding 1d. a mile, except urban traffic, which is only liable to 2 per cent.

Spirits, 14s. 9d. per proof gallon; additional duties in respect of immature spirits.

Sugar, exceeding 98deg. polarisation, 7s. per cwt.

Tobacco, grown in United Kingdom, viz., Cavendish or Negrohead, manufactured in bond, 7s. per lb.

Tobacco, unmanufactured, 5s. 4d. and 5s. 11½d. per lb. according to percentage of moisture.

UNITED KINGDOM RECEIPTS FROM EXCISE.

Year ended Mar. 31st	From Beer.	From Spirits.	From Railway Duty.	From Patent Medicines.	From Licences.		Total Receipts.
					Liquor Licences.	Other Licences.	
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1912	13,328,075	18,511,392	315,195	327,857	4,670,392	968,132	38,249,730
1913	13,200,343	18,432,492	283,929	328,319	4,595,203	1,059,502	38,063,687
1914	13,622,971	19,539,777	288,368	360,377	4,516,679	1,200,603	39,657,957

UNITED KINGDOM RECEIPTS FROM CUSTOMS.

Year ended Mar. 31st.	From Tea.	From Sugar.	From Tobacco and Snuff.	From Spirits.	From Wine.	From Cocoa and Coffee.	Total Receipts.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1912	6,159,070	3,059,455	17,342,360	4,215,745	1,088,346	602,605	33,596,645
1913	6,151,879	3,051,786	17,254,125	4,166,795	1,109,957	548,255	33,517,495
1914	6,498,816	3,272,044	18,263,479	4,435,500	1,152,291	561,841	35,568,581

DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION.

6A, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.

Under the provision of the Development and Road Improvement Funds Acts, 1909 and 1910, eight Commissioners, styled the Development Commissioners, are appointed to advise the Treasury in the administration of a **national fund for the development of agriculture, fisheries**, and other analogous economic resources of the United Kingdom.

The names of the eight Commissioners are :—

J. Bury.

Michael Andrew Ennis.

Sir William Stavell Haldane.

Alfred Daniel Hall.

Sidney Webb.

Lord Richard Frederick Cavendish (Chairman).

Vaughan Nash (Vice-Chairman).

Henry Jones-Davies.

H. E. Dale (Secretary, £1,000).

The names are given in the order in which the Commissioners retire when their appointments of ten years have expired. One Commissioner (who, however, may be reappointed) retires every two years. The Commissioners are unpaid (with the exception of the Vice-Chairman and Mr. A. D. Hall, who each receive £1,500 a year).

During 1913-14 the Commissioners recommended advances amounting in all to £767,387. Of this sum £472,793 was recommended for the development of agricultural and rural industries. It includes

advances of £28,650 for a veterinary laboratory for the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, £18,000 for buildings for the Edinburgh and East of Scotland College of Agriculture, £28,675 in aid of a ten years' scheme of tobacco experiments in Ireland, £10,325 for buildings at Reading University College, and £10,000 for buildings at the Midland Agricultural and Dairy College. Assistance was given to the Sugar Beet Growers' Society for the work of organising and instructing farmers in the growth of sugar beet and its dispatch to the factory.

For the development of **forestry** £91,114 was recommended.

For the improvement of **fishery harbours** £134,070 was granted.

For the development of **fisheries** £36,385 was recommended; the annual advances to the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries for research were renewed, and advances made to the Sea Fisheries Committees of Cornwall and Devon for experiments with motor-boats.

EDUCATION—ENGLAND AND WALES.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Whitehall, S.W.

This department of the Government controls all matters in connection with public education, primary, secondary, and technical, the provision of special schools for defectives, and of meals for necessitous school children.

President, Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P. (£2,000).

Permanent Secretary, Sir L. Amherst Selby-Bigge (£1,800).

Parliamentary Secretary, Right Hon. J. Herbert Lewis, M.P. (£1,200).

THE COST OF PUBLIC EDUCATION.

The total expenditure of the 318 Local Education Committees in England and Wales for 1913-14 was £26,314,098.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

Elementary schools are of two kinds. "Council" schools are wholly provided and maintained by the Local Education Committees; undenominational Bible teaching only is given in these. In "voluntary" schools, the premises for which have been erected and must be maintained by voluntary subscriptions, definite religious instruction is permitted, provision being made for the withdrawal of children whose parents object. In other respects the schools are equally controlled by the Education Committees, and share equally in the public funds. The latest revision requires as the minimum for all new schools not less than ten square feet of floor space for each older child and nine square feet for each infant.

The number of public elementary schools maintained by the local education authorities on July 31st, 1913, was, in England alone, 19,100 schools, with accommodation for 6,399,809 scholars. Of these 7,140 were "Council" schools, while 11,960 were "voluntary" schools. During the year ended on that date there was a net increase of 142 in the number of "Council" schools, and a net decrease of 82

in the number of "voluntary" schools. In Wales the total number of schools was 1,867 (1,218 "Council," 649 "voluntary"). During the year the "Council" schools increased by 22, and the "voluntary" schools decreased by eight.

"HALF-TIMERS."

Of the 71,718 school children who are employed during part of the ordinary school hours, and who receive instruction during the remainder, 41,014 are from Lancashire and 19,679 from Yorkshire.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS.

There existed in England and Wales on July 31st, 1914, 47 special schools for blind, with accommodation for 2,672; 48 for deaf, with accommodation for 4,531; 179 for mentally defective, with accommodation for 14,555; and 6 for epileptics, with accommodation for 496. **Open-air and playground classes** are now conducted under several authorities; children selected from congested areas are sent in the summer for varying periods to **country or seaside schools**; while permanent **open-air** schools have been established in various centres.

SCHOOL FEEDING.

The law providing meals for children attending public elementary schools is contained in the "Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906," and the "Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1914." Below are given in the briefest form the essential words of both Acts:—

WHO MAY BE FED?

"A local education authority . . . may take such steps as they think fit for the provision of meals for **children in attendance at any public elementary school** in their area, and for that purpose," etc.
(Section 1 of Act of 1906.)

WHEN THEY MAY BE FED?

"When the local education authority resolve that any of the children attending an elementary school within their area **are unable by reason of lack of food to take full advantage of the education provided for them**, and have ascertained that **funds other than public funds are not available** or are insufficient in amount to defray the cost of food furnished in meals under this Act, they may spend out of the rates such sum as will meet the cost of the provision of such food."
(Section 3 of Act of 1906.)

WHAT DAYS MAY THEY BE FED?

"The powers of a local education authority under the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, as amended by this Act, shall be exerciseable in respect of children attending a public elementary school within their area, **both on days when the school meets and on other days.**"
(Section 2 of Act of 1914.)

WHO PAYS?

"There shall be **charged to the parent of every child in respect of every meal** furnished to that child under this Act such an amount as may be determined by the local education authority, and, in the event of payment not being made by the parent, it shall be the duty of the authority, **unless they are satisfied that the parent is unable**

by reason of circumstances other than his own default to pay the amount, to require the payment of that amount from that parent, and any such amount may be recovered summarily as a civil debt."

(Section 2 of Act of 1906.)

THE TEACHERS' POSITION.

"No teacher seeking employment or employed in a public elementary school shall be required as part of his duties to supervise or assist, or to abstain from supervising or assisting, in the provision of meals or in the collection of the cost thereof."

(Section 6 of Act of 1906.)

Up till March, 1913, 101 local education authorities had been authorised to spend money from the rates to provide food for necessitous school children.

MEDICAL INSPECTION.

Most of the 324 local school authorities have undertaken a more or less systematic inspection of scholars by their Medical Officers for several years past. By the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, inspection of each scholar on admission to a public elementary school, and afterwards as the Board of Education may direct, was made compulsory. In England and Wales 1,234 qualified officials are in part or whole time medical service of the schools. One hundred women doctors, of whom two are principal officers, are engaged in this work, and 1,237 nurses (855 whole time) have been appointed to 287 areas. The total number of children estimated for inspection in England and Wales was 1,900,000.

NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS.

The National Union of Teachers was founded 1870. **Objects:** (1) To promote the spread of education; (2) to bring practical knowledge to bear on educational legislation; (3) to unite the school teachers in a strong professional organisation; (4) to watch the interests and advance the welfare of schools and teachers. The union provides legal advice, defence, and assistance for its members, professional advice and protection against unjust management or inspection of schools. Its organ is the "Schoolmaster." **Conferences** are annually held at Easter. The 45th annual conference was held at Lowestoft April 13th to 16th, 1914, the president being Mr. W. B. Steer, of Derby. The union now has 91,418 members; its income for 1914 was £53,969, with a legal assistance fund of £9,346 and a Parliamentary fund of £11,512. The N.U.T. Examinations Board conducts commercial examinations annually and issues teachers' diplomas in various subjects. There are a provident society, benevolent fund, orphan fund, and orphan homes in connection with the union. Over £25,000 is raised yearly for benevolent purposes. Secretary, Sir James Yoxall, M.A., M.P. Offices, Hamilton House, Mabledon Place, Euston Road, W.C.

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

The secondary school branch of the Board of Education was formally constituted on April 1st, 1903. It began in a very small way, but its growth has been continuous and rapid. A strong body of secondary school inspectors has been created, and this inspects, besides the

grant-aided schools, a large number of others which seek recognition for efficiency. The branch administers nearly three-quarters of a million of public money, of which over half-a-million goes in direct grants to secondary schools as such. **Grants** are paid as follow: £2 for each scholar between 10 and 12 years of age, who had been for at least two years previously under instruction in a public elementary school; £5 on account of each scholar between 12 and 18 years of age.

On July 31st, 1913, there were in England alone 898 grant-aided schools, of which all but 46 are free from denominational religious restrictions, are under effective popular control, and are open as regards a certain number of places (usually 25 per cent.) without payment of fee to children from the public elementary schools.

SECONDARY TEACHERS' ORGANISATION.

The principal associations and societies of secondary teachers are:—

The Head Masters' Conference ..	12, King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.
Incorporated Association of Head Masters	37, Norfolk Street, Strand, W.C.
Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools	35, John Street, Bedford Row, W.C.
Association of Head Mistresses ..	61, Great Ormond Street, W.C.
Incorporated Association of Assistant Mistresses in Public Secondary Schools	23, Berners Street, W.
Teachers' Guild.....	74, Gower Street, W.C.
Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions	55, Filey Avenue, Upper Clapton, N.
Federal Council of Secondary School Associations	37, Norfolk Street, Strand, W.C.

TECHNICAL INSTITUTIONS, SCHOOLS OF ART, EVENING SCHOOLS.

There were in England and Wales in 1912-13 26 technical institutions, and grant was made on account of 1,246 students. The Board of Education holds examinations in science and technology. These were held in 1913 at 446 centres; there were 2,164 candidates for the higher examinations. For the lower examinations there were 6,784 candidates.

EDUCATION IN LONDON.

By the Education (London) Act, 1903, the control of all education, primary and secondary, passed into the hands of the London County Council.

The London County Council spends annually about six millions on education, £5,000,000 on elementary, and £1,000,000 on higher education. The receipts from Government grant and other sources amount to about £1,750,000; the rest of the cost falls on the ratepayers. It is claimed that the "scholarship ladder" is broader and more complete in London than in any other place in the world.

There are three main classes of scholarships, which number altogether about 10,000, varying in value from free schooling up to as much as £90 a year :—

- (1) County scholarships.
- (2) Technical and trade scholarships.
- (3) Scholarships for those desiring to enter the teaching profession.

SCHEME FOR ORGANISATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH.

The Government has recognised the special need existing at the present time for the home production of certain articles and materials (such as dyes) required in trade processes for which Great Britain has hitherto been dependent on foreign countries and on Germany in particular. A Committee of the Privy Council has, therefore, been formed, and this will in turn be assisted by an Advisory Council of scientific men, who will submit proposals for instituting specific researches and for establishing or developing special institutions for the scientific study of problems affecting particular industries or trades. It is also proposed to award Research Studentships and Fellowships.

Twenty-five thousand pounds has been voted for purposes of the scheme.

The first members of the Advisory Council are: Lord Rayleigh, F.R.S., LL.D.; G. T. Beilby, F.R.S., LL.D.; W. Duddell, F.R.S.; Professor B. Hopkinson, F.R.S.; Professor J. A. M'Clelland, F.R.S.; Professor R. Meldola, F.R.S.; and Sir William S. M'Cormich, LL.D. (Administrative Chairman).

EDUCATION—SCOTLAND.

In Scotland education is under the control of the Scottish Education Department, which is under the Secretary for Scotland (Right Hon. T. McKinnon Wood, M.P.).

Secretary, Sir John Struthers (£1,200 to £1,500).

Offices, Dover House, Whitehall, London, and 14, Queen Street, Edinburgh.

The local authorities for elementary education in Scotland are **School Boards**, popularly elected.

The **total income** of the 952 School Boards for the year ended Whit-Sunday, 1913, was £4,278,062.

Primary and High Grade Schools.—During the year ending August 31st, 1913, in these schools there were **845,879 scholars** on the register. For the second time the number showed a decline on the preceding year, due to emigration and declining birth-rate. Of these 21,683 were between 14 and 15, and 8,138 above 15.

Secondary and Technical Education.—Secondary education in Scotland is controlled by 6 Burgh and 32 County Secondary Education Committees, who administer funds provided under the Education (Scotland) Act, 1908. Their total income for 1912-13 was £133,008. The amount received from the department was £110,186.

The expenditure is on **bursaries** to enable scholars in the thinly populated districts to attend the secondary schools established at various centres.

Attendance at a day school or a continuation class is compulsory up to the age of 16.

Special Schools.—There existed on August 31st, 1913, 24 schools for blind and deaf mute children.

EDUCATION—IRELAND.

In Ireland elementary education is under the control of 20 **Commissioners of National Education**, with an office in Marlborough Street, Dublin.

Resident Commissioner, Right Hon. W. J. M. Starkie (£1,500).

Chief Inspectors, J. McNeill, B.A., and T. P. O'Connor, B.A. (£750-£800).

Elementary Education.—The **Commissioners of National Education** in Ireland, in the 79th report, state that on January 1st, 1913, there were 8,289 schools in operation, with an average of 699,945 pupils on the register, and an average daily attendance of 512,862, of whom 18,271 were above 15 years of age.

The aggregate expenditure on the schools from all sources was £1,668,424, giving an average of £3 5s. 7d. for each child in attendance. Of this amount £139,578 was received from local sources. The grants to training colleges amounted to £63,921. The National Commissioners have complained for some years that the Treasury grant is wholly inadequate, more especially in respect of the building and improvement of the national schoolhouses. While the proportion of trained teachers continue to increase, the number of schools and of scholars still declines. During 1912 the Irish language was taught in 2,576 schools, and bilingual instruction was given in 202. There are no higher grade schools in Ireland.

EDUCATION—WALES.

The administration of elementary and secondary schools in Wales, and also that of the Welsh University Colleges and the Museum for Wales, is under the Board of Education, which has a distinct branch for Wales. Secretary, A. T. Davies (£1,200).

ECCLESIASTICAL—ENGLAND AND WALES.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL (AND CHURCH ESTATES) COMMISSIONERS.

Address: Millbank, Westminster, S.W.

Secretary, S. E. Downing.

There is no Government department for the Church of England, though it is "by law established." The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the 38 Bishops and 37 Suffragan Bishops, together with

the Deans and Canons, and some of the rectors and vicars of parishes, are appointed by the crown on the authoritative "advice" of the Prime Minister, whilst other rectors and vicars of parishes are appointed by the crown on the authoritative "advice" of the Lord Chancellor. The doctrinal creed, the prayer book, and the principal rites of the Church are defined by Acts of Parliament. The Archbishops, Bishops, and "proctors" or representatives of the clergy meet in Convocation, which sits as an Upper and a Lower House, but has practically no legislative powers. There is also a House of Laymen, elected by the congregations, having no legal powers.

The only office in the nature of a Government department for the church is the Ecclesiastical (and Church Estates) Commission, the main function of which is the management of Church estates, out of which are paid the stipends of the Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Canons, and many of the rectors and vicars of parishes. The balance is applied to endow or increase the "livings" of the clergy.

Among the Commissioners are the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the 38 Bishops, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President of the Council (the Privy Council), the First Lord of the Treasury (the Prime Minister), the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and certain laymen belonging to the Church of England.

There is a separate Commission for the affairs of the Church in Wales.

The gross income from Church estates for the year ended October 31st, 1913, amounted to £1,729,102 and the outgoings to £292,534.

The following are the principal payments and appropriations out of the common fund:—

	£
Annual payments to about 7,500 benefices	937,304
Payments to Bishops from incomes of Bishops' estates	104,463
Payments to Chapters, etc.	151,066
Amount appropriated to endow or increase benefices and improve parsonages, etc.	404,027
	<hr/>
	£1,596,860

FINANCE—UNITED KINGDOM.

THE TREASURY,

Whitehall, S.W.

The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury control the expenditure of all Government departments (except the India Office, which is charged on the revenues of India), and are specially responsible for the Post Office, Inland Revenue, Customs and Excise, and Stationery Office.

The duties of the First Lord (who is usually Prime Minister) are mainly political, as also are those of the Parliamentary Secretary and the Junior Lords. The duties of the Chancellor of the Exchequer are mainly financial; after agreement with the heads of the great spending departments, he arranges for the great collecting departments to provide sufficient moneys to meet the needs of the year. The papers are laid before Parliament in the form of a Budget, which the

Chancellor expounds to the House, these plans being accepted, modified, or rejected by the House. The Treasury exercises strict control over the expenditure of every Government department (except the India Office); and no expenditure—especially no scale of wages or salaries—can be decided on without its approval.

First Lord of the Treasury, Right Hon. H. H. Asquith, M.P. (£5,000).

Chancellor of the Exchequer, Right Hon. Reginald McKenna, M.P. (£5,000).

Lords Commissioners, G. H. Roberts, M.P., Hon. G. W. A. Howard, M.P., W. C. Bridgeman, M.P., and W. Rea, M.P. (unpaid).

Financial Secretary, Right Hon. E. S. Montagu, M.P. (£2,000).

Joint Parliamentary Secretaries, J. W. Gulland, M.P. (£2,000), Lord Edmund Talbot, M.P. (£2,000).

Joint Permanent Secretaries, Sir Thomas I. Heath (£2,000), Sir John S. Bradbury (£2,000).

Estimated Cost of Administration, 1914-15, £108,263.

THE THIRD WAR BUDGET: SEPTEMBER, 1915.

BALANCE SHEET, 1915-16, as proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer:—

	£
Revised estimate of revenue	272,110,000
Revised estimate of expenditure	1,589,706,000
	<hr/> 1,317,596,000 <hr/>
	£
Estimated yield of proposed alterations of taxation, postal, telegraph, and telephone charges	32,904,000
Deficit	<hr/> £1,284,692,000 <hr/>

In 1914-15 the realised deficit was £334,000,000, giving an estimated combined deficit for the two years of £1,619,000,000. Adding the amount of the pre-war debt, with an allowance for the effects of conversion and for loss on stock issued at a discount, Mr. McKenna estimated the Dead Weight Debt at the close of the financial year at £2,200,000,000. There must be deducted from this total any repayments on account of external advances made to the amount of £423,000,000.

CHANGES IN TAXATION.

An increase of the existing duties on tea, cocoa, coffee, chicory, dried fruits, tobacco by one-half. The Customs duty on sugar to be increased from 1s. 10d. to 9s. 4d. per cwt., and an excise duty of 7s. per cwt. to be imposed. Proportionate increase on molasses, glucose, saccharin, etc. An increase of 3d. per gallon for motor spirit. The duties on patent medicines to be doubled. An import duty, without and corresponding excise duty, at the rate of 33½ per cent. *ad valorem*,

or at specific rates corresponding to that rate, on imported motor cars and motor cycles, cinema films, clocks and parts, watches and parts, and musical instruments. Rates of income tax payable for 1915-16 increased by 40 per cent. for the second half-year. Allowance of relief from additional duty where income has fallen more than 10 per cent. Limit of exemption from income tax reduced to £130. New scale of abatement introduced. Basis of taxation under Schedule B (charged in respect of the occupation of lands) changed from one-third to the full amount of the annual value. New rates of super-tax on incomes above £8,000. A tax of 50 per cent. upon excess of profits over pre-war standards in the case of trades, manufactures, and businesses. Changes in postal, telegraphic, and telephone charges.

ESTIMATED YIELD OF ALTERATIONS OF TAXATION.

	1915-16. £		Full year. £
Tea.....	1,900,000	..	4,500,000
Sugar.....	5,360,000	..	11,700,000
Tobacco.....	2,300,000	..	5,100,000
Motor spirit.....	550,000	..	1,100,000
New Import Duties.....	1,000,000	..	1,950,000
Other Customs and Excise Duties ..	390,000	..	720,000
Income Tax	11,274,000	..	44,400,000
Super-tax	2,150,000	..	2,685,000
Excise Profits Tax	6,000,000	..	30,000,000
	<u>£30,924,000</u>		<u>£102,155,000</u>

REVENUE.

	Receipts, 1914-15. £		Estimated, 1915-16. £
Customs	38,662,000	..	48,900,000
Excise	42,313,000	..	54,850,000
Estate Duties, etc.	28,382,000	..	30,000,000
Stamps	7,577,000	..	6,500,000
Land Tax	630,000	..	660,000
House Duty	1,930,000	..	1,990,000
Income Tax (including Super-tax) .	69,399,000	..	116,424,000
Excess Profits Tax	—	..	6,000,000
Land Value Duties	412,000	..	350,000
Total receipts from taxes	189,305,000	..	265,674,000
Postal Service	20,400,000	..	24,205,000
Telegraph Service	3,000,000	..	3,370,000
Telephone Service	6,250,000	..	6,705,000
Crown Lands.....	545,000	..	530,000
Suez Canal Shares, etc.	1,277,000	..	2,100,000
Miscellaneous	5,917,000	..	2,430,000
Total receipts from non-tax revenue	37,389,000	..	39,340,000
TOTAL REVENUE.....	<u>£226,694,000</u>		<u>£305,014,000</u>

In 1913-14, the last year of peace, the total tax revenue was £163,029,000, and the receipts from non-tax revenue £35,214,000.

EXPENDITURE.

	Payments, 1914-15. £	Estimated, 1915-16. £
National Debt Services	22,669,000 ..	67,085,000
Road Improvement Fund	1,528,000 ..	525,000
Payments to Local Taxation Ac- counts	9,529,000 ..	9,600,000
Other Consolidated Fund Services.	1,693,000 ..	1,800,000
Army	28,886,000 ..	16,000
Navy	51,550,000 ..	17,000
Miscellaneous Civil Services	56,956,000 ..	59,039,000
Customs, Excise, and Inland Revenue	4,602,000 ..	4,788,000
Post Office Services.....	26,060,000 ..	26,836,000
Votes of Credit—Naval and Military Operations, etc.,.....	357,000,000 ..	1,420,000,000
TOTAL EXPENDITURE		
chargeable against Revenue	£560,473,000	£1,589,706,000
DEFICIT	£334,000,000	£1,284,000,000

The deficit is being met by the proceeds of two War Loans, about £1,000,000,000, and by temporary borrowings.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE FOREIGN OFFICE,

Downing Street, S.W.

This is the department of Government which conducts official intercourse with other States. Nominally this intercourse is that of the sovereign with other sovereigns, but by constitutional custom the King may only act by the advice and on the responsibility of a Minister. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, or Foreign Secretary, conducts general negotiations, prepares or supervises dispatches, and periodically gives receptions to the representatives of Foreign Powers. Matters of policy of great importance come before the Prime Minister or are discussed by the whole Cabinet under his presidency.

Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Right Hon. Sir Edward Grey, M.P. (£5,000).

Under-Secretaries, Right Hon. Sir Arthur Nicholson (£2,500), Right Lord Robert Cecil, M.P. (£1,500).

Estimated administrative expenses for 1914-15, £68,737.

The representatives of the Crown abroad are members either of the Diplomatic Service or of the Consular Service, the duties of the former body being, generally speaking, political and ceremonial; of the latter, commercial and legal, though in the less important posts diplomatists undertake Consular work, and occasionally Consuls act in a diplomatic capacity.

The Diplomatic Service consists of (a) Ambassadors, (b) Ministers, (c) *Chargés d'Affaires*.

The Ambassador represents the person of his sovereign, and so can claim direct access to the sovereign to whom he is accredited.

The Minister is regarded as a mere agent of the sovereign, and therefore holds an inferior position, though otherwise he has powers and duties similar to those of an Ambassador.

The *Chargé d'Affaires*, unlike the two former, is accredited not to the sovereign, but to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the State in which he resides. Usually he is appointed to act temporarily in the absence of the Ambassador or Minister.

The **Consular Service** consists of (a) Consuls-General, (b) Consuls, (c) Vice-Consuls, and (d) Consular Agents. A **Consul**, in addition to giving general assistance to British subjects abroad, has, in particular, to deal with numerous matters connected with shipping; to issue periodical reports on the trade of the place where he resides; to celebrate or register marriages where one of the parties is British; to register the births of British subjects; to take oaths and declarations, and perform other functions of a notary. Besides this, in countries in which ex-territorial jurisdiction is exercised, he administers justice, where a British subject is concerned, either in his own court or in conjunction with the native tribunal.

The salaries are as follow: Consuls-General, £900 to £1,200; Consuls, £600 to £800; Vice-Consuls, £300, rising by £20 to £500.

BRITISH EMBASSIES AND LEGATIONS ABROAD.

Embassies.	Ambassadors.	Address of Embassy.
France	Rt. Hon. Sir F. L. Bertie: appointed 1905.	39, Faubourg St. Honoré, Paris.
Italy	Rt. Hon. Sir Rennell Rodd: appointed 1908.	Via Venti Settembre, Porta Pia, Rome.
Japan.....	Rt. Hon. Sir W. Conyngham Greene: appointed 1912.	Tokyo.
Russia	Rt. Hon. Sir G. W. Buchanan: appointed 1910.	4, Court Quay, Petrograd.
Spain.....	Rt. Hon. Sir A. H. Hardinge: appointed 1913.	16, Calle Fernando el Santo, Madrid.
United States...	Rt. Hon. Sir C. A. Spring Rice: appointed 1912.	1300, Connecticut Avenue, Washington.

Legations.	Envoys, Ministers, etc.	Address of Legation.
Argentina.....	Sir Reginald T. Tower	1,220, Calle Maipû, Buenos Aires.
Belgium	Hon. Sir F. G. Villiers	2, Rue de Spa, Brussels.
Bulgaria	Sir H. O. Bax-Ironside	Sofia.
China.....	Sir J. N. Jordan.....	Peking.
Denmark	Sir H. C. Lowther.....	Bredgade, 26, Copenhagen.
Greece.....	Sir F. E. H. Elliot	Athens.
Mexico	C. M. Marling	3A, Calle de Lerma, Mexico.
Montenegro...	Count de Salis	Cettinje.
Netherlands ...	Hon. Sir A. Johnstone	12, Hooge, Westeinde, Hague.
Norway.....	M. de C. Findlay	Christiania.
Panama	Sir C. C. Mallet.....	Panama.
Persia	Sir W. B. Townley	Tehran.
Portugal	Hon. L. D. Carnegie	63, Rua de São Francisco de Borja, Lisbon.
Rumania	Sir G. Barclay	24, Strada Jules Michelet, Bucharest.
Serbia	C. L. des Graz	Belgrade.
Siam	A. R. Peel	Bangkok.
Sweden.....	Esme W. Howard	Strandvagen 17, Stockholm.
Switzerland.....	E. M. Grant-Duff	50, Thunstrasse, Berne.

On the outbreak of the European War our Ambassadors were withdrawn from enemy countries.

FOREIGN EMBASSIES AND LEGATIONS IN LONDON.

Embassies.	Ambassadors.	Consulate-General.
American	Dr. Walter H. Page, 123, Victoria Street, S.W.	42, New Broad Street, E.C.
French	Monsieur Paul Cambon, Albert Gate House, Hyde Park, W.	51, Bedford Square, W.C.
Italian	Marquis Imperiali di Francavilla, 20, Grosvenor Square, W.	
Japanese	Katsunosuke Inouyé, 10, Grosvenor Square, W.	1, Broad Street Place, E.C.
Russian	Count Benckendorff, Chesham House, S.W.	30, Bedford Square, W.C.
Spanish.....	Senor Don Merry del Val, 1, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.	40, Trinity Square, E.C.
Legations.	Envoys, Ministers, etc.	Consulate-General.
Argentine.....	Senor Don Vicente J. Dominguez, 2, Palace Gate, W.	601, Salisbury House, E.C.
Belgian	Count de Lalaing, 15, West Halkin Street, Belgrave Square, S.W.	40, Finsbury Square, E.C.
Bulgarian	Monsieur P. Hadji-Mischev, 51, Queen's Gate, S.W.	—
Chinese.....	Sao Ke Alfred Sze, 49, Portland Place, W.	88, Fenchurch Street, E.C.
Danish	Monsieur de Grevenkop-Castenskiold, 29, Pont Street, S.W.	8, Byward Street, E.C.
Greek	Monsieur J. Gennadius, 14, De Vere Gardens, W.	40, Old Broad Street, E.C.
Mexican	Senor Don Miguel Covaribias, 98, Cromwell Road, S.W.	Finsbury Pavement House, E.C.
Netherlands ...	Jonkheer de Marees van Swinderen, 45, Hill Street, Mayfair, W.	12, Blomfield Street, E.C.
Norwegian	Monsieur Benjamin Vogt, 25, The Boltons, S.W.	22, Great St. Helens, E.C.
Persian.....	Mirza Mehdi Khan, 22, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W.	82, Victoria Street, S.W.
Portuguese	Senhor Teixeira Gomes, 12, Gloucester Place, W.	6, South Street, Finsbury, E.C.
Serbian	Monsieur Boschkovitch, 195, Queen's Gate, S.W.	—
Siamese	Phya Sudham Maitri, 23, Ashburn Place, S.W.	5, Whittington Avenue, E.C.
Swedish	Count H. Wrangel, 73, Portland Place, W.	63, Finsbury Pavement, E.C.
Swiss.....	Monsieur Gaston Carlin, 3, Portland Place, W.	3, Portland Place, W.

PASSPORTS.

At the present time, during the war, it is practically essential to be furnished with a passport before leaving the United Kingdom for any foreign country.

Applications for Foreign Office passports must be made to "the Passport Office, Foreign Office, Downing Street, London, S.W."

Passports are granted to such persons as are known to the Secretary of State, or recommended to him by some person who is known to him; or (in the case of natural-born British subjects and persons naturalised in the United Kingdom) upon the production of a declaration by the applicant in the form to be obtained from the Passport Office, verified by a declaration made by a member or official of any banking firm established in the United Kingdom, or by any mayor, magistrate, justice of the peace, minister of religion,

barrister-at-law, physician, surgeon, solicitor, or notary public, resident in the **United Kingdom.** The applicant's certificate of birth may also be required.

Foreign Office passports are not available beyond five years from the date of issue. Fresh passports must then be obtained.

NOTE.—Passports issued before the beginning of the war are not available, and a fresh application must now be made.

N.B.—A statement of the full requirements of foreign countries with regard to passports may be obtained upon application to "the Passport Office, Foreign Office, London, S.W."

FORESTS—GREAT BRITAIN.

WOODS, FORESTS, AND LAND REVENUES,

1, Whitehall, S.W.

Commissioners, Right Hon. the Earl of Selborne (ex-officio, unpaid); George G. Leveson-Gower (£1,500).

The functions of this department are the care of the crown woods and forests, the afforestation of uncultivated areas, and the training of woodmen.

The extent of the crown forests and woodlands on the 30th September, 1913, was as follows:—

Name.	Area in acres.
The New Forest	23,758
Alice Holt Woods	1,884
Woolmer Forest	856
Bere Woods	1,413
Parkhurst Woods	1,056
Forest of Dean	15,184
High Meadow Woods	3,349
Abbot's Wood	618
Clearwell Woods	298
Tintern Woods	3,154
Delamere Woods	2,105
Salcey Forest	1,258
Hazelborough Woods	487
Chopwell Woods	845
Inverliewer Estate (Scotland)	1,004
Hafod Fawr Estate	157
Windsor Woods	5,850
Esher Woods	720
Isle of Man Plantations	792
Miscellaneous Woods	978
Total	65,766 acres.

Facilities for Instruction.—In January, 1904, the Commissioners of Woods and Forests established a **school of forestry in the Forest of Dean**, at Parkend. The school is for working youths and men only, between the ages of 20 and 25. The course of instruction extends over two years, beginning in October each year, and only twelve students

can be admitted each year, preference being given to young men in the crown employ. Students are paid 15s. a week. The subjects taught include silviculture, the protection and management of woodlands, preparation of plans, measurement of timber, felled and standing, forest botany, surveying, and accounts. Applications for admission should be sent to the Deputy Surveyor, Forest of Dean, Whitmead Park, Parkend, near Lydney, Gloucestershire.

United Kingdom Consumption of Timber.—In 1913 the United Kingdom imported £33,788,884 worth of unmanufactured wood and timber. Of this total £20,181,033 was sawn fir wood and £2,910,657 was furniture wood (mahogany and other sorts). In addition, there was imported £3,583,187 worth of manufactured wood and timber (including furniture), made up of £601,918 worth of cabinet and joiners' work, including house frames and fittings, and £2,981,269 worth of woodware, turnery, etc.

(See also Development Commission.)

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES—UNITED KINGDOM.

THE REGISTRY OF FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

Central Office: Dean Stanley Street, Westminster, S.W.

This is the department (subject to the Treasury, which is responsible for Trade Union and Friendly Society rules. It is more than three-quarters of a century old. A barrister was appointed in 1828 to certify the rules of savings banks, and in 1829 to certify those of Friendly Societies. In 1846 he was constituted Registrar of Friendly Societies. By the Friendly Societies Act, 1875, the Central Office of the Registry of Friendly Societies was created, consisting of Chief Registrar and the Assistant Registrars for England. It exercises numerous and important functions under the Friendly Societies Act, the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts, the Building Societies Acts, the Trade Union Acts, the Workmen's Compensation Acts, the Scientific Societies Act, the Trustee Savings Banks and Post Office Savings Banks Acts, the Loan Societies Act, the Shop Clubs Act, the National Insurance Act, and a great number of local and personal Acts. The Chief Registrar is also a member of the National Health Insurance Commissions for England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, and of the National Health Insurance Joint Committee.

Estimates, 1914-15, £22,358.

Chief Registrar, G. Stuart Robertson (£1,200-£1,500).

Assistant Registrars, T. Hall Hall, G. Dudley Barlow, and John Fox (£600-£800).

Legal Assistant, D. L. F. Koe (£500).

Superintendent of Rules and Accountant, G. T. Knecht (£400-£500).

Superintendent of Registers, T. Jordan (£400-£500).

Superintendent of Returns and Statistics, H. C. Souter (£400-£500).

(See also National Health Insurance.)

HERALDRY AND CEREMONIAL PRECEDENCE.

THE COLLEGE OF ARMS OR HERALDS' COLLEGE,

Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

It is difficult to say how much of the ceremony, heraldry and precedence is to-day a matter of law and how much a matter of custom and conventional acquiescence. The principal officers are the following :—

Earl Marshal, the Duke of Norfolk.

This office consists of a Corporation of three Kings of Arms, six Heralds, and four Pursuivants. Their general duties are to attend the sovereign on all full State occasions, to publish certain royal proclamations, and to marshal certain royal ceremonies, such as coronation, funerals, etc. They grant and record armorial bearings and deal with genealogies and pedigrees.

OTHER OFFICES.

Scotland and Ireland each have their separate College of Arms, the chief Scottish official being called the Lyon King of Arms; the chief Irish official being called the Ulster King of Arms.

The Lord Chamberlain, Lord Sandhurst.

The Lord Chamberlain of England controls the establishments attached to the Chapels Royal; the officers and servants of the Royal Household, except those of the Bedchamber, and the medical men of the Household. The royal tradesmen are appointed by him.

He directs all great royal ceremonies, receives all applications to attend levees and drawing-rooms, superintends the royal wardrobe and the jewel house at the Tower of London, and also licenses plays and theatres in the cities of London and Westminster, and certain other parts of the Metropolis. The power of licensing theatres elsewhere belongs to the County Council. There are two Examiners of Plays.

Office.—Stable Yard, St. James' Palace, S.W.

The Lord Great Chamberlain, Marquis of Lincolnshire.

This is an ancient State office, quite distinct from that of the Lord Chamberlain of the Household.

The Lord Great Chamberlain assists, with the Earl Marshal, at the ceremony of introducing new peers. He issues tickets for the opening and prorogation of Parliament, and orders for admission to view the House of Lords when Parliament is not sitting.

Office.—Royal Court, House of Lords, S.W.

HOME AFFAIRS—ENGLAND AND WALES.**THE HOME OFFICE,**

Whitehall, S.W.

Principal Secretary of State for Home Affairs, Right Hon. Sir John A. Simon, K.C., M.P. (£5,000).

Permanent Under-Secretary, Sir Edward Troup (£2,000).

Parliamentary Under-Secretary, W. Brace, M.P. (£1,500).

The Home Secretary is nominally the medium of communication between the crown and its subjects, and, therefore, receives **addresses and petitions**. He is responsible for the **King's peace**, attends to the general administration of **criminal justice, police, and prisons**, and advises the sovereign in the exercise of the **prerogative of mercy**. He supervises **lunatic asylums, reformatories, and industrial schools**, and enforces rules and orders of a legislative character for the protection of life and health, more particularly the statutes passed for protecting workers in **mines, quarries, factories, and workshops**, and the Children Act.

The Home Office controls directly the Metropolitan Police Force, which acts within a radius of 15 miles from Whitehall. But it only indirectly influences—by advice, by circulars, by annual inspection, and by grant in aid—the provincial police forces in England and Wales, which are controlled by the local authorities.

Estimates, 1914-15, £268,600.

The chief departments of the Home Office are :—

FACTORY DEPARTMENT.

Chief Inspector, Sir B. A. Whitelegge, M.D. (£1,500).

Deputy Chief Inspectors, H. M. Robinson (£800-£900) and R. E. Graves (£750-£850).

Superintending Inspectors, G. Bellhouse, Home Office; J. H. Walmsley, 174, Corporation Street, **Birmingham**; W. Williams, 74, York Street, **Glasgow**; J. H. Rogers, 25, Baldwin Street, **Bristol**; J. Jackson, 72, Bridge Street, **Manchester**; C. F. Wright, 41, Park Square, **Leeds** (£600-£750).

Medical Inspectors, T. M. Legge, M.D. (£800), E. L. Collis, M.B., and J. C. Bridge, F.R.C.S. (£500-£700).

Electrical Inspector, G. S. Ram (£500-£700).

Inspector of Dangerous Trades, W. S. Smith (£500-£700).

Inspectors in Class 1a and 1b, J. T. Birtwistle (textile particulars) (£600) and 70 others. Salaries ranging from £300-£550.

Inspectors in Class II., 57, at salaries from £200-£300.

Assistant Inspectors (textile particulars), four, at salaries of £250.

NOTE.—Twenty-nine inspectors and assistants are temporarily absent serving with the forces, also 34 of them are engaged in war emergency work for other departments. Ten inspectors' clerks are serving in the Army.

Principal Lady Inspector, Miss A. M. Anderson, Home Office (£550).

Senior Lady Inspectors, seven. Salaries, £300-£400.

Lady Inspectors, 13. Salaries, £200-£300.

Inspectors' Assistants, 29. Salaries, £110-£150, and 26 to £200.

INSPECTORS OF COAL AND METALLIFEROUS MINES.

Chief Inspector, Sir R. A. S. Redmayne, Home Office (£1,500).

Deputy Chief Inspector, W. Walker (£1,000).

Divisional Inspectors in Charge, W. N. Atkinson, 123, Cathedral Road, Cardiff; H. Johnstone, 3, Priory Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham; H. Walker, Tyne Lodge, Grange Loan, Edinburgh; T. H. Mottram, Doncaster; J. R. R. Wilson, Westfield Drive, Gosforth, Newcastle-on-Tyne; A. D. Nicholson, Astley, Manchester (£500-£1,000).

Electrical Inspector, R. Nelson, Home Office (£500-£700).

Thirty-one Junior Inspectors, salaries from £300-£450.

Sub-Inspectors of Mines, 22 at £150-£200.

Senior Inspectors for Metalliferous Mines, G. J. Williams, Bangor (£500-£700).

Sub-Inspectors of Quarries, eight at £150-£200.

Inspectors of Horses, six at £125-£175.

INSPECTORS OF EXPLOSIVES.

Chief Inspector, Major A. McN. C. Cooper-Key (£1,000).

Inspectors, Captain A. P. H. Desborough (£800-£900), Major T. H. Crozier, Major H. Coningham (£500-£800), and Captain R. A. Thomas (£500).

PRISON COMMISSION.

Chairman, Sir E. Ruggles-Brise (£1,800).

Prison Commissioners and Directors of Convict Prisons, F. J. Dryhurst, Captain C. F. de L. Eardley-Wilmot, M. L. Waller, and Sir H. Smalley (medical) (£1,000).

Adviser to the Prison Commissioners, Sir H. B. Donkin, M.D. (£100).

The total number of persons tried for indictable offences in 1913 was 63,269, as against 67,530 in 1912. With the exception of 1911, the figures for 1913 are the lowest since 1907.

The number of persons dealt with for non-indictable offences has risen from 663,139 in 1912 to 680,290 in 1913.

The number of persons tried by courts of summary jurisdiction in 1913 was 731,048, of whom 50,758 were charged with indictable offences; 680,290 with non-indictable offences. The number of persons discharged was 75,291, while 85,810 were dealt with without convictions after the charge was proved, and 569,947 were convicted.

The following sentences were passed :—

Imprisonment	58,198
Detention in place of detention	32
Detention in inebriate reformatory	270
Detention in reformatory school	1,143
Received a whipping	2,122
Paid a fine (about 75,000 went to prison in default of payment of fines)	502,554
Ordered to enter into recognisances	3,686
Otherwise disposed of	1,942

PENAL STATISTICS.

Death sentences	28
Penal servitude	815
Hard labour	90,188
Imprisonment without hard labour	47,280

Out of the 139,060 admitted to prison, 52,149 were convicted of drunkenness and 15,871 of begging and sleeping out.

The number of persons under police supervision during 1913 was about 1,984.

JUVENILE COURTS.

The total number of persons brought before juvenile courts in 1913 was 37,520, viz., 19,969 children, 14,693 young persons, and 2,858 persons aged above 16. Deducting the latter persons and adding 756 children and 2,923 young persons—who were dealt with by ordinary courts of summary jurisdiction either because they were supposed to be above 16 or were charged jointly with adults—we get a total of 38,341 juvenile offenders (20,725 children and 17,616 young persons). This total is little more than 5 per cent. of the whole number of persons proceeded against for criminal offences.

300 were not tried summarily.
4,358 were acquitted.
17,648 given orders without conviction.
15,214 were convicted.

Of the 17,648 proved guilty but not convicted, 9,529 were discharged, 2,447 were ordered to enter into recognisances, 4,465 placed under supervision of probation officers, 1,200 sent to industrial schools, and 7 were placed in the care of relatives, etc.

The following sentences were passed :—

Detention in place of detention.....	32
Detention in reformatory schools	1,082
Receive a whipping (males)	2,072
Pay a fine (generally paid by parent or guardian) ...	11,805

HABITUAL CRIMINALS.

To April, 1913, the police estimated that there were at large :—

2,988 thieves.
431 receivers of stolen property.
170 other criminals.

CORONERS' INQUESTS.

Of the total number of 36,801 deaths investigated by coroners' juries—

- 14,226 found to be due to natural causes (including old age).
- 15,213 accidental.
 - 245 still-births.
 - 2,137 open verdicts.
 - 3,475 suicides.
 - 194 verdicts of wilful murder.
 - 99 verdicts of manslaughter.
- 1,431 deaths through burns.

REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

Chief Inspector, C. E. B. Russell (£800-£1,000).

Lady Inspector, Mrs. H. S. A. Harrison (£250-£350).

In 1913 there were 221 schools under inspection, the total number of children and young persons in these schools being 25,113. In addition to these children, there were 3,900 boys and 287 girls "on licence"—that is to say, no longer detained in schools, but still under supervision.

The detention of boys and girls in schools shows excellent results, 85 to nearly 100 per cent. of those placed in employment during 1910, 1911, and 1912 being found, so far as the school authorities have been able to ascertain, to be getting on satisfactorily.

The number of commitments in 1913 to schools shows a distinct decline as compared with previous years. The following figures show the number of cases admitted to schools during 1913 and the number of parents put under payment:—

	Cases admitted.	Parents put under payment.
England	5,069	3,349
Scotland	1,324	956
	<u>6,393</u>	<u>4,305</u>

It is probable that this decrease is partly due to the feeding of necessitous children at elementary schools, which has largely met some of the chief causes which bring about the committal of children to industrial schools.

POLICE.

The following table shows the strength of all the different police forces in the British Isles:—

Year.	Number in England and Wales on 29th September.	Authorised number in Scotland on 31st December.	Number in Ireland on 31st March.
1910	49,658	5,616	11,907
1911	51,203	5,654	11,865
1912	53,112	5,831	11,849
1913	54,552	5,859	11,844

COUNTIES AND BOROUGHES.

The established strength of county and borough police was for the year ended September 29th, 1913, 34,369.

Wages of Police Constables.—Boroughs, 23s. to 42s. 2d. per week; counties, 21s. to 40s. 3d. per week.

CITY OF LONDON POLICE.

Headquarters: 25, Old Jewry, Cheapside, E.C.

This force (which is the only one in England refusing any grant in aid, and thus remaining nominally quite independent of the Home Office) is under the control of a Commissioner, who is appointed by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, subject to the approval of the King. The **total strength** of the force is 1,161, consisting of one Assistant-Commissioner, one chief clerk and superintendent, one superintendent Executive Department, Detective Department, six chief inspectors, 25 inspectors, 17 sub-inspectors, 94 sergeants, and 1,015 constables. The district comprises an area of 675 acres in the centre of the Metropolis.

In addition to the above, 50 constables and one sergeant are employed on **private service duty** at the expense of persons engaging their services, the charge being at the rate of £206 per annum for the sergeant and £160 per annum for each constable.

The **detective department** consists of one superintendent, one chief inspector, seven inspectors, three sub-inspectors, and 60 constables.

There is a private hospital for members under the care of the surgeon of the force.

The **police area** is divided into four divisions (exclusive of the chief and detective offices) and under the immediate charge of a chief inspector, assisted by four inspectors and five sub-inspectors.

The **total cost** of the force is about £190,716 per annum, one-fourth of which is paid from the City's cash, the remainder by a rate of 6d. on the assessable rental of the City. The pay of the force is considerably in advance of any other similar body in the United Kingdom.

Commissioner, Sir William Nott-Bower (£1,700).

Wages of City of London Police Constables.—28s. 6d. to 44s. per week.

THE METROPOLITAN POLICE.

Scotland Yard, S.W.

The supreme government of the Metropolitan Police is vested in the Commissioner appointed by and acting under the control of the Home Secretary.

The **strength of the force** on the date November 3rd, 1914 (latest return), was 22,048, consisting of 33 superintendents, 640 inspectors, 2,928 sergeants, and 18,447 constables.

The district comprises an area of 447,626 acres, with a population of between seven and eight millions.

Commissioner, Sir E. R. Henry (£2,500).

Wages of Metropolitan Police Constables.—30s. to 40s. per week.

BOARD OF CONTROL.

This Board was established under the Mental Deficiency Act of 1913, and has under its care not only lunatics, but also all persons who may be defined as mentally defective, namely, idiots, imbeciles (with mental defectiveness not amounting to idiocy), feeble-minded persons, and moral imbeciles, i.e., persons who from an early age display some permanent mental defect, coupled with strong, vicious, or

criminal propensities on which punishment has had little or no deterrent effect.

A person who is a defective may be dealt with under the Act by being sent to or placed in an institution for defectives, or placed under guardianship at the instance of a parent or guardian, or under an order made by a judicial authority, in a petition presented under the Act, under an order of a court, or under an order of the Home Secretary. Such orders remain in force for a year, and thereafter for successive periods of five years, if it is considered that the continuance of the order is required in the interests of the defective.

County Councils and county boroughs are constituted the local authorities for the purposes of the Act, and their general duties are to ascertain the defectives within their area and to provide supervision, accommodation, and guardianship for them.

According to a return of 1913 the total number of mentally defective paupers (apart from lunatics) in England and Wales was 31,824, made up of 29,484 adults and 2,340 children. Of the adults 10,051, or more than one-third, were persons of 60 years of age or upwards. Of the 17,095 who were women 10,215, or 59.8 per cent., were single women without children, and 1,291, or 7.5 per cent. were single women with children, the 5,589 married women being almost equally divided between those without children (2,746, or 16.1 per cent.) and those with (2,843, or 16.6 per cent.). The 31,824 persons were further classified as follows: Idiots, 1,776, or 5.5 per cent.; imbeciles, 4,887, or 15.4 per cent.; feeble-minded, 14,172, or 44.5 per cent.; moral imbeciles, 727, or 2.3 per cent.; and mentally infirm, 10,272, or 32.3 per cent.

The number of lunatics and the proportion per 10,000 of the population in Great Britain and Ireland were, as shown in the following table on January 1st in each of the years named:—

Year.	England and Wales.			Scotland.			Ireland.	
1912	135,661	37.12	...	19,034	38.6	...	24,655	56.3
1913	138,377	37.48	...	19,188	40.4	...	24,839	56.7
1914	140,237	39.59	...	19,346	40.8	...	25,009	57.1

As to sex, the figures for 1914 are as follow:—

	England and Wales.			Scotland.			Ireland.	
Males	65,237	.....		9,643	.....		13,030	
Females	75,000	.....		9,703	.....		11,979	
	<u>140,237</u>			<u>19,346</u>			<u>25,009</u>	

There are three classes into which the insane may be divided—private, pauper, and criminal. The numbers of these classes in the three countries are:—

	England and Wales.			Scotland.			Ireland.	
Private	11,245	.....		2,624	.....		886	
Pauper	127,827	.....		16,660	.....		23,957	
Criminal	1,165	.....		62	.....		166	
	<u>140,237</u>			<u>19,346</u>			<u>25,009</u>	

Other functions of the Home Office are the administration of the Inebriates Act, Aliens Act, Cruelty to Animals Act.

INDIA.

THE INDIA OFFICE,

Whitehall, S.W.

This department controls the affairs of the Indian Empire (including Aden, Perim, and Socotra, and the British stations in the region of the Persian Gulf).

Secretary of State, the Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P. (£5,000).

Permanent Under-Secretary, Sir Thomas W. Holderness (£2,000).

Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Right Hon. Lord Islington (£1,500).

Estimated cost of administration in England (1913-14), £205,657, the whole of which is charged to Indian revenues, so that the Treasury has no control over this office.

GOVERNMENT.

The **Secretary of State for India** presides over a **Council**, which consists of not fewer than ten nor more than 14 members selected for seven years from among Indian ex-officials for the most part. Since 1907 two of the members have been natives of India. The Council controls the expenditure of the Indian revenues, both in India and elsewhere, and generally conducts the business done in England in regard to the government of India, though the Secretary of State has power to overrule his Council. In England every measure concerning India runs in the name of the Secretary of State for India in Council, and he alone is responsible to Parliament.

In India the supreme authority, both executive and legislative, is vested in the **Governor-General in Council**. The Governor-General, or **Viceroy**, who generally holds office for five years, receives a salary of £16,720 a year, and has power to overrule his Council in cases of emergency. The Council is composed of six ordinary members, all appointed by the crown for a period of five years. Since 1909 one of the members has been a native of India, and in 1915 a second was appointed. For purposes of legislation this Council is expanded into an Imperial Council of 68 members, of whom 36 are nominated and 32 elected by various native and commercial interests under the provisions of the Indian Councils Act, 1909. The **seat of the Supreme Government of India** was in 1912 removed from Calcutta to Delhi.

Thus the Indian Empire, with its population of 315,086,000, has in its Supreme Executive Government a native Indian representative of four persons, two in England and two in India.

Total revenue of Indian Empire, 1912-13, £86,862,598; 1913-14, £84,207,175.

Total expenditure of Indian Empire, 1912-13, £83,754,964; 1913-14, £82,894,752.

Total population, 1911 census, 315,086,000; seven times that of the United Kingdom.

Imports, 1911-12, £131,684,100; 1912-13, £152,307,600; 1913-14, £156,474,400.

Exports, 1911-12, £158,909,000; 1912-13, £171,233,300; 1913-14, £170,853,600.

Taxation for 1914-15 works out at 2/2.1d. per head

(For Indian Army, see WAR OFFICE.)

From 1911 census. Religious 'sects in India:—

Hindus	217,587,000
Mohammedans	66,647,000
Buddhists	10,721,000
Christians	3,876,000
Other sects	14,657,000

Industries.—Nearly 200,000,000 of population are engaged in agriculture.

The production of coal in 1911 was 12,715,534 tons.

INSURANCE—UNITED KINGDOM.

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE.

Chairman of the Joint Committee, Buckingham Gate, S.W., Right Hon. E. S. Montagu, M.P.

Chairman of the English Commission, Buckingham Gate, S.W., Sir R. L. Morant (£2,000).

Chairman of the Irish Commission, Pembroke House, Upper Mount Street, Dublin, Joseph A. Glynn (£1,500).

Chairman of the Scottish Commission, 83, Princes Street, Edinburgh, Sir James Leishman (£1,800).

Chairman of the Welsh Commission, City Hall, Cardiff, Thomas J. Hughes (£1,500).

THE NATIONAL INSURANCE ACTS, 1911 to 1914. PROVISIONS.

The Act of 1911 insures compulsorily (with certain exceptions) all "employed" persons, British or alien, from 16 to 70 years of age, and persons not "employed" may insure under certain conditions during the same age period.

At the beginning of 1914 there were 13,643,000 insured persons in the United Kingdom, of whom 13,387,000 were members of societies and 256,000 were deposit contributors. There were 9,360,000 men and 4,027,000 women in Approved Societies, of whom 32,000 were voluntary contributors.

There were 47,000 certificates of exemption current in the United Kingdom at the beginning of 1914, of whom about two-thirds were entitled to Medical and Sanatorium Benefits, and about 22,000 of whom were exempt, being "dependent on someone else."

Number of persons insured under the National Health Insurance Act in 1914 :—

	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Wales.
Approved Societies (Friendly Societies with branches)—				
Men	1,877,000	344,000	87,000	160,000
Women	511,000	94,000	38,000	22,000
Centralised Societies—				
Men	1,816,000	221,000	250,000	169,000
Women	625,000	132,000	125,000	22,000
Trade Unions—				
Men	949,000	140,000	54,060	90,000
Women	206,000	14,000	8,000	6,000
Industrial and Collecting Societies—				
Men	2,559,000	315,000	88,000	154,000
Women	1,865,000	189,000	60,000	60,000
Employers' Funds—				
Men	79,000	3,000	5,227	600
Women	20,000	3,000	189	45

Sickness Benefit.—The average number of persons in the United Kingdom in receipt of Sickness Benefit at any one time is about 290,000; the number receiving the benefit in a year is 3,600,000, at a cost of about £131,000 per week, i.e., £6,300,000 per annum.

Maternity Benefit.—Benefits paid per week, 17,000—i.e., 887,000 per annum, at a cost of £1,472,000. The number of women insured on their own account is 4,077,000, and the wives of insured men are about 5,000,000.

Sanatorium Benefit, i.e., treatment for tuberculosis in every form in special institutions or otherwise. There were at the beginning of 1914 available for cases, 1,139 beds in permanent institutions, 4,209 in provisional institutions, and 356 dispensaries. Only 7,870 out of 52,065 applicants have been rejected.

(For full particulars on National Health and other forms of Insurance, see Part VIII., "SOCIAL INSURANCE.")

(For particulars on Unemployment Insurance, see Unemployment (Part II.) and Part VIII., "SOCIAL INSURANCE.")

LANCASHIRE.

THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER.

Office: Lancaster Place, Strand, W.C.

Chancellor, Right Hon. Winston L. Spencer Churchill, M.P.

Vice-Chancellor, D. Stewart Smith, K.C.

The Duchy of Lancaster was presented by Edward III. to his son, John of Gaunt, and with the accession to the throne in 1399 of John of Gaunt's son as Henry IV. the Duchy became a crown possession. It is now a valuable property in lands, royalties, fees, etc., and forms part of the income of the King.

The revenue of the Duchy of Lancaster was £29,000 in 1847, and amounted to £108,016 in the year ended 31st December, 1913. The contributory items are: Rents and profits of courts, £61,050; Royalties and Dues, £37,874. **Expenditure**: £12,283, outlay for the benefit of the estate; £1,266, restoration of ancient castles; £7,530, deducted under various Acts and charities; £2,000, salary of the Chancellor; and £6,251, expenses of management.

The sum of £61,000 was paid (for the King's use) to the Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse, on which income tax is paid.

The Chancellor of the Duchy has practically no official duties, and the post corresponds practically with that of "Minister without portfolio," common in other countries, where such a Minister is available for assistance wherever required. The justices of the peace for the county (Lancashire), and also the Vice-Chancellor of the Palatine Court (a local court of justice), are, however, appointed by the Chancellor of the Duchy instead of by the Lord Chancellor, and the Sheriff of Lancashire is also appointed by him annually, instead of by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

LIGHTHOUSES AND PILOTAGE— ENGLAND AND WALES.

THE TRINITY HOUSE,

Tower Hill, E.C.

The Brethren of the Trinity House—incorporated in 1514 by Henry VIII.—now act:—

1. As the **General Lighthouse Authority** for England and Wales, the Channel Islands, and Gibraltar, dealing with the lighthouses, light-vessels, buoys, beacons, fog-signals, and removal of dangerous wrecks from our shores. There are **district stations** at Blackwell, Sunderland, Yarmouth, Harwich, Ramsgate, Cowes, Penzance, Milford Haven, Cardiff, and Holyhead.

2. As the **Chief Pilotage Authority**, having the management of all matters relating to pilots and pilotage in the London, English Channel, and certain other districts on our coast.

3. As an **Ancient Corporation** possessing estates and almshouses, and awarding pensions and bounties to distressed mariners and their widows.

4. **As Nautical Advisers** two of the Elder Brethren in turn assist the judges in the Admiralty division of the High Courts of Justice in determining marine causes tried at law.

The Elder Brethren consist of members of the Royal Family and statesmen, retired officers of high rank in the Royal Navy, and commanders in the mercantile marine, as shown in the accompanying list: **Master**, the Duke of Connaught; **Deputy Master**, Captain Sir H. Acton Blake; **Elder Brethren**, King George V., Captain Sir G. R. Vyvyan (retired), the Right Hon. Lord George Hamilton, Rear-Admiral Hector B. Stewart (retired), the Earl of Rosebery, Captain A. E. Bell, Captain A. S. Thomson, Captain A. W. Clarke, Captain R. Hoare, Captain L. H. Crawford, Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, the Earl of Selborne, Prince Louis of Battenberg, Captain O. P. Marshall, Captain T. Golding, the Right Hon. H. H. Asquith, M.P., Prince Arthur of Connaught, the Marquess of Crewe, Captain G. R. Mansell, R.N., the Right Hon. Winston Churchill, M.P., Captain Owen Jones, R.N.R.; **Scientific Adviser**, Lord Rayleigh.

The income of Trinity House derived from light dues levied on shipping entering and leaving British ports amounts to £300,000 per annum, which is expended in the maintenance of the lighthouse and coast-marking system of England and Wales under the financial control of the Board of Trade.

LOANS—GREAT BRITAIN.

THE PUBLIC WORKS LOAN BOARD,

Old Jewry, E.C.

The Public Works Loan Board was created in 1817 for the purpose of advancing money to municipal authorities for public works. It lends also to "public utility societies" and to individual landowners for lasting improvements to estates.

Chairman, E. Norman (unpaid).

In 1914-15 1,982 advances were made for sums amounting together to £4,698,602. Of this £981,659 was employed to provide dwellings for the working classes in various parts of England, Scotland, and Wales, £646,375 was advanced for the purchase of small holdings, and £10,514 for allotments. (See also Development.)

A municipal authority, when granted a loan, pays interest varying from $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., and undertakes to repay the sum in periods varying from 20 to 80 years.

LOANS—IRELAND.

Ireland has its separate Loan Board. In 1913-14 advances were made for sums amounting to £402,224, of which £132,653 was employed in the provision of dwellings for the working classes. Address: Office of Public Works, Dublin.

(See also Agriculture and Development Commission.)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD— ENGLAND.

Whitehall, S.W.

This department was established by the Local Government Board Act, 1871, and superseded the Poor Law Board, which had dealt only with Poor Law matters, and had existed since 1847, when it took the place of the Poor Law Commissioners, created in 1834. The Local Government Board is the **central department for Poor Law, for much of public health, and for some other local government matters** for England and Wales. The Board never meets, and the whole power is exercised by the President.

The expenses of the Board for the year 1914-15 were estimated at £302,356.

President, Right Hon. Walter H. Long, M.P. (£5,000).

Parliamentary Secretary, Right Hon. W. Hayes Fisher, M.P. (£1,500).

Permanent Secretary, Sir H. C. Monro (£2,000).

(For the LOCAL ADMINISTRATION BODIES, their powers, duties, revenues, and methods of election, etc., see Part VII., "Local Government.")

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD— SCOTLAND.

125, George Street, Edinburgh.

Ex-officio Members.—The Secretary for Scotland (**President**), the Under-Secretary for Scotland, and the Solicitor-General for Scotland.

Appointed Members.—**Vice-President**, Sir George McCrae (£1,200 to £1,500); **Legal Member**, Ewan F. Macpherson (advocate) (£1,000 to £1,200); **Medical Member**, W. Leslie Mackenzie, M.D., D.P.H. (£1,000 to £1,200).

This is a real Board, which meets, discusses, and decides on policy. The President, as Secretary for Scotland, has, however, power to overrule the other members if and when he chooses.

Secretary, John T. Maxwell (£700 to £900).

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD— IRELAND.

Custom House, Dublin.

Estimates, £109,728.

President, Right Hon. the Chief Secretary.

Vice-President, Right Hon. Sir Henry A. Robinson (£1,800).

Secretary, A. R. Barlas (£1,000).

(See also Agriculture.)

METEOROLOGICAL OFFICE.

South Kensington, S.W.

Director and Chairman of Committee, W. N. Shaw, LL.D., Sc.D., F.R.S. (£1,000).

Annual Expenses of Administration, £20,000.

The Meteorological Office was established in 1854, and is under the management of a Committee appointed by the Treasury.

The office is charged with the duty of collecting meteorological reports by telegraph from stations in the British Isles and their immediate neighbourhood, including wireless messages from ships of the Royal Navy and from liners, with a view to issuing warnings and forecasts of the weather. It also collects for public use statistics about the weather from land stations in the British Isles and elsewhere, as well as from ships of the Royal Navy and mercantile marine.

This office also administers the Observatories at Kew and Eskdalemuir, Dumfries.

MUNITIONS OF WAR.

6, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.

This Ministry was established in May, 1915, for the purpose of furthering the efficient manufacture, transport, and supply of munitions for the present war, and for purposes incidental thereto.

Minister of Munitions, Right Hon. D. Lloyd George, M.P.

Parliamentary Secretary, Dr. C. Addison, M.P.

Parliamentary (Military) Secretary, Major-General Ivor Phillips, D.S.O., M.P.

General Secretary, Sir H. Llewellyn Smith, K.C.B.

Assistant General Secretary, W. H. Beveridge.

Labour Supply Department (6, Whitehall Gardens) deals with Labour questions, controlled establishments, limitation of profits, munitions tribunals, etc.

Munitions Supply Department (Armament Building, Whitehall Place, S.W.) deals with all questions regarding manufacture and output.

The country has been divided into seven districts called munitions areas, with a district office in each area.

The National Advisory Committee on War Output (6, Whitehall Gardens: Right Hon. A. Henderson, M.P., Chairman, and Mr. W. Mosses, Secretary) is a representative Trade Union Committee, whose primary function is to assist in carrying out the agreement entered into at a conference of Trade Union representatives, held at the Treasury in March, 1915, with respect to relaxation of union rules and trade customs in order to accelerate output, and also generally to watch over the interests of Trade Unionists engaged on munitions manufacture in so far as they are affected by the Munitions of War Act.

NATIONAL DEBT OFFICE.

19, Old Jewry, E.C.

Comptroller-General, W. G. Turpin (£1,500).

The National Debt is administered by the Commissioners, who are the Speaker, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Master of the Rolls, the Lord Chief Justice, the Paymaster-General, and the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England. Expenses of administration for 1914-15, £13,056.

The total gross National Debt on March 31st, 1914, was £707,654,110, against which must be set the value of the Suez Canal shares (£34,929,000), other assets (£3,350,578), and Exchequer balances (£10,434,519), a total of £48,714,097, leaving the net amount of the debt at £658,940,013.

POLICE—SCOTLAND.

The police force in Scotland is wholly under the control of the several local authorities. There is, however, a Scottish Constabulary Office (Bellwood, Perth), through which the Secretary of State for Scotland arranges for periodical inspection and for the distribution of the grant in aid.

The approximate aggregate strength of all the forces for 1914 was 5,859, with 250 additional police employed privately.

Inspector, Major A. G. Ferguson (£750-£850).

Cost of Police.—£522,881, of which £342,881 falls on local rates.

Wages of Police Constables.—From 23s. 11d. to 37s. 11d. per week.

POLICE—IRELAND.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.

Offices: Lower Castle Yard, Dublin Castle.

Unlike the police forces of Great Britain, that of Ireland is centralised under Government control and wholly paid for from national funds. The approximate strength of the Royal Irish Constabulary for 1914-15 was: 236 head constables, 6,691 sergeants, 382 acting sergeants, and 8,177 constables; total, 10,486. It is a semi-military force, drilled and disciplined as soldiers, living in barracks, and armed with rifles, swords, bayonets, and revolvers.

Inspector-General, Colonel Sir Neville Chamberlain (£1,500 to £1,800).

Cost of Police.—£1,369,292.

Wages of Police Constables.—From 23s. to 31s. per week.

THE POST OFFICE.

Chief Office: St. Martin's-le-Grand, E.C.

The Post Office shows an annual profit of about £5,000,000. It also receives large sums for duties and taxes on behalf of the Inland Revenue Department, for certain licences for the Customs and Excise Department and the County Councils, and for National Insurance on behalf of the National Health Insurance Commissioners and the Board of Trade. The Post Office also pays old age pensions. The administrative expenses of the Post Office were estimated at £26,151,830 in 1914-15.

Postmaster-General, Right Hon. Herbert Samuel, M.P. (£2,500).

Assistant Postmaster-General, H. Pike Pease, M.P. (£1,200).

Secretary to the Post Office, George Evelyn P. Murray (£1,750).

Controller of the London Postal Service Department, Sir Robert Bruce, C.B. (£1,000 to £1,200).

Controller of the London Telephone Service, G. F. Preston (£900 to £1,100).

POST OFFICE STATISTICS.

The number of postal packets delivered in the United Kingdom during the year ended March 31st, 1914, was estimated as follows:—

Letters	3,477,800,000
Postcards	926,500,000
Halfpenny packets	1,172,300,000
Newspapers	207,100,000
Parcels	132,700,000

The letters show an increase of 5.4 per cent., as compared with increases of 3.5 per cent. in 1912-13 and 4.6 per cent. in 1911-12. The increase shown by this year's figures is the largest recorded for many years.

The number of letters delivered per head of population continues to increase, and has now reached the high figure of 75 per annum.

POSTAL RATES.

INLAND POSTAL SERVICES.

Within the United Kingdom, including the Orkney and Shetland Islands, the Channel Islands, Isle of Man, and the Scilly Isles.

LETTERS.

Not exceeding 1 oz.	1d.
Not exceeding 2 oz.	2d.
Every additional 2 oz.	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.

HALFPENNY PACKET POST.

Not exceeding 2 oz.	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
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PARCELS.

Not exceeding	s.	d.	Not exceeding	s.	d.
1lb.	0	4	8lb.	0	9
2lb.	0	5	9lb.	0	10
3lb.	0	6	10lb.	0	11
5lb.	0	7	11lb. (limit)	1	0
7lb.	0	8			

POSTAGE, ETC., ABROAD.

LETTERS.

The letter rate from the United Kingdom to the British Empire generally, and to Egypt, the United States of America, and the British postal agencies in Morocco and China is 1d. the ounce. The charge to all other places is 2½d. the first ounce and 1½d. per ounce afterwards. Limits of size 2 x 1 x 1ft.

POSTCARDS.

1d. single, 2d. reply.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Numbers and Amount.—The total number of old age pensions paid during the year was 50,518,052, representing an amount of £12,363,643, an increase of 1.9 per cent. in number and 1.9 per cent. in amount, as compared with the previous year. The returns for 1912-14 are appended showing the numbers paid and the distribution of the payments as regards England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland respectively:—

	1912-13.		1913-14.	
	Number.	Value.	Number.	Value.
		£		£
England and Wales	34,063,503	8,317,912	35,106,638	8,577,566
Scotland	4,970,184	1,222,235	5,035,437	1,238,417
Ireland	10,541,257	2,590,462	10,375,977	2,547,660
United Kingdom...	49,574,944	12,130,609	50,518,052	12,363,643

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK.

Controller, Henry Davies (£1,000 to £1,200).

The deposits and withdrawals made in 1912 and 1913 have been as follow:—

Year.	Deposits.		Withdrawals.	
	Number.	Amount.	Number.	Amount.
		£		£
1912	22,293,077	50,708,852	11,280,434	49,381,878
1913	23,398,558	51,165,624	11,296,617	50,397,407

Interest Credited to Depositors.—The total amount standing to the credit of depositors on savings bank account on the 31st December, 1913, was £187,248,167, an excess of £5,143,603 over the balance due at the end of the previous year. In 1912 the increase was £5,586,056.

Societies' Accounts.—New accounts in the Post Office Savings Bank were opened in 1913 by 252 friendly societies, 2,582 charitable and provident societies, and 332 trade societies. This was an increase on 1912 of 49 friendly societies, a decrease of 226 charitable and provident societies, and an increase of 118 trade societies. Sixty-five Trade Unions availed themselves of the extended limits of deposit

(£250 annually to £1,000), and 133 charitable societies applied for permission to deposit without limit, as against 58 and 191 respectively in 1912.

TELEGRAPHS.

Controller of Central Telegraph Office, J. Newlands (£800 to £1,000).

The total number of telegrams which passed over the Post Office wires during the year ended March 31st, 1914, included:—

Class of Telegram.	Number.
Ordinary	69,441,000
Press	4,194,000
Government free	617,000

WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY.

Ships Fitted with Wireless Apparatus.—There were at the end of the financial year of 1914 879 ships registered in the United Kingdom carrying wireless apparatus under licence from the Postmaster-General, as compared with 646 ships on the 31st March, 1913.

TELEPHONES.

Controller of the London Telephone Service, G. F. Preston (£900 to £1,100).

The number of telephones belonging to the Post Office on 31st March, 1914, was 774,821, made up as follows:—

	Exchange stations.	Private wires.	Total.
London	244,084	14,811	258,895
Provinces	483,572	32,354	515,926
United Kingdom	<u>727,656</u>	<u>47,165</u>	<u>774,821</u>

In the county of London there is now a telephone to every 20 persons, in Glasgow one to every 29 persons, and in Liverpool one to every 34 persons.

Calls.—The total number of effective calls originated during the year is estimated to have been 834,000,000, an increase of about 5 per cent. on the figures for the previous year. The average number of calls per telephone per day was 3.14.

MILEAGE OF WIRE.

The total mileage of Post Office wires, including spare wires, on the 31st March, 1914, was 2,886,025 miles, an increase during the year of 224,647 miles, or 8.4 per cent. The total mileage is allocated as follows:—

	Miles of single wire.		Miles of single wire.
Telegraphs	267,252	Aerial	947,392
Telephones	1,846,565	Underground	1,926,743
Spares	772,208	Submarine	11,890
	<u>2,886,025</u>		<u>2,886,025</u>

STAFF.

The number of persons on the establishment of the Post Office on the 31st March, 1914, was 123,793, of whom 100,307 were men and 23,486 were women. The number added during the year was 5,677. This represents an increase of 3,904 men and 1,773 women.

In addition to the above, there are 125,813 persons—88,640 men and 37,173 women, filling unestablished situations. These totals show increases of 3,695 men and 100 women, making a total increase of 3,795.

The total number of persons employed wholly or in part in the Post Office on the 31st March, 1914, was thus 249,606, viz., 188,947 men and 60,659 women, an increase of 9,472, as compared with the previous year.

Dismissals.—The number of established officers dismissed during the year was 360. The dismissals for dishonesty represent .11 per cent., and those for intemperance .1 per cent. of the total established staff.

The grand financial results of Post Office work in the year 1913-14 may be summarised as follows:—

Postal.—A net profit of £6,143,459.

Telegraphs.—A net loss of £1,230,956.

Telephone.—A net profit of £272,643.

A total net profit of £5,185,146.

In July, 1914, owing to agitation among the postal unions, a small Committee was appointed by the Postmaster-General to examine, from the point of view of the department and its employees, the issue with regard to the wages and conditions of employment of Post Office servants which had been raised by the Holt Report; and to advise what modifications, if any, might be desirable in the decisions taken on its recommendations in these matters.

The Committee consists of:—

Sir George S. Gibb (Chairman).

Sir Alexander F. King (representing the Post Office).

R. F. Wilkins (representing the Treasury).

G. H. Stuart (representing Post Office employees.)

H. R. Young (representing Post Office employees).

The two members of the Committee representing Post Office employees were chosen by the National Joint Committee of Post Office Associations, and were approved by practically all the organised Labour of the Post Office. The two members representing Government departments were chosen by their respective departments, while the Chairman was appointed by the Board of Trade and approved by both sides of the Committee.

The significance of this Committee lies in the fact that, for the first time, Government employees are represented on a Committee appointed to inquire into their wages and conditions.

For Postal Trade Unions see Directory of Trade Unions, Part II.

PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE.

Whitehall, S.W.

Lord President of the Council, The Marquess of Crewe (£2,000).

Clerk of the Council, Sir Almeric W. Fitzroy (£1,500).

The Privy Council is a body of about 300 persons, who are nominated by the sovereign. It is customary to include in the body the Royal Princes and the Archbishops. Several of the principal officers of State and of the Household become Privy Counsellors by virtue of their office. The principal Secretaries of State are, of course, sworn of the Council before they can take part in the deliberations of the select number who are known as the Cabinet Council, and the rank is bestowed upon Ambassadors and the principal Colonial Governors and statesmen, and frequently upon politicians, as an honorary distinction. Membership of the Privy Council (whether of the United Kingdom or of Ireland) carries with it the title of Right Honourable and high precedence.

It is only on rare occasions that the whole body of members assembles, one of those instances being at the death of the sovereign, when it is the duty of the Privy Council to meet and proclaim the new sovereign. For the ordinary business of the Council only those who are summoned attend, and the number thus called upon is usually very small, and consists generally of two or three Ministers and Court officials. Among other important functions of the Council are the granting of **charters of incorporation** to public and private bodies and the bringing into operation, by means of **Orders in Council**, of the provisions of many statutes which Parliament leaves to the executive to enforce (notably, the laws relating to quarantine and the Midwives Act of 1902, with its strict regulations for due qualifications of all midwives). **Royal proclamations**, summoning or proroguing or dissolving Parliament, and for many other purposes, are made by and with the advice of the Privy Council.

In 1833-4 the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was established. It is the supreme Court of Appeal for the British Empire (excluding the United Kingdom, for which the House of Lords is the supreme Court of Appeal), and it also has jurisdiction under the Clergy Discipline Acts, etc.

The Privy Council in Ireland, a smaller body than that in England, advises the Lord Lieutenant, and exercises some of the powers passed by the Council in Great Britain, but in relation to Irish affairs only. Scotland has no separate Privy Council.

Thus the Privy Council Office acts sometimes for the United Kingdom, sometimes for Great Britain, sometimes for England or Scotland, sometimes for the Isle of Man or the Channel Isles, and sometimes for the whole British Empire. Its business varies from the merest ceremonial and the smallest technicalities to the highest appellate jurisdiction and the most important constitutional acts.

Estimates, 1914-15, £11,866.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS—ENGLAND AND WALES.

OFFICE OF WORKS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS,

Storey's Gate, S.W.

First Commissioner, Right Hon. L. Harcourt, M.P. (£2,000).

Expenses of administration (estimated), 1914-15, £152,710.

This department has the care of the royal parks in London (Hyde Park, the Green Park, St. James's Park, Regent's Park), and is responsible for the erection, maintenance, and repair of all buildings in the occupation of the various Government departments in England and Wales.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

Chancery Lane, E.C.

For the safe custody of the Public Records.

At this office are kept all the State papers of England and Wales, the records of various Government departments, and of Parliamentary proceedings dating back to the reign of Edward I. Scotland and Ireland preserve their own records.

Keeper of the Records, the Master of the Rolls.

Deputy, Sir H. C. Maxwell-Lyte (£1,400).

Assistant Keeper and Secretary, R. A. Roberts (£800).

The search rooms are open daily, with certain exceptions, from 10 to 4-30; Saturday, 10 to 2.

In 1910 a Royal Commission, with Sir Frederick Pollock as Chairman, was appointed to inquire into the state of the Public Records. This Commission has issued two reports, in which, among other points, it recommends that all State documents be concentrated at the Record Office and not, as at present, in various places. It also recommends that the Committee of Inspecting Officers, whose duty it is to examine all documents before they are weeded out, be instructed to do this with great care, as there have been several instances in which valuable papers have been destroyed through lack of proper inspection. As an example of this, it may be mentioned that the Committee proposed to destroy some 5,000 Admiralty logs, some of which were found by chance to contain additional details of Nelson's tactics at the battle of Trafalgar.

PUBLIC TRUSTEE.

Charles John Stewart, 3 and 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

This office, which was created by Act of Parliament in 1906, is intended to allow the State, through an official called the Public Trustee, to act as an executor or trustee to any person who may desire it, either under a will or under a settlement. The provision of the office arose out of the difficulty of finding trustees and the frequent occurrence of fraud. Since the office was created on January 1st, 1908, with a staff of five men, it has met with wide popular acceptance.

The staff now numbers about 370, and the value of the estates

which have been placed in the care of the Public Trustee, and are now being actively administered as current trusts, is £50,674,865. The value of estates represented by wills placed in his custody and applications from testators asking his acceptance of the office of executor under their wills is estimated at about £59,700,871.

The Public Trustee is not allowed to work for a profit, but merely to pay expenses. The principal fees are of two kinds—a fee upon capital and a fee upon income. The fee upon capital is taken in two instalments, half at the beginning and half at the end of the trust, such half ranging as follows:—

On the first £1,000, 15s. per cent.

On the excess of £1,000 to £20,000, 5s. per cent.

On the excess of £20,000 to £50,000, 2s. 6d. per cent.

On the excess of £50,000, 1s. 3d. per cent.

The fee upon income is 1 per cent. up to £2,000, and thereafter at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

REGISTRATION OF BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS—ENGLAND AND WALES.

THE GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE,

Somerset House, W.C.

This is the department responsible for the registration of births, deaths, and marriages in England and Wales and the preparation of vital statistics. Scotland and Ireland have their own administrations and keep their own records.

Each Poor Law union or parish in England and Wales is divided into districts, each with a Registrar appointed by the Guardians. Over these Registrars is a Superintendent Registrar for the whole union or parish, and it is his work to verify all entries of births, deaths, and marriages and forward them quarterly to the Registrar-General.

Registrar-General, Bernard Mallet (£1,200).

Estimated Expenses of Office, 1914-15, £58,768.

BIRTHS.

BIRTHS.—The duty of registering the birth of all children who are born alive is by law imposed upon the parents, one of whom must, within 36 hours after the birth, give information to the Registrar and sign the register in his presence. Failing the parents, the law requires the occupier of the house where the birth took place, or some person present at the birth, or the person having charge of the child, to register the birth. The registration is free of charge, unless the Registrar is requested to attend at the house where the birth took place, when the fee is 1s. A small fee is charged for a certified copy of the entry into the register. There are provisions by which, in case of failure of registration within 42 days, the Registrar may require any of the above-named persons to register, but after twelve months the birth cannot be registered except with the written authority of the Registrar-General. Still-born children are not registered. The name of the father of an illegitimate child can be entered on the register only at the joint request of himself and of the mother.

DEATHS.

DEATHS.—The duty of registering a death rests upon the nearest relatives present at the death, or during the last illness, or living in the same district; failing them, upon those present at the death, or the occupier of the house, or the person ordering the burial. Registration should be made within five days of the death, either personally or in writing, but, in the latter case, the written notice must be accompanied by a medical certificate of the cause of death, and the register must still be signed within 14 days. The registration is free of charge unless the Registrar attend at the house where the death took place, when the fee is 1s. After 14 days and within twelve months, the Registrar may, failing the receipt of the information as to the death, require any person who should have effected the registration to attend and give the information required. But after twelve months no death can be registered except with the written authority of the Registrar-General. A certificate of death in the ordinary course is given without fee, and this certificate must be delivered to the person who buries or performs any funeral service for the burial of the deceased.

MARRIAGES.

REGULATIONS.—In England and Wales and in Ireland marriage can be had in four ways—by special licence, by common licence, by publication of banns, and before a Registrar or some other “authorised person.” In the case of a licence, one of the parties must have resided at least 15 days in the parish or district where the ceremony is to be performed.

1. **The common licence** can be obtained at the registry office of the Bishop of the Diocese, or from any surrogate of such Bishop, or at the Faculty Office, or the Vicar-General’s Office, Doctors’ Commons, London, E.C. One of the parties must personally apply for the licence and make affidavit that there is no legal impediment to the marriage. The fees amount to from £2 2s. 6d. to £3 3s. The common licence fixes the time and place of the ceremony.

2. **The special licence** can only be obtained by one of the parties attending at the Faculty Office, Doctors’ Commons. The granting of special licences rests solely with the Archbishop of Canterbury, who considers each application on its merits. On an average about 40 per annum are issued. The fees amount to about £30, and the licence empowers the parties to be married at any time, in any place, and without previous residence in that place.

3. In the case of **banns**, they must be published in the church of the parish in which both parties, or each of them, reside for three separate Sundays, and the ceremony must be performed within three months of the final publication in one of the two churches, a certificate of the publication in the other church being given to the minister performing the ceremony. After three months the banns become useless.

4. If the marriage is to be **before a Registrar**, or some other authorised person, one of the parties must give notice to the Registrar of the district, in which he must have dwelt for seven days. If the parties are in two districts notice must be given to the Registrar of each district. **Notice** will then be placed on the notice board of the

office for **21 days**, after which the certificate issues and the marriage may be celebrated (*a*) at the Superintendent Registrar's office without a religious ceremony, or (*b*) in any building registered for marriage in presence of the District Registrar, and 5s. to the Registrar before whom the marriage is solemnised, and 2s. 7d. is charged for each certificate of marriage. All marriages, except those by special licence, must be performed between the hours of 8 a.m. and 3 p.m.

Certificates of births, deaths, or marriages can be obtained at the General Register Office, Somerset House, on payment of fees amounting to 3s. 7d., viz., 1s. for search, 2s. 6d. for the certificate, and 1d. for the stamp affixed thereto. They can also be obtained from the registration officer having the legal custody of the register book containing the entry of which a certificate is required. Certificates of marriage in churches of the Church of England can also be obtained from the incumbent of the church in which the marriage took place. For the certificate of a birth in Scotland application should be made to the Registrar-General in Edinburgh.

VACCINATION.—The parent of every child born in England must within six months after the birth of the child, or the person having custody of a child must within six months after receiving it, have the child vaccinated by a registered private medical practitioner or by the public vaccinator for the district. If the vaccination is performed by a private medical practitioner a certificate of successful vaccination must be sent to the Registrar of Births within seven days. The public vaccinator is required, on the request of the parent or guardian of a child, to visit the home of the child and vaccinate it free of charge. If a child is not vaccinated within four months of its birth the public vaccinator is required to give 24 hours' notice to the parent and to visit the home of the child and offer to vaccinate it. No parent or other person will be liable to any penalty under the Vaccination Acts if within four months from the birth he makes a statutory declaration before a commissioner for oaths or one justice of the peace that he conscientiously believes that vaccination would be prejudicial to the health of the child, and within seven days thereafter delivers the statutory declaration (which requires no stamp) to the vaccination officer for the district. A conscientious objector can thus escape all penalties, but a person who does not obtain a certificate, or make a declaration, will still be liable to penalties for not having a child vaccinated.

REGISTRATION OF BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS—SCOTLAND.

THE GENERAL REGISTRY OFFICE OF BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS,

Register House, Edinburgh.

This department (under the Secretary of State for Scotland) exercises the same functions as the English office.

In Scotland the regulations for a **regular marriage** are very much the same as in England. **Banns** are proclaimed in the Parish Church (Established) or the Episcopal Church, and the certificate of such proclamation being produced is sufficient authority to a minister to

celebrate the marriage. **Application to a Registrar** can also be made, and a certificate of publication of notice of marriage is equivalent to a certificate of banns.

The verbal or written expression, in the presence of two witnesses, of **mutual consent** to take each other for husband and wife also constitutes marriage if one of the parties has been resident in Scotland for 21 days immediately preceding.

REGISTRATION OF BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS—IRELAND.

THE GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE,

Charlmont House, Dublin.

This office (under the Chief Secretary for Ireland) exercises for Ireland the same functions as the English office.

PRINCIPAL VITAL STATISTICS.

POPULATION.

Total population of the United Kingdom :—

Census year.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1841	13,060,497 ...	13,670,432 ...	26,730,929
1851	13,369,227 ...	14,021,402 ...	27,390,629
1861	14,063,477 ...	14,864,008 ...	28,927,485
1871	15,301,830 ...	16,182,831 ...	31,484,661
1881	16,972,654 ...	17,912,194 ...	34,884,848
1891	18,314,571 ...	19,418,351 ...	37,732,922
1901	20,102,408 ...	21,356,313 ...	41,458,721
1911	21,946,495 ...	23,275,120 ...	45,221,615

Total population of each division of United Kingdom estimated to the middle of each year (exclusive of the Army, Navy, and merchant seamen abroad) :—

Years (30th of June).	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Total for United Kingdom.
1899	31,881,365 ...	4,390,530 ...	4,502,401 ...	40,774,296
1900	32,249,187 ...	4,436,958 ...	4,468,501 ...	41,154,646
1901	32,612,022 ...	4,479,065 ...	4,447,085 ...	41,538,172
1902	32,950,909 ...	4,507,048 ...	4,434,551 ...	41,892,508
1903	33,293,321 ...	4,535,201 ...	4,417,757 ...	42,246,279
1904	33,639,287 ...	4,563,530 ...	4,408,103 ...	42,610,920
1905	33,988,844 ...	4,592,036 ...	4,399,308 ...	42,980,188
1906	34,342,040 ...	4,620,720 ...	4,397,571 ...	43,360,331
1907	34,698,905 ...	4,649,586 ...	4,388,451 ...	43,736,942
1908	35,059,484 ...	4,678,629 ...	4,384,664 ...	44,122,777
1909	35,423,805 ...	4,707,858 ...	4,386,601 ...	44,518,264
1910	35,791,902 ...	4,737,268 ...	4,385,421 ...	44,914,591
1911	36,163,833 ...	4,751,132 ...	4,383,608 ...	45,298,573
1912	36,539,636 ...	4,741,077 ...	4,384,710 ...	45,665,423
1913	36,919,339 ...	4,728,132 ...	4,379,012 ...	46,026,483
1914	37,302,983 ...	4,728,500 ...	4,375,554 ...	46,407,037

Total number and proportion to the total population of births, deaths, and marriages :—

Year.	BIRTHS.		DEATHS.		MARRIAGES.	
	Number.	Rate per 1,000 of population	Number.	Rate per 1,000 of population	Number.	Rate per 1,000 of population
1910	1,122,984	25.0	630,409	14.0	320,735	14.3
1911	1,104,746	24.4	672,017	14.8	330,227	14.6
1912	1,096,518	24.0	631,491	13.8	338,988	14.8
1913	1,102,123	23.9	652,793	14.2	342,247	14.9
1914	1,101,827	23.7	661,990	14.3	349,152	15.0

* The figures in this column represent the number of "persons married" per 1,000 of the population.

POPULATION OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES AT THE LAST CENSUS.

Countries.	Population.
Russia (in Europe)	93,456,022
(in Asia)	22,809,131
Total Russian Empire	128,222,906
German Empire :—	
Prussia	40,165,219
Alsace and Lorraine	1,874,014
Bavaria	6,887,291
Saxony	4,806,661
Other German States	11,192,808
Total German Empire	64,925,993
Netherlands	5,858,175
Belgium	7,423,784
France	39,602,258
Italy	34,671,000
Austria	28,571,934
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1,898,044
Hungary	20,886,487
Turkey (in Europe and Asia)	23,814,000
Bulgaria	4,337,513
Servia	2,911,701
United States	92,027,874
Japan	49,582,505
United Kingdom	45,221,615
Total British Over-Sea Dominions & Possessions.	372,046,000

FOREIGN POPULATIONS.—BIRTHS.

Annual rates per 1,000 of population from 1907 to 1912 in selected foreign countries :—

	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912
Russia	46.6	44.3	44.0	—	—	—
German Empire	32.2	32.0	31.0	29.8	28.6	28.3
France	19.7	20.1	19.5	19.6	18.7	19.0
Italy	31.7	33.7	32.7	32.3	31.5	32.6
Austria	34.2	33.8	33.5	32.6	31.5	31.4
United Kingdom	26.3	26.6	25.7	25.0	24.4	24.0

ROADS—UNITED KINGDOM.

THE ROAD BOARD.

The Road Board (constituted under the Development and Road Improvement Funds Act, 1909) have power to make advances to highway authorities for the construction of new roads and the improvement of existing roads. The Board have also power themselves to construct and maintain new roads, but so far their powers in this direction have not been exercised.

The following are the members of the Board: Sir George S. Gibb (**Chairman**) (£3,000); **Secretary**, W. Rees Jeffreys (£1,000); **Manager and Engineer**, H. P. Maybury (£1,500). **Offices**, Queen Anne's Chambers, Broadway, Westminster.

INCOME, 1913-14.

	£
From motor-spirit duties	789,703
From carriage-licence duties	605,248
From interest from investments	171,162

Up to March 31st, 1914, the Board had made or indicated grants and loans amounting in the aggregate to £5,181,708, and, in addition, had intimated their willingness to assist the construction of a new western approach to London, which is to be five miles long and 80ft. wide, and which will start from Chiswick and join the Bath Road at Hounslow.

The mileage of public roads maintained by local authorities in England and Wales in 1911 was 150,671, of which 118,642 were "rural roads." The amount expended (otherwise than out of loans) upon their **maintenance and repair** was £8,804,183, the average cost per mile being £50. Loan charges amounted to £3,773,323. The mileage in Scotland was 24,816, and the cost (including loan charges) £1,242,765. The Irish mileage was 58,334, and the cost (including loan charges), £1,080,794.

The grants and loans made to March 31st, 1914, were apportioned to the following objects:—

	£
Improvement of road crusts	2,289,036
Road widenings and improvement of curves and corners	175,150
Road diversions	56,939
Reconstruction and improvement of bridges	67,172
New roads and bridges	83,498
Total	<u>£2,639,691</u>

The number of accidents caused by vehicles in England and Wales in 1913 was 39,793, as compared with 34,186 in 1912.

There were 1,743 fatal accidents in England and Wales.
 219 fatal accidents in Scotland.
 137 fatal accidents in Ireland.

REVENUE : NATIONAL.**BOARD OF INLAND REVENUE,**

Somerset House, W.C.

What are commonly called the "King's Taxes," and also the Stamp and Death Duties, are managed by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue.

Functions include raising of revenue under the following heads :—

Income tax.	Succession.
Super tax.	Corporation.
Land tax.	Stamp.
Duties on land values and the following duties, viz. :	Inhabited house.
Estate.	Probate (and Inventory) and Account.
Legacy.	

Also the adjustment of sums raised on the Local Taxation Account, compensation under Licensing (Consolidated) Act, 1910, and annual licence value under the Finance Act, 1910.

Chairman, Sir E. Nott-Bower (£2,000).

Deputy-Chairman, N. F. Warren Fisher (£1,500).

Commissioners, J. P. Crawley, H. De la Bere (each £1,200).

This is a real Board, but much under the control of the Treasury.

Estimated cost of administration, 1914-15, £2,207,320.

DEATH (ESTATE) DUTY.

In 1904 Sir William Harcourt revised the Death Duties, and the new Estate Duty was made applicable to property of all kinds, real and personal, and whether included in a settlement or not. The duties were heavily increased by Mr. Lloyd George in 1909. The following is the scale of duties in the case of persons dying after the 15th August, 1914, where the principal value of the estate—

£		£		Estate duty.
Exceeds	100 and does not exceed	500	.....	1 per cent.
“	500	“	1,000	2 “
“	1,000	“	5,000	3 “
“	5,000	“	10,000	4 “
“	10,000	“	20,000	5 “
“	20,000	“	40,000	6 “
“	40,000	“	60,000	7 “
“	60,000	“	80,000	8 “
“	80,000	“	100,000	9 “
“	100,000	“	150,000	10 “
“	150,000	“	200,000	11 “
“	200,000	“	250,000	12 “
“	250,000	“	300,000	13 “
“	300,000	“	350,000	14 “
“	350,000	“	400,000	15 “
“	400,000	“	500,000	16 “
“	500,000	“	600,000	17 “
“	600,000	“	800,000	18 “
“	800,000	“	1,000,000	19 “
“	1,000,000	.....	.....	20 “

Legacy Duty.—Where property is left to—

A husband, wife, or descendants (small legacies and estates exempt)	Duty	1 per cent.
Brothers, sisters, or their descendants.....	„	5 „
All other persons.....	„	10 „

INCOME TAX.

The income tax year ends on the 5th April.

(1) RATES.

	Rates chargeable under first Finance Act, 1915.	Rates for 1915-16 (representing an addition of 40 per cent. for the second half-year).	Rates for 1916-17 (representing an addition of 40 per cent. for the whole year).
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
General rate on unearned income and on all incomes exceeding £2,500 per annum.....	2 6 in the £	3 0 in the £	3 6 in the £
Rate on unearned income where total earned and unearned income—			
Does not exceed £300	2 0 „	2 4 $\frac{4}{5}$ „	2 9 $\frac{3}{5}$ „
Exceeds £300 and does not exceed £500.....	2 4 „	2 9 $\frac{3}{5}$ „	3 3 $\frac{1}{5}$ „
Rate on earned income where total earned and unearned income—			
Does not exceed £1,000	1 6 „	1 9 $\frac{3}{5}$ „	2 1 $\frac{1}{5}$ „
Exceeds £1,000 and does not exceed £1,500.....	1 9 „	2 1 $\frac{1}{5}$ „	2 5 $\frac{2}{5}$ „
Exceeds £1,500 and does not exceed £2,000.....	2 0 „	2 4 $\frac{4}{5}$ „	2 9 $\frac{3}{5}$ „
Exceeds £2,000 and does not exceed £2,500.....	2 4 „	2 9 $\frac{3}{5}$ „	3 3 $\frac{1}{5}$ „

(2) ABATEMENTS AND ALLOWANCES.

Up to £130 Exempt.

Abatements on incomes—

Abatement.

Exceeding £130 and not exceeding £400 .. £120

„ £400 „ £600 .. £100

„ £600 „ £700 .. £70

Allowances :—

Life Insurance Premiums up to one-sixth of total income.

£20 in respect of each child under 16 where total income does not exceed £500,

(3) COLLECTION BY INSTALMENTS.

The tax is now collected by half-yearly instalments in the case of individuals or firms engaged in trades, professions, or husbandry, and by quarterly instalments (with quarterly assessment) in the case of employees.

(4) SUPER-TAX ON INCOMES OVER £3,000.

Rates.

On the first three thousand pounds of the income—

On £2,500	Nil.
On £500	s. d.
On the fourth thousand	10 in the £
" fifth	1 2 "
" sixth	1 6 "
" seventh	1 10 "
" eighth	2 2 "
" ninth	2 6 "
" tenth	2 10 "
" remainder	3 2 "
" remainder	3 6 "

(5) EXCESS PROFITS TAX.

A tax of 50 per cent. on any sum by which the profits or gains arising from any trade, manufacture, concern in the nature of trade, or business (including agencies) in any business year ending on any date between 1st September, 1914, and 1st July, 1915, exceeded the profits on the income tax assessment for 1914-15 by more than £100.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his speech introducing the Budget on the 21st September, 1915, said that this **general liability** may be adjusted on appeal on any of the following grounds:—

First, if the profits assessed to income tax for the year 1914-15 are less than 6 per cent. on the capital employed by the proprietors in their business on 5th April, 1914, that percentage of their capital may be taken as their datum line.

Next, where, in the case of businesses mainly carried on before the war for supplying under Government contracts munitions of war and war materials, less than a fair return has been made on the proprietors' capital in the preceding three years, the datum line shall be determined by a tribunal specially appointed.

The third condition of which account must be taken is where additional capital has been invested during the war period. In such a case an allowance will be made for the capital invested. In the same way capital, invested in the three years prior to the war, which has been unremunerative during that period, may be also a subject of allowance. In ordinary circumstances the Chancellor said, 6 per cent. would be the rate of interest applicable to the two last cases, but, on appeal to a tribunal specially appointed, this rate of interest may be exceeded for any special reason, such as rapid depreciation, obsolescence, or the fact that the capital employed is useful for war purposes only.

EXAMPLES OF INCOME TAX AND SUPER-TAX, 1916-17.

Income.	Where income wholly earned.		Where income wholly unearned.	
	Amount of tax.	Virtual rate.	Amount of tax.	Virtual rate.
£	£ s. d.	d.	£ s. d.	d.
131	1 3 1	2.1	1 10 9	2.8
140	2 2 0	3.6	2 16 0	4.8
150	3 3 0	5.0	4 4 0	6.7
160	4 4 0	6.3	5 12 0	8.4
180	6 6 0	8.4	8 8 0	11.2
250	13 13 0	13.1	18 4 0	17.5
300	18 18 0	15.1	25 4 0	20.2
400	29 8 0	17.6	45 14 8	27.4
500	42 0 0	20.2	65 6 8	31.4
1,000	105 0 0	25.2	175 0 0	42.0
2,000	280 0 0	33.6	350 0 0	42.0
3,000	525 0 0	42.0	525 0 0	42.0
4,000	—	—	779 3 4*	46.7
7,000	—	—	1,579 3 4*	54.1
10,000	—	—	2,529 3 4*	60.7
40,000	—	—	13,029 3 4*	78.2
75,000	—	—	25,279 3 4*	80.9
100,000	—	—	34,029 3 4*	81.7

* Income tax and super-tax.

INHABITED HOUSE DUTY.

On inhabited houses, occupied as farmhouse, public-house, coffee-shop, shop, warehouse, or lodging-house of the annual value of—

£20 and not exceeding £40	Duty, 2d. in the £
Over £40 and not exceeding £60	„ 4d. „
„ £60	„ 6d. „

Other houses of the annual value of—

£20 and not exceeding £40	„ 3d. „
Over £40 and not exceeding £60	„ 6d. „
„ £60	„ 9d. „

The gross assessments to income tax have risen from £601,450,977 in 1881-2 to £1,111,456,413 in 1912-13. Allowing for a corresponding rise in the incomes not assessed and in the wages of manual labour, we may estimate the **national income for 1912** at not less than **£2,200,000,000**. The population in 1911 being 45,221,615, the average annual income is about £48½ per head, or £195 per adult man. In 1840 it was about £20½, in 1860 £26 1-5th per head, and for 1905-6 it was estimated at £46½ per head.

Rent of Land and Houses.—The total profit from the ownership of lands, houses, tithes, etc., as assessed for income tax in 1912-13,

was £279,536,396; the rents of mines, quarries, ironworks, gasworks, waterworks, canals, fishings, shootings, markets, tolls, etc., amounted to £47,042,115.

STATISTICS OF INCOME AND INCOME TAX IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.*

During the past few years there has been a rapid increase in the gross income reviewed by the Inland Revenue for income tax purposes. The figures are as follow :—

Year.	Gross income reviewed.	Income on which tax received.	Net produce of tax.	Virtual rate of tax levied on each £ of taxable income.
	£	£	£	d.
1903-04	902,758,585	615,012,373	28,188,067	9.24
1904-05	912,129,680	619,328,097	30,966,404	10.07
1905-06	925,184,556	632,024,746	31,601,237	10.06
1906-07	943,702,014	640,048,238	32,002,412	10.05
1907-08	980,117,000	671,313,000	32,380,000	9.72
1908-09	1,009,935,926	693,323,082	33,408,754	9.73
1909-10	1,011,100,345	686,812,104	37,679,902	11.00
1910-11	1,045,833,755	697,074,032	38,344,767	10.98
1911-12	1,070,142,343	720,640,587	39,631,630	10.98
1912-13	1,111,456,413	755,577,547	41,574,277	11.00

SUPER-TAX, YEAR 1912-13.—Classification of incomes and number of persons assessed to super-tax :—

Class.				Total incomes assessed.		Number of persons.
Exceeding.	Not exceeding.					
£	£			£		
5,000	10,000	..	..	53,650,399	..	7,796
10,000	15,000	..	..	26,172,805	..	2,166
15,000	20,000	..	..	14,453,302	..	840
20,000	25,000	..	..	10,371,341	..	466
25,000	35,000	..	..	11,644,083	..	399
35,000	45,000	..	..	7,550,339	..	193
45,000	55,000	..	..	5,431,099	..	108
55,000	65,000	..	..	3,520,482	..	60
65,000	75,000	..	..	2,628,094	..	38
75,000	100,000	..	..	5,423,001	..	62
100,000	—	..	..	12,744,342	..	74
Total.....				£153,589,287		£12,202

* The Chancellor of the Exchequer estimated the number of income tax payers for 1913-14 at 1,190,000, as against 950,000 ten years ago, and the taxable income per income tax payer at £780.

STATIONERY AND PRINTING—UNITED KINGDOM.

STATIONERY OFFICE,

Princes' Street, Storey's Gate, S.W.

The duties of the Stationery Office include the supply of books and stationery to Parliament and the various Government offices and departments, and the supervision and control of the printing, etc., required by them. All "Blue Books" and Parliamentary documents are published by this office. The printing is at present given out by contract to various firms of printers. Owing to the great expense of this system a Select Committee recommended in July, 1914, that the Government set up their own printing press for the printing of all Government publications, as by this means considerable economy would be effected.

Expenses of Administration, 1914-15, £1,069,272.

Controller, F. Atterbury (£1,200-£1,500).

Superintendent of Paper, W. G. Wightman (£500-£700).

Superintendent of Stores, I. A. H. Watson (£500-£600).

TRADE.

BOARD OF TRADE,

Whitehall Gardens and Gwydyr House, Whitehall, S.W.

The duties of the Board of Trade are to collect trade statistics, control the issue of patents, keep the standards of weights and measures, the non-legal machinery of bankruptcy, the registration of joint stock companies, railway, tramway, water and gas companies, electric lighting, harbours and lighthouses, and merchant shipping, acting under the latter heading as auditor of the accounts of the Trinity House and the Irish and Northern Lighthouse Authorities. In addition, it administers the Conciliation Act (1896) for the settlement of trade disputes, the Labour Exchanges Act of 1909, Part II. of the National Insurance Act, 1911 (Unemployment Insurance), and the Trade Boards Act, 1909. The Board never meets and the whole power is exercised by the President.

The administrative expenses were £215,133 in 1914-15.

President, Right Hon. Walter Runciman, M.P. (£5,000).

Permanent Secretary, Sir H. Llewellyn Smith (£2,000).

Parliamentary Secretary, Captain E. G. Pretymann, M.P. (£1,500).

Chief Industrial Commissioner, Sir G. R. Askwith, K.C. (£2,000).

Five Assistant Secretaries (£1,000 to £1,200).

Railway Department, W. F. Marwood.

Commercial Department, G. J. Stanley.

Harbour Department, Garnham Roper.

Marine Department, E. G. Moggridge.

Labour Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance Department,
W. H. Beveridge.

Accountant-General, G. S. Fry (£1,000 to £1,200).

Comptroller of Companies Department, H. A. Payne (£1,000 to £1,200).

Director of Labour Statistics Department, F. H. McLeod (£1,000).

Superintendent of London Traffic Branch, Colonel R. O. Hellard, R.E.

Investigators and Labour Correspondents, Miss Clara E. Collett and J. J. Dent (£450).

Clerk in Charge of Railway Accident Works, S. G. Spencer (£300 to £450).

Clerk in Charge of Electric Lighting Acts, M. J. Collins (£300 to £400).

Staff Clerk for Trade Boards Work, S. L. Besso (£300 to £400).

Staff Clerk in Charge of Railway Plans, T. Lofthouse (£250 to £350).

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE BRANCH.

73, Basinghall Street, E.C.

Director of Commercial Intelligence, T. Worthington (£700 to £900).

ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

This Committee was constituted in March, 1910, and its terms of reference were "to advise the Board of Trade (1) on the work of their Commercial Intelligence Branch and on such matters relating to foreign tariffs and other commercial questions as the Board may refer to them; and (2) as to commercial missions abroad, or other means of obtaining and diffusing information for the benefit of British trade." The information collected by the Commercial Intelligence Branch of the Board of Trade relates principally to names of firms abroad engaged in particular lines of business in different localities; foreign and Colonial contracts open to tender and other openings for British trade; foreign and Colonial tariffs and customs regulations; commercial statistics; regulations concerning commercial travellers and their samples; laws affecting patents, designs, and trade marks in foreign countries; certificates of origin; and trade conditions (terms of payment, credit, agency conditions, means of recovery of debts, etc.) in various countries.

Commercial Travellers.—There are practically no special regulations affecting commercial travellers in the British Dominions; in some cases they are accorded certain privileges on the railways, whilst in others they are subject to income tax on the sales effected. In Cape Colony, Natal, Orange Free State, and Transvaal, however, commercial travellers are required to take out a licence, under varying conditions; also in the Argentine Republic, Bulgaria, Denmark, Haiti, Norway, Paraguay, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, and Uruguay. In Brazil there is no Federal tax, but taxes in some of the States, while in Bolivia and Panama there are municipal taxes to be paid by commercial travellers. No other countries than those mentioned require licences, but regulations vary as to passports, etc.

CENSUS OF PRODUCTION.

68, Victoria Street, S.W.

Director, A. W. Flux (£700 to £900).**Assistant Director, H. W. Macrosty** (£500 to £600).**Superintendent of Staff, J. W. Verdier** (£400 to £500).**Staff Officer, R. F. Taylor** (£300 to £400).**Minor Staff Officers, G. A. G. Stanley, F. W. Leggett, H. J. Phillips, S. A. Whetmore, and W. M. Hand.****LABOUR EXCHANGES AND UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.**

Queen Anne's Chambers, S.W.

Director (£1,000 to £1,200).**General Manager, C. F. Rey** (£1,000).**Principal Officers, S. G. Tallents and F. Davey** (£700 to £900).**Chiefs of Sections, A. W. Basham, Lieut.-Colonel H. R. Beddoes, C. W. Irons, J. S. Nicholson, T. W. Phillips, H. Smith, and U. Wolff** (£500 to £750).**Assistant Chiefs of Sections, W. W. Marsh, W. A. Colegate, J. M. Glen, P. Y. Blundun, G. N. Hodgson, F. W. Charlton, C. B. Hawkins, F. Lavington, and S. E. Court.****Principal Woman Officer, Miss L. M. Clapham** (£400 to £450).**Travelling Inspectors, B. Wilson, R. C. Davison, and F. A. Norman** (£350 to £500).**Labour Adviser, C. H. Rouse** (£350 to £500).

The number of Exchanges open in 1914 was 423. The total number of registrations in 1913 on the general register of the Exchanges was 2,965,893. In addition, 7,296 individuals were dealt with on the casual register.

The total number of individuals who at some time or another during 1913 applied to the Exchanges was 1,877,221.

The number of applicants given work was 656,411, and the number of situations filled was 921,853, of which 204,629 were temporary (i.e., less than a week's duration).

The number of vacancies notified by employers was 1,222,828.

The sum of £2,900 was advanced during the year towards meeting the expenses of workpeople travelling to places where employment had been found for them by the Exchanges, the number of cases being 9,200.

(See also Part II. and Part VIII.)

TRADE BOARDS OFFICE.

Old Serjeant's Inn Chambers, Chancery Lane, W.C.

The business of this office is to administer the Trade Boards Act, 1909.

Chairman, E. Aves.**Secretary, G. T. Reid.**

(See Part II.)

OFFICE OF INSPECTORS OF RAILWAYS.

8, Richmond Terrace, Whitehall, S.W.

Inspectors of Railways.—All accidents and casualties occurring on railways have to be reported to this branch of the Board of Trade, which inquires into the causes, as far as possible fixes the responsibility for the accident, and makes recommendations to the railway companies for the greater safety of traffic.

Chief Inspecting Officer, Lieut.-Colonel P. G. von Donop, R.E. (£1,200 to £1,400).

Inspecting Officers, Colonel J. W. Pringle, R.E., and Lieut.-Colonel E. Druiitt, R.E. (£800 to £1,000).

Assistant Inspecting Officers, J. P. Ascot Main and J. H. Armytage (£500 to £700).

Electric Adviser, A. P. Trotter (£800 to £1,000).

Electrician and Assistant to Electric Adviser, J. Rennie (£300 to £450).

(See also Part II.)

BANKRUPTCY DEPARTMENT.

Horse Guards Avenue, Whitehall, S.W.

Inspector-General in Bankruptcy, J. G. Willis (£1,000 to £1,200).

According to the report of the **Inspector-General in Bankruptcy** for the year ended December 31st, 1913, there were in England and Wales 3,358 cases of bankruptcy, with liabilities £5,091,265 and assets £1,790,463. There were 2,411 deeds of arrangement, with liabilities £2,765,929 and assets £1,512,919. As compared with 1912 there was a decrease of 223 bankruptcies and 359 deeds of arrangement. In Scotland there 262 cases during 1913, with liabilities £438,873 and assets £92,055. Irish insolvencies were : Bankruptcies, 142 ; liabilities, £143,598 ; assets, 35,034 ; deeds of arrangement, 145 ; liabilities, £187,449 ; assets, £109,991.

By a deed of arrangement the debtor and creditors settle the claims between themselves without resorting to legal proceedings, but the transaction has to be registered with the **Inspector-General of Bankruptcy**.

MARINE SURVEY STAFF.

79, Mark Lane, E.C.

The main duties of the Marine Survey Staff are to supervise emigrant and passenger ships, inspect crew spaces, light and signals, life-saving appliances, the stowage of dangerous cargoes, etc. Its work includes the prescribing of the number of boats, life belts, etc., to be carried by vessels.

Principal Officer for London District, R. C. Warden (£600).

Chief Inspector of Ships' Provisions, W. L. Service (£650).

Chief Examiner of Engineers, W. T. Seaton (£520 to £600).

MARINE CONSULTATIVE BRANCH.

54, Victoria Street, S.W.

The **Marine Consultative Branch** consists of a staff of technical officers to advise the Board of Trade on matters arising out of the duties of the Survey Staff on technical matters connected with merchant shipping generally.

Engineer, Surveyor-in-Chief, and Inspector of Proving Establishments under the Anchors and Chain Cables Act, A. Boyle (£600 to £800).

Principal Ship Surveyor, W. D. Archer (£700 to £900).

Principal Surveyor for Tonnage, T. F. Jenkins (£520 to £600).

68, Victoria Street, S.W.

Principal Examiner of Masters and Mates, J. M. Harvey (£520 to £600).

Nautical Surveyor, T. P. Marshall.

GENERAL REGISTER AND RECORD OFFICE OF SHIPPING AND SEAMEN.

Tower Hill, E.

The Registrar-General of Shipping and Seamen is charged with certain duties under the Merchant Shipping Acts, which relate chiefly to the registration of ships, the issue of certificates to officers in the merchant service, the custody of official logs, agreements, and other documents connected with British ships.

Registrar-General, C. H. Jones (£700 to £900).

OFFICERS APPOINTED UNDER METROPOLITAN GAS ACTS.

Referees, Augustus G. Vernon-Harcourt, F.R.S., C. V. Boys, F.R.S., and J. S. Haldane, F.R.S.

Chief Gas Examiner, Lord Rayleigh, F.R.S.

STANDARDS DEPARTMENTS.

7, Old Palace Yard, S.W.

Deputy Warden of the Standards, Major P. A. MacMahon, F.R.S. (£800).

Comptroller-General of Patents, W. Temple Franks (£1,500).

PATENTS AND PATENTS OFFICE.

Patents for the United Kingdom are issued by the **Comptroller-General of Patents** at the **Patent Office**, 25, Southampton Buildings, London, W.C.

The **Official** fees to be paid before a patent is sealed (which must be as soon as possible, and not after 15 months from the date of application) amount to £5, of which £1 is paid on application and £3 on the filing of a complete specification (or £4 on filing complete specification with first application), and £1 on sealing.

A patent is granted for a term of 14 years from the date of application, subject to the payment of the prescribed fees. Further fees of £50, on certificate of renewal before end of four years from date of patent, and £100 before the end of eight years are payable; or, in lieu of these further fees, annual payments of £10 may be made from the fourth to the seventh year, £15 eighth and ninth years, and £20 tenth to 13th years.

Under exceptional circumstances the patent may be prolonged for a further period not exceeding 14 years.

The total number of **specifications received during 1913** was 38,982, as compared with 38,678 in 1912, an increase of 304.

The **number of patents granted in 1913** was 16,599, as compared with 15,814 in 1912.

The applications received from women inventors numbered 497, as compared with 636 in 1912.

The **receipts from patent fees in 1913** amounted to £307,054, as compared with £293,529 in 1912—an increase of £13,525. Renewal fees amounted to £188,033, and sealing fees to £16,668.

Inventions were mainly concerned with motor vehicles and aeronautical inventions; much attention was also given to the problem of railway signalling.

COMPANIES (WINDING-UP).

33, Carey Street, W.C.

Senior Official Receiver, H. de Vaux Brougham (£1,200).

Official Receiver, H. E. Burgess (£800 to £1,000).

Solicitor, Sir R. Ellis Cunliffe (£1,800).

PART VII.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

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In many ways the most important part of the government of the United Kingdom is that which we seldom think of as government at all, because it is "Local Government." Our Local Government now spends nearly as much as our National Government used to spend in time of peace; it levies on us nearly as much in direct taxation, which we call "rates" as the National Government used to levy as "the

King's Taxes "; it employs in its service nearly twice as many people as, apart from the Army and Navy, all the centralised Government Departments put together; it carries on far more enterprises than the National Government; it even enacts, year by year, in its bye-laws and regulations of all sorts, though we seldom realise it, almost as great a volume of legislation which we are constrained to obey than Parliament itself; it is incessant and all-pervading; for weal or for woe it touches the life of every man, woman, and child more closely, more potently, and more continuously than any other contemporary influence.

THE STRUCTURE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

We must consider, first, the various kinds of local authorities, of which in all, there are no fewer than 30,000 at work. And we must take separately the different parts of the United Kingdom.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

The essential feature of English Local Government is its freedom in current administration from central executive control. Within the limits of the statutory powers conferred upon it—subject at most to an obligation to come up to a national minimum—the local authority, directly responsible to the local electorate, may administer local affairs as it pleases. Whilst assisted by such grants in aid from national funds as may, upon certain conditions, be obtained towards particular services, it can levy by methods prescribed by general law as much taxation as it needs upon the local ratepayers. This Local Government is seen in its most perfect constitutional form in our large cities or boroughs, other than London, in which two-thirds of the population now reside.

THE COUNTY BOROUGH.

In Liverpool or Manchester or Leeds, for instance, as in other so-called "County Boroughs," nearly all local authority is concentrated in the Municipal Corporation which acts by and through the Town Council. The Council consists of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors. The Mayor is elected by the Council for one year from the Aldermen, Councillors, or persons qualified to be such. He is the principal executive officer and the chief personage within the borough. The Aldermen are appointed by the Councillors for a term of six years, one-half retiring every three years. The Aldermen are not necessarily chosen from among the Councillors, though as a matter of practice this usually happens in most boroughs, just as it also is the practice for the retiring Aldermen to be re-elected, and for one to be taken from each ward. By an Act of 1914 any person who has resided in the borough for twelve months is now eligible for Councillor or Alderman. In numbers the Aldermen must amount to a quarter of the whole Council. The Councillors are directly elected in districts called wards by the registered electors of the borough (including unmarried or widowed women occupiers) for a term of three years, one-third retiring annually.

Practically all the officers from the Town Clerk downwards are, without the necessity for sanction or approval by any superior

authority, appointed by or under authority from the Town Council, which pays their salaries or wages, and through its various committees supervises and directs their work. The Town Council is thus, through its several committees, at once the Local Police Authority, the Local Health Authority, the Local Education Authority, the Local Pensions Authority, the Local Housing Authority, the Local Hospital Authority, the Local Lunacy Authority, the Local Unemployment Authority, the Local Highway Authority, the Local Authority for Markets and the supervision of the food supply, for cemeteries and the burial of the dead, for allotments and small holdings, for baths and washhouses, for public libraries and museums, and for fire protection; usually also the local authority for the common supply of water, light, heat, and power, and occasionally also the local port, dock, or harbour authority.

THE COUNTY COUNCIL.

Outside the County Borough, the organisation of the Local Government is less simple, but not essentially different. Apart from London, which has to be separately described, the power and duties which the County Borough Council concentrates in itself are everywhere shared between the County Council and certain minor local authorities for smaller areas. The County Council, dating from 1888, consists of a Chairman, Aldermen, and Councillors, the number of Councillors being fixed by the Local Government Board. The Councillors are elected in county divisions, by all occupiers, for a term of three years; the Councillors then co-opt Aldermen for a term of six years, one-half of whom retire triennially, but are eligible for reappointment. The County Council freely elects its own Chairman, either from its own membership, or from outside, appoints its own staff (including now the Clerk of the Peace, the County Coroners, and the County Medical Officer), has general responsibility over the whole county (outside the County Boroughs, and allowing for a certain measure of local autonomy in the lesser bodies about to be described) for the education of all grades through its partly co-opted Education Committee; the provision of small holdings by its Small Holdings Committee; the provision for lunatics and mentally defectives through its Asylum and Mentally Defectives Committees; the supervision of the public health through its Public Health Committee; the upkeep of the county bridges and main roads through its Bridges and Highways Committees; the administration of Old Age Pensions through its largely co-opted Pensions Committee; the administration of the National Insurance Act through its largely co-opted Insurance Committee; the county police through the Standing Joint Committee, of which the Justices of the Peace in Quarter Sessions appoint half the members, and now the determination of supplementary allowances and other provision for dependants of soldiers and sailors and disabled men through the largely co-opted War Allowances Committee. These committees, which the County Council fills, wholly or partly, by its own chosen members, have in most cases statutory powers and duties largely independent of any revision by the County Council itself. Through its Finance Committee the County Council controls the finances and levies the County Rate, which is collected, along with the rates or "precepts" of the other authorities that we shall describe, by the local rate collectors as part of the Poor Rate.

THE URBAN SANITARY AUTHORITIES.

The local bodies, more or less subordinate to the County Council, with which it shares its various powers and duties are, in the first place, the Local Sanitary Authorities, with whom the general administration of each locality rests. These are either urban or rural. The towns and thickly populated districts within each county (but outside the County Boroughs already described) are classed as either Non-County Boroughs or Urban Districts. Those which are Boroughs have Mayors and Town Councils identical in constitution with the County Boroughs. Those which are not Boroughs have Urban District Councils, which are elected annually or triennially by all male and female occupiers, together with owners and lodgers who are Parliamentary electors. There is, in fact, very little practical difference to-day between a Non-County Borough and an Urban District. The governing body of the former, called a Town Council, elects a Mayor, selects one-fourth of its number as Aldermen, appoints a Town Clerk, and levies what is called a Borough Rate under the Municipal Corporations Act. An Urban District Council elects a Chairman, appoints only a Clerk, and has no Aldermen or other co-opted members. Both alike derive their principal functions and powers from the Public Health Acts, and levy what is called a General District Rate. Both have generally the same powers of appointing officers, though their titles may differ. The Non-County Borough administers the Shops Acts, which for Urban Districts under 20,000 population are administered by the County Council. The Non-County Borough may, in certain circumstances, have the privilege of maintaining its own police force instead of contributing to the county constabulary (though half of the Non-County Boroughs do not in fact do so), whilst the Urban District never has its own police. The Non-County Borough has its own Auditors, two elected by the burgesses and one appointed by the Mayor, who have little power except to reveal things to public criticism, whilst the Urban District has its accounts audited by the officers of the Local Government Board, who have power to surcharge. A few Boroughs, County as well as Non-County, have also been made subject to this provision. The Non-County Borough may claim to administer its own elementary schools if its population in 1901 exceeded 10,000, whereas the Urban District does not secure this privilege unless its population at that census reached 20,000. According to statute a Borough may get a stipendiary magistrate appointed merely by offering to pay the necessary salary, nominally irrespective of its population; but this privilege can only be granted to an Urban District (and would, in practice, only be conceded to a Borough) when its population has reached 25,000.

THE RURAL PARISH.

In the rural parts of the county there is, in every parish of over 300 inhabitants and in many smaller places, a Parish Council popularly elected, with a Parish Meeting at least yearly. Where there is no Parish Council there is always a Parish Meeting. The Parish Council and Parish Meeting have power to discuss all parish affairs and make complaints, light the village, improve its water supply, prevent nuisances, hire land for allotments, maintain footpaths, appoint overseers, manage the parish property, and conduct baths and wash-houses or a public library, acquire a burial ground, provide public

recreation grounds or a fire engine, with authority, without seeking any outside sanction, to levy a compulsory rate, which, though legally restricted, is usually found in practice to allow more expenditure than the Parish Councils actually attain.

THE RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL.

But the Parish Council does not stand alone. Above the Parish Council and below the County Council is the Rural District Council, the members of which are also the members of the Board of Guardians in respect of the parts of the union that are not Boroughs or Urban Districts. Thus, the Rural District Council is directly elected by all occupiers, like the Urban District Council or Town Council, but its members are chosen principally for another purpose; the District Council meeting, usually held at the close of the Board of Guardians' meeting, interests them slightly; and the staff of the Council (with the exception of the District Surveyor)—generally officers appointed for Poor Law work—are seldom adequate to, or expert in, the diverse duties thus imposed on them. In some places, however, the Rural District Council takes a very proper view of the importance of its work, and finds it then of considerable magnitude. The Rural District Council is responsible for the maintenance of the public health; for drainage, prevention of nuisances, and water supply; for the care of all but the main roads; for the provision of hospitals and dispensaries, and for housing. It has practically unlimited powers of rating, of which it usually makes the smallest possible use; and it may also enact bye-laws and regulations which the inhabitants are required, under penalty, to obey.

THE PROMOTION OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

This series of local governing bodies from the Parish Meeting right up to the Council of the County Borough has its own system of promotion from grade to grade, granted upon application to the County Council, Local Government Board, Home Office, Privy Council, or Parliament, as the several authorities need and desire additional powers and dignity. Thus, the small parish which finds the Parish Meeting inadequate for its government may gain from the County Council the privilege of having a Parish Council; the Parish Council may press the Local Government Board to grant to the District Council, by a Parish Committee, the right to exercise this or that "urban power" conferred by the Public Health Acts on urban districts, and, as its area becomes more and more built over and populous, may eventually get either its whole district, or the specially urban part of it, in which there is a population of at least a couple of thousand in houses closely contiguous, equipped with an Urban District Council. If the area is identical, the Parish Council will be superseded by this latter body, which can look after its own sanitation, highways, and housing free from the interference of the Rural District Council. For the Rural District Council, destined in this way periodically to lose the most populous parts of its territory, there is the alternative of asking permission of the Local Government Board to exercise, over those parts of its wide area which are becoming urban in character, one after another of the "urban powers" already referred to, or any of the powers of a Parish Council, levying upon the localities concerned the cost of the extra administration thus afforded to them.

As the Urban District Council grows it may apply to the Privy Council to be granted a charter as a municipal Corporation, a request not usually acceded to until the population reaches at least 10,000 or 20,000, when it will become a Non-County Borough, with a Town Council, Aldermen, and a Mayor; its Clerk will become a Town Clerk, and its District Surveyor Borough Surveyor, but their powers and duties will not be essentially changed. A Non-County Borough may, however, as its population increases, obtain increasing autonomy in various respects. Not unless it had in 1901 a population of 10,000 can it claim from the County Council the management of its own elementary schools, the provision for its own defective children, or the making of its own bye-laws as to school attendance and children's employment; not until it attains 20,000 will it have its own Pensions Committee, nor can it claim to have a District Insurance Committee appointed for its area. A Non-County Borough having in 1881 fewer than 10,000 inhabitants—there are just over a hundred such—is not permitted to have its own police force; a Borough is, indeed, strongly discouraged from trying to get free from the county constabulary until it grows much larger, but when a certain undefined magnitude and importance have been reached (at least 20,000 population) the Home Secretary will yield to its importunity, and eventually allow it not only its own police force, but also its own Justices or Commission of the Peace, its own Court of Quarter Sessions for the trial of offenders, with a Recorder and a Clerk of the Peace, and even its own Stipendiary Magistrate, for whom it will provide a suitable salary.

When the population of a Non-County Borough exceeds 50,000 it may have its own Distress Committee under the Unemployed Workmen Act, and its own War Allowances Committee under the War Pensions Act, 1915. On attaining this magnitude it may put forward a claim to be promoted by Local Government Board Provisional Order, needing confirmation by statute, to the full status of County Borough, which involves its becoming free from any supervision or control by the County Council. It will then have power to deal with its own lunatics and mentally defectives, its own education, secondary, technical, and university, as well as elementary; if it is not already doing so, and if outside the Metropolitan police area, it will begin to manage its own police. It will be entirely independent as regards public health, it will cease to pay to the County Rate, it will receive direct from the Exchequer its own grants in aid, and it will have the duty of making up its own deficiencies exclusively by its own rate.

THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL.

The Local Government of London, a city unique in size, has naturally its own peculiarities. There is a County Council—of 118 elected members and 19 co-opted Aldermen—elected on practically the same franchise (except that lodgers and freeholders can also vote) and for the same term as the Councils of other counties, but with very different powers. The functions of the London County Council are, in fact, more like those of the Council of a gigantic County Borough than those of the Council of a rural county. It administers the whole of the education of the Metropolis, together with the whole of the tramway service; it maintains the main drainage system, the fire brigade, the Thames embankments, bridges (except those of the City Corporation), tunnels, and ferries; the

extensive parks and open spaces; it executes street improvements and administers the Building Acts; it licenses the theatres and music halls, common lodging-houses, servants' registry offices and noxious trades; it provides lunatic asylums, inebriate homes, and reformatory schools.

Unlike the ordinary County Borough Council, however, the London County Council has nothing to do with the police, the stipendiary magistrates, or the police courts, or with the licensing of cabs and omnibuses, which are managed by the subordinate departments of the Home Office; with the water supply, which is in the hands of the Metropolitan Water Board; with the isolation hospitals and asylums for imbeciles, which are maintained by the Metropolitan Asylums Board; with the river that runs through the city, or its docks, which are controlled by the Port of London Authority; or with the paving, cleaning, and lighting of the streets, the house drainage and removal of refuse, and the ordinary work of a Local Sanitary Authority (all of which are looked after by the 28 Metropolitan Borough Councils, lesser local bodies unknown in any other city), and the Corporation of the City of London.

(See, for every possible information about London government, the very valuable volume published annually by the L.C.C., entitled "London Statistics.")

THE METROPOLITAN BOROUGH COUNCILS.

These 28 Metropolitan Borough Councils have Councillors elected triennially in wards by the same electors as the London County Council, these elected Councillors choosing Aldermen for six years to the extent of one-sixth of their number, one-half of such Aldermen retiring triennially. These Metropolitan Borough Councils have not the same independence and authority as the Councils of Municipal Boroughs (they are, for instance, subject to Local Government Board audit), but they are the Local Sanitary Authorities for their districts; they are responsible for the streets and for sanitation; they provide the libraries, the baths and washhouses, and the burial grounds; they have power to enforce the laws against overcrowding, food adulteration, excessive smoke, nuisances, and insanitary conditions. They have concurrent powers with the London County Council as regards housing, etc. They manage the valuation for the assessment of rates, and the whole business of collecting the rates for all the other London bodies, which issue "precepts" on them for their requirements, as well as for themselves.

THE CITY CORPORATION.

The place of the 29th Metropolitan Borough is filled by the old Corporation of the City of London, which has all these powers and more. For its one square mile (with a sleeping population of less than 20,000) it has its own police force, independent of Home Office control. It supports its own lunatics and reformatory schools. It maintains the city bridges. It has power to deal with its own housing problem. It administers extensive trust funds. Alone among English local governing bodies it claims to exercise immemorial powers not derived from any Act of Parliament. It has its own petty debt courts (the Lord Mayor's Court and the City of London Court), and its own police courts held daily at the Guildhall and the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor and by the Aldermen sitting in turn.

The city electors choose annually in 26 wards 206 Common Councillors. Each ward elects also an Alderman for life. The Common Councillors, the Aldermen, and the Lord Mayor for the time being form the Court of Common Council. The Aldermen, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor for the time being, form the Court of Aldermen, which is the only surviving example in England of a municipal second chamber. The Lord Mayor is chosen annually by the Court of Aldermen from among two of its own members (usually, but not necessarily, the one of longest standing who has not already "passed the chair"), who have been formally nominated for this purpose by the Court of Common Hall, an assembly of all the "liverymen" members of the City Companies (those much-changed survivors of the ancient Gilds), which also elects the two Sheriffs, the City Chamberlain or Treasurer, and some other corporate officers. Many other quaint peculiarities distinguish the government of this unique one square mile out of London's 120 square miles.

FEDERALISM IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Some of the local governing authorities for general municipal purposes form federal unions for particular services. Thus, the County Council of Lancashire and the Councils of all County Boroughs geographically within that county (together with Stockport) unite in the Lancashire Lunacy Board, consisting of representatives from each of them, for the purpose of joint provision for lunatics. Various other unions of County Boroughs and Counties exist for this purpose. There are similarly joint Hospital Boards, joint Water Boards, joint Drainage Boards, and joint Rivers Boards, of different counties, boroughs, and urban districts.

The water supply of London and many neighbouring districts, including an area of nearly 800 square miles, is in the hands of the Metropolitan Water Board, a body made up of representatives from the County, Borough, and District Councils concerned.

For certain functions, notably the administration of the ports, the conservancy of rivers, the protection of low-lying land from floods, and the supervision of fisheries, special areas of administration are required, and special bodies have, therefore, been established. Most of the ports and harbours are under the administration of separate Port Authorities, independent of the municipal organisation. Thus, the Port of London Authority, with 27 million pounds of capital, and a revenue from tolls and fees of £1,400,000, which controls the Thames from Teddington to the Nore, including all the docks from the Tower to Tilbury, is a board of 32 members, chosen mainly by the payers of dock dues, shipowners, barge owners, and wharfingers, with four representatives of the Government, four of the London County Council, two of the City Corporation, one of the Trinity House—the foregoing including several appointed to represent the dock labourers and stevedores.

The scarcely less important estuary of the Mersey, with all the docks of Liverpool, is administered by the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, elected by the payers of dock dues, with representatives appointed by the Government and the Liverpool City Council. There are Conservancy Boards charged with the protection of the water from sewage or manufacturing pollution, the prevention of floods, and the maintenance of navigation for various rivers. Thus the Thames

from Cricklade to Teddington is under the Thames Conservancy Board, a body composed mainly of representatives of the riparian local authorities.

COURTS OF SEWERS AND FISHERY BOARDS.

In about 300 low-lying districts there are bodies of Commissioners of Sewers, often of great antiquity, nominally appointed by the Crown, but practically renewing themselves by co-option, frequently with special statutory powers of their own, which are responsible for maintaining embankments and preventing floodings. These have usually power to levy rates only up to a fixed limit and only on the lands benefited by their work. Round the English coasts we find eleven fishery districts under a central board, appointed by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, charged with the making of regulations for the protection of the local sea and river fisheries and the execution of works for their improvement.

POOR LAW AUTHORITIES.

Parallel with the complete organisation of what may be called the main scheme of municipal government described above there survives in England and Wales from the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 an equally complete organisation for a single public function, the Board of Guardians, with its own separate offices and premises, having the duty of providing, by its own paid staff, for the destitute poor. The administrative area of the Board of Guardians is the Poor Law Union, usually a congeries of mixed urban and rural parishes, having frequently no relation to other areas of municipal government, and in most cases not identical with them. The Board of Guardians is elected, usually triennially, by practically the same electorate as the County, Borough, or Parish Councillors, but has no connection with the rest of the Local Government, and is often not even in close communication with it. In marked contrast with what we have called the municipal government of parish, district, borough, or county, which is charged generally with doing all that the locality requires, the Board of Guardians is restricted to a single function, that of the "relief of destitution," which it carries out partly in so-called "workhouses," infirmaries for the sick, homes or asylums for the aged and the feeble-minded, and schools for the children, partly by the services of a medical staff, and partly by its doles of "outdoor relief." Whilst the municipal authority provides its public services for citizens as such—whether the service be infant protection, schooling, hospitals for the sick, asylums for the mentally defective, work for the unemployed, pensions for the aged, paved and lighted streets, parks and libraries, baths and washhouses, tramways, or fire protection for all—the destitution authority deals only with those infants, children, sick or mentally defective persons, able-bodied unemployed, or old persons who are technically "destitute," and only for the period during which they are destitute. Whereas no disability or disgrace is attached to taking advantage of what is provided by the municipal authority, anything done by the Poor Law Authority carries with it nearly always the stigma of pauperism and generally certain legal disabilities.

The organisation of this destitution authority is relatively simple and uniform. In every union area, whether London or provincial,

town or country, the Board of Guardians stands in immediate relation to the paupers below and to the Local Government Board above. But there are certain federal groupings of unions and their Boards of Guardians into larger units of area and administration. These federations, which are always for specific purposes, are administered by joint boards, to which the various constituent Boards of Guardians appoint representatives. Thus the 30 Boards of Guardians of London combine to form the Metropolitan Asylums Board, which, by a curious anomaly, maintains the isolation hospitals for London for pauper and non-pauper alike, and also the asylums for imbeciles (as distinguished from lunatics). This body, by exception, has among its members 18 nominated by the Local Government Board, and is practically subject to the control of that Government Department. In various parts of the country other Boards of Guardians have combined for the provision of joint institutions for the children, the sick, or the mentally defective.

RELATION OF NATIONAL TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

It is remarkable how little the National Government, for all that it has some 300,000 officials (apart from Army and Navy), appears in the various districts of the local governing authorities. Outside London, where we see in the centre of the metropolis the great offices of the different Government Departments, it is only with an effort that we recall the existence of those whom we call specifically Civil Servants. The National Government appears up and down the country in (a) its Post Office officials; (b) its Customs and Excise staff; (c) its Inland Revenue officers for Income Tax, stamps, etc.; (d) its inspectors, who report to it about education, the enforcement of the law as to factories and workshops, mines, railways and trade boards, health insurance, cattle diseases, and Local Government generally; (e) its Labour Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance and Trade Board officers; (f) its mercantile marine offices and shipping officers; (g) in some places its coastguard stations, its forts, its ships of war, its barracks for troops, its recruiting depôts, and its officers commanding. None of these has any authority over the Town Council and its work; nor (with the recent exception of the member of the Excise Department who acts as inquiry officer to the Pensions Committee) have they usually any necessary contact with either the municipal government or the Poor Law administration, except in so far as the inspectors of the several central departments inquire into or watch over the work of the branches in which they are interested. The entirely separate organisation and the uncontrolled responsibility of local municipal authorities for their own day-by-day local administration is a cardinal feature of English government.

In connection with two subjects, however, which might be supposed to fall within the sphere of Local Government—the administration of justice (including the maintenance of prisons) and the licensing of the sale of alcoholic drink—the central executive has either a large measure of control or the exclusive appointment of the local administrators, who exercise such control.

THE COUNTY JUSTICES.

The representative of the Crown in the county, so far as regards the execution of justice and the protection of the rights of the

Exchequer, is nominally the High Sheriff, who is "pricked" or appointed annually by the Chancellor of the Exchequer from a list of substantial landowners in the county, which is prepared by the Judges of Assize. But the functions of the High Sheriff have become little more than ceremonial. The Judges of Assize come down to the county twice a year on their circuits, and "deliver" the gaols by trying all those committed for trial, and the various paid officers of the courts look after the fines belonging to the Exchequer. The titular head of each county is the Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum (keeper of the records), filling an office of great dignity and antiquity, once of great importance, but now exercising only the function of appointing Deputy Lieutenants, whose office is purely honorary. He is still, however, largely influential in filling the "Commission of the Peace" for the county. This is made up of the Justices of the Peace, unpaid magistrates, who are appointed nominally by the King, actually by the Lord Chancellor (in Lancashire by the Chancellor of the Duchy), practically on the suggestion of the Lord Lieutenant, assisted by a small Advisory Committee named by him for this purpose. The Justices of the Peace sit as magistrates in Petty and Quarter Sessions, where they administer justice. They formerly managed all the business of the county, but in 1878 the administration of the prisons was transferred to the Prisons Commissioners, a subordinate department of the Home Office; and in 1888 nearly all their other administrative duties were transferred to the newly formed County Councils. The Justices of each county in Quarter Sessions assembled nominate half the members of the Standing Joint Committee (the County Council appointing the other half), which controls the County Constabulary. The Justices sitting in special licensing sessions exercise the important function of licensing the public-houses and beershops. But though appointed by the Crown, the Lord Lieutenant, the High Sheriff, and the Justices are far from being submissive agents of the central bureaucracy. In fact, they act, almost always, as representatives of the county, sometimes even stiffneckedly in resistance to what they consider encroachments upon local liberties.

SCOTLAND.

The functions of Local Government are very much the same in Scotland as in England and Wales, but there are differences in structure and nomenclature. Thus, while we may usually assume what is said for England and Wales in the matter of actual work performed to hold good for Scotland also, it must be remembered that the functioning bodies are not the same, either in designation, in historical development, in statutory origin, in composition, in the method of election, in powers, in demarcation of work, or in appurtenances.

The Scottish system in the Municipal Burghs is that the Provost—equivalent to Mayor—and the Bailies—equivalent to Aldermen—must be first elected as Councillors in the ordinary way, and are afterwards appointed to their respective offices by the Council. From the electoral point of view, their status is the common status of Councillor. The Provost, the head of the municipality, holds office for three years. The Bailies, during their term of office (which lasts only to the date at which they would retire as Councillors) are magistrates, and as

such sit in the police courts. In towns of over 7,000 they constitute the licensing bench.

The Chairmen of Committees of the Council are termed Conveners, except only the Dean of Guild, Chairman of the Dean of Guild Court, by which the Building Acts are administered, which is at once a Committee of the Council and an ancient court of the realm. This outline of structure applies to the three general types of Scottish burghs—the Royal Burghs, the Parliamentary Burghs, and the Police Burghs. Royal Burghs are ancient municipalities, frequently of small population, which were created by Royal Charter. Parliamentary Burghs are those which, under the Reform Act of 1832, received the right of sending members to Parliament. Police Burghs consist of towns of 7,000 and upwards, formed under the Police Acts.

The Town Council is the plenary authority in all matters of Local Government, save two. Elementary education is everywhere under the control of the **School Boards**; in burghs the administration of the Poor Law (and that alone) is under the **Parish Council**. These single-function bodies are usually termed *ad hoc* authorities.*

The County Council, on which, together with the Landward Parish Councils, there falls the governance of the county, is elected under the same general system as the Town and Parish Council. The Chairman is termed the Convener, and there is no other honorary office.

The School Board, of which there is nearly always one for each parish, however small, is elected *en bloc* for a term of three years on the cumulative vote system.

IRELAND.

Local Government in Ireland follows generally on the lines of that in England and Wales, having nearly the same structure, functions, and nomenclature, but usually subject to more supervising and controlling powers in the hands of the Local Government Board at Dublin. There are only five County Boroughs. Along with the smaller boroughs (called "absorbed boroughs") and urban districts, there are still some towns under bodies of Commissioners, for which the County Council levies the rates. There are no Parish Councils or Parish Meetings, and outside the towns the whole local administration is in the hands of the Rural District Councils. Above them stand the 32 County Councils, which (besides their own duties) levy the rates required by the Rural District Councils. All the expenses of Local Government in Ireland, in so far as they are levied on the ratepayers, are included in the one "Poor Rate," which is levied by the County Councils. The relief of the poor, together with the administration of the free service of medical treatment (which is not part of the Poor Law, and is available for non-paupers), is in the hands of the Boards of Guardians, who are the same persons as the Rural District Councillors. There are no School Boards or Local Education Authorities, the schools being under managers, and supervised direct from Dublin. The franchise for all local authorities in Ireland is the same as for Parliament, except that peers and women occupiers are

* It should be made clear that, while the Parish Council inside the burgh is an *ad hoc* authority, the Landward (that is, rural) Parish Council is not confined to the administration of the Poor Law, and is, therefore, a general authority.

not disqualified. Clergymen cannot be elected to any body. A woman is, since 1911, not disqualified by sex or marriage from being a Councillor or Alderman.

SUMMARY OF STATISTICS.

Altogether more than 25,000 separate local authorities are known to the Local Government Board for England and Wales; several thousands more to the corresponding Boards for Scotland and Ireland, making a total for the United Kingdom of about 30,000. The number varies slightly from year to year owing to amalgamations and divisions. They have in their direct employment over 600,000 persons—over two-thirds men and less than one-third women—and cities like Glasgow and Manchester have each over 20,000 employees on their municipal pay rolls, representing one in six or seven of all the households. They have a total revenue, apart from loans, of nearly £160,000,000. Something like 50 millions a year come from public property and reproductive public undertakings. Thirty millions come from Government grants, and are thus simply drawn from national revenues. Eighty millions have to be levied in rates. Of the total expenditure of £160,000,000, apart from expenditure out of loans, something like 35 millions go for education, 19 millions for poor relief and lunacy, nearly as much for highways, eight millions for police, and five millions for sewerage, whilst the public undertakings (including gas, water, electricity, tramways, harbours and docks) cost, including interest and sinking fund on the municipal capital thus invested, about 45 millions. General administration and miscellaneous items account for the balance.

The capital thus administered by the local authorities, represented by the public undertakings already mentioned, together with other land and buildings in use for public objects, is estimated at more than £1,000,000,000, or perhaps one-fifteenth of the aggregate capital wealth of the kingdom. Against this stands the indebtedness of local authorities, now amounting to about £600,000,000, two-thirds of it being for reproductive public undertakings which produce a net revenue more than equal to the charge for interest and sinking fund.

For further information on Local Government, see Fabian Tracts 62, 68, 71, 76, 122, 125, 134, 137, 145, 149, 154, 156, 172, 173, etc.; the historical and descriptive manuals of the whole system, by Dr. Blake Odgers, Percy Ashley, E. Jenks, and R. C. Maxwell. "The Municipal Year Book" affords a mass of statistical information. For Town and District Councils, see "The Municipal Manual," by A. E. Lauder; for District Councils, see "District Councils: a Concise Guide to their Powers and Duties," by H. D. Cornish; for Parish Councils, see "Practical Ready Reference Guide to Parish Councils and Parish Meetings," by J. H. Stone and J. G. Pease. The best single book on the relation between the local and central authorities is "Local and Central Government," by Percy Ashley; or, on the financial side, "Grants in Aid," by Sidney Webb, and "National and Local Finance," by J. W. Grice. The best books on the historical and constitutional development are "The Parish and the County" and "The Manor and the Borough," both by S. and B. Webb, and "Local Government in England," by J. Redlich and F. W. Hirst.

For Scotland, see "Local Government in Scotland," by Mabel Atkinson. For special subjects, see under the several heads.

THE FUNCTIONS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

The work done by these 30,000 separate local authorities is bewildering in its extent and its variety. We can deal only with the principal functions.

THE CARE OF THE CHILDREN.

By far the most important function of the local authorities, as it is the most costly and the most onerous in administration, is the one that they did not assume until less than half-a-century ago, namely, Education.

In England the School Board (which was established under the Act of 1870 and abolished by those of 1902 and 1903) was commonly understood to have as its task one form only of child development, namely, education of the mind. Only in the legislation of the past decade do we find at all clearly the conception that the Local Education Authority is concerned as definitely and as directly with the body of the child as with the mind; and that that which it ought to prevent, with regard to the children of school age within the district, is not illiteracy alone, but every form of neglect likely to impair their healthy development. "It is cheaper," observes Sir Lauder Brunton, "to spend pence on children than pounds on paupers." This statutory transformation of the Local Education Authority, by the Acts of 1902-3, from a mere scholastic agency into the local organ of the community for nearly all that concerns the child of school age, is not yet commonly appreciated.

The first "education authority" in England was the Parish Overseer, who (under the Elizabethan Poor Law) had to "set to work" and apprentice all orphans or neglected children. The Poor Law Authority remained the only "Local Education Authority" down to 1870. By the Elementary Education Acts, 1870 to 1911 (which badly need codifying), it is now the statutory duty of the Local Education Authority to provide and maintain in efficiency enough elementary schools for all the children of school age resident within its district, and to take whatever steps it deems desirable to supply or aid the supply of every other grade of education, including secondary and university, day and evening, with or without board and residence. It must, in particular, deal suitably with mentally defective children, and supply efficient education for all blind and deaf children up to the age of 16. It must make arrangements to search out every child within its district liable to attend school and secure its attendance. It must arrange for the periodical medical inspection of all children in attendance at all the public elementary schools, provided and non-provided, so as to become cognisant of the physical condition of every child.

WHAT THE EDUCATION AUTHORITY MAY DO.

So much is statutorily obligatory on every Local Education Authority, and to the Board of Education is committed the responsibility for seeing that all these duties are performed, as a condition precedent to its paying over any grant in aid. But the Local Education Authority has also large optional powers. It may, if it

thinks fit, provide throughout its district anything whatever that can be included within the term education, without restriction of age, sex, kind, grade, subject, or amount. Subject to any necessary sanction by the Board of Education, the Local Education Authority may, in particular, establish and maintain residential boarding schools for children or hostels for adult students; it may establish and maintain day feeding schools, vacation schools, and open-air schools; it may provide for criminal children, for truant children, for children suffering from serious parental neglect; it may give in all its day schools, even on Sundays and holidays, meals for necessitous children; it may establish and maintain school clinics, or otherwise provide medical attendance to all the children requiring it. It may appoint not teachers alone, but doctors and nurses, and any other officers necessary to its work. There is no statutory limit to its expenditure in the aggregate (though there is on some items), and it rests only with the members of the Council to put the law in force.

For the complete performance of these duties Parliament has endeavoured to ensure that the Local Education Authority shall have daily under the eyes of its officers, as a matter of course, practically the whole child population under its jurisdiction. This puts the Local Education Authority (and that authority alone) in a position to take notice of the first patent beginnings of neglect in any of its forms, but only so far as children of school age are concerned. Efficient elementary education is compulsory for all children, and attendance at an efficient school is compulsory for all within the school age (fixed by bye-laws, but not beyond the statutory limits of 5 and 14) who have no reasonable excuse for non-attendance.

SCHOOL EXEMPTION.

"Partial exemption" (popularly known as "half-time") may be allowed by local bye-laws, approved by the Board of Education and subject to conditions as to educational proficiency or previous due attendance, at 12 or upwards, and for children to be employed in agriculture at as young as 11. Total exemption may be allowed subject to similar conditions for all children at 12, except those above referred to, who cannot obtain total exemption till 13. Blind, deaf, dumb, and defective or epileptic children are required to receive instruction up to 16, and are not entitled to total or partial exemption before that age. The local authority may, within statutory limits, restrict by bye-laws, to be approved by the Home Secretary, the employment of children of school age outside school hours. The Factory and Workshop Acts forbid the employment in factories and workshops of children unless they have satisfied the requirements of those Acts as to attendance at school, or unless they continue to attend school half time. (See also Part II.)

The administration of the law is committed in England and Wales to the Local Education Authority, which is generally the same Council that administers the other Local Government services. The Council is in all cases required to appoint an Education Committee, which may include a minority of co-opted members and must contain some persons of educational experience and at least one woman. The Council must consult this Committee, and may delegate to it as much as it likes of the work, except the raising of a rate or the borrowing of money. Everywhere there must be voluntary

"managers" for each non-provided school, and, in administrative counties, for each provided school. In London and elsewhere similar voluntary machinery is made use of also for every evening continuation school, secondary school, and training college.

ARE ALL THE CHILDREN CARED FOR?

The children of school age in Great Britain (with the exception of the children of canal boat men, of a few of the travelling showmen, of some gipsies, and of habitual vagrants), so far as regards those of families under about £150 a year, as well as an increasing proportion of families above that income, are now almost all on the school registers, or at any rate on the school attendance officers' lists, and thus actually within the purview of the Local Education Authority. The attendance of nine-tenths of the children is surprisingly regular, whilst even the one-tenth, who are frequently absent, are nearly all at school on one-half or two-thirds of the days that it is open. Systematic medical inspection now takes place nearly everywhere, though as yet often to a very limited extent, and any child suffering from neglect in any form can be thus specially examined. But we are still far from the position of preventing child neglect. It is in England and Wales not obligatory on the Local Education Authority to take action, though it is obligatory on the School Board in Scotland. It is not yet clear how far the Local Education Authority in England and Wales can spend money on enforcing its requirements on negligent parents. We are now officially informed by the Board of Education that, of the six million children in the public elementary schools, "about 10 per cent. suffer from serious defect in vision, from 3 to 5 per cent. suffer from defective hearing, 1 to 3 per cent. have suppurating ears, 8 per cent. have adenoids or enlarged tonsils of sufficient degree to obstruct the nose or throat and to require surgical treatment, 20 to 40 per cent. suffer from extensive and injurious decay of teeth, 40 per cent. have unclean heads, about 1 per cent. suffer from ringworm, 1 per cent. are affected with tuberculosis of readily recognisable form, and $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 per cent. are afflicted with heart disease." Steps are everywhere being taken to remedy these defects. Various authorities have now set up complete school clinics, and several have even well-organised dental clinics, whilst there are many voluntary school clinics which the Local Education Authority aids in one way or another. Nearly all the authorities now provide medical attendance, and are seeing that the children get spectacles where necessary. Nearly all the towns in England and Wales have arrangements for providing meals for those in need of food, and 420,000 children were last year so fed. Other forms of neglect are provided against, here and there, by the use of day industrial schools (where the children of parents unable or unwilling to provide proper parental supervision can be kept all day, properly fed and looked after, without breaking up the family), or by the residential schools, to which children can be admitted voluntarily as well as by order of a magistrate.

With regard to (a) promoting the attendance of children at continuation schools, and (b) directing them into suitable situations, many Local Education Authorities are now beginning to take action, in more or less intimate relation with the Labour Exchanges, and joint committees are being formed with this object in connection with every "special school" and every secondary school and training

college. In London and many other towns there is also a voluntary "Children's Care Committee" or "School Canteen Committee," made up of men and women who devote much time to (a) supervising the arrangements as to weakly or ailing children, (b) managing the supply of meals, and (c) visiting the homes. There are also committees for "country holiday" funds, for the provision of spectacles, boots, etc., for "after-care," for apprenticeship, etc.

THE SCOTTISH SCHOOL BOARDS.

In Scotland the local authority remains, as in 1872, the School Board, elected *ad hoc* for each parish or burgh. There are 970 Boards, of which 82 are for combinations of small parishes. Election is triennial and on the cumulative vote system. The larger Boards work through committees, but the great majority are for relatively small masses of child population, and accordingly deal directly with their business. There is no area of the country uncovered by a School Board.

In Scotland the law is much the same as in England, but the following particular points of difference may be noted :—

1. The provision of meals, clothing, boots, and personal attention is not left optional to the Local Education Authorities, but is a duty which must be performed if the parents or guardians are unable through poverty or ill-health to attend to the matter, provided always that the resources of voluntary agencies are first exhausted.

2. On the other hand, though medical inspection is a duty of the local authority, medical treatment is not yet even a power.

3. The Local Education Authority, which in Scotland is the School Board, has not the same range of control over all grades of education as in England. This duty of general co-ordination is exercised to a considerable extent by Secondary Education Committees, appointed by the County Councils.

SECONDARY EDUCATION COMMITTEES.

The Education (Scotland) Act, 1908, defines the various duties and confers the various powers appropriate to the extended conception of education referred to above. It has also sanctioned a comprehensive re-arrangement of various grants previously in force and instituted the "Education Fund" for the general promotion of all grades of education. This fund is administered through the Secondary Education Committees.

The Secondary Education Committee, which is found in each county and in certain of the larger burghs, is appointed by Minute of the Scotch Education Department. Each Committee is made up of representatives of the various educational bodies in the area—School Boards, Managers of Secondary Schools, governing bodies of central institutions, etc.—and of the local authority (Town or County Council). There are 37 such Committees. They have no power of rating. School managers practically do not yet exist, although they are sanctioned by the Act of 1872. In Edinburgh Local Care Committees are, however, in course of establishment.

The voluntary schools are in a much lesser relation to the Local Education Authority than in England, but the local authority does

enforce attendance, must provide medical inspection, must deal with child neglect, may provide books and apparatus in such schools.

In Scotland the number of children on the rolls of public schools is 714,899, of voluntary schools 109,770. The number of teachers is, in the former, approximately 16,678, in the latter 2,383.

PHYSICAL CARE.

The Act of 1908 provided for medical inspection and the systematic dealing with child neglect. In Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, Govan, Leith, and some other towns the problem is being vigorously attacked. The following lines of action may be mentioned: Searching out of children who are underfed, in need of boots or clothing, affected with vermin or dirt, or in want of medical treatment; warning and prosecuting the parents responsible for such neglect; dealing with all these types of neglect (except by medical treatment); extending and developing the continuation class system (bye-laws for compulsory attendance at such classes up to 17 years of age may be made); instituting employment agencies in conjunction with the Labour Exchanges, etc.

IRELAND.

In Ireland educational organisation is extremely backward. There are no Local Education Authorities, but elementary schools have managers, who are subsidised and supervised by Government departments (styled Boards) at Dublin.

School attendance has been made obligatory only in the towns and more populous parts of the country. Over a large part of Ireland it is still unnecessary for any child ever to enter a school, and legally permissible to set children of any age to work, or to employ them (outside a place that is a factory or workshop within the scope of the Factory Acts).

THE MAINTENANCE OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH AND THE CARE OF THE SICK.

After Education, the most important function of British Local Government is the maintenance of the Public Health and the care of the sick.

It is interesting to note that it was primarily in order to prevent destitution that the Local Health Authority in England was called into existence. It was as Secretary of the Poor Law Commission that Edwin Chadwick in 1838 drew the attention of the Government to the need for what we should now call Public Health powers, and described as "the most prominent and pressing" of all Poor Law reforms, "the means of averting the charges on the Poor Rates which are caused by nuisances by which contagion is generated and persons are reduced to destitution." From this impulse sprang the four great Reports of the Poor Law Commission on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population (1842), the Royal Commission on the Health of Towns (1842-5), the Removal of Nuisances Act of 1846, and the Public Health Act of 1848. Now it is the duty of the Local Health Authority to prevent all disease, however caused, in any part of the population.

PUBLIC HEALTH LAW.

By the Public Health Act of 1875 (for London, the Public Health Act of 1891), together with the Acts amending the same, Parliament has made it everywhere obligatory for a periodical inspection of the whole district to be made in order that no unhealthy conditions may be suffered to exist; for whatever sewers and house-drains are necessary to be compulsorily and universally provided and kept in a proper state; for every dwelling to be properly constructed, not overcrowded, and kept without any nuisance injurious to health; for the universal provision of at least a minimum of sanitary accommodation; for a proper water supply to every dwelling wherever this is reasonably practicable; for systematic removal of house refuse and filth, and the cleansing and disinfecting of any dwellings found to be in an unwholesome state; for the insistence upon special requirements to prevent disease with regard to all underground dwellings, common lodging-houses, houses let in tenements, factories and workshops, bakeries and slaughterhouses, and all unhealthy trades; and for steps to be taken to prevent the continuance anywhere or under any circumstances of any nuisance injurious to health. Wide powers of inspection and enforcement of sanitary conditions are given with regard to meat, milk, and other food, and for the making of bye-laws imposing sanitary regulations upon the whole population. Food is inspected at its source by Local Sanitary Authorities, and at its port of entry by Port Authorities; in its distribution by Local Sanitary Authorities and police. Births and infancy are looked after by Local Sanitary Authorities under the Midwives Act and by Health Visitors; health at school by Education Authorities; and health in factories and workshops by the Home Office and Local Sanitary Authorities. Extensive powers are given for the provision, at the public expense and for common use, of sewers, pavements, water supply, lighting, cleansing and scavenging of every description, public baths and washhouses, parks and open spaces, playgrounds, markets, mortuaries, cemeteries, sanitary conveniences, ambulances, disinfection places, hospitals (including out-patients' departments or dispensaries), for any or all diseases, and even (but only temporarily) a supply of medicine and medical assistance for the poorer inhabitants.

Similar powers as regards Scotland are contained in the Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1897, and the Burgh Police (Scotland) Acts, 1892 and 1903.

In Ireland the administration of the Health services is extremely backward, but the law is generally on the lines of that of England and Wales.

PUBLIC HEALTH PRACTICE.

So far as general words can go in statutory form, the powers available to prevent the occurrence of disease, and to deal with it effectively when it does occur, appear to be ample. There is no limitation to diseases regarded as infectious. There is no restriction to any class or age or sex. There is no limit to the expenditure that may be incurred. But experience proves the legal powers of the local authority to fall short, in this or that detail, at many points. Much of what is merely optional is not put in force. Even what is nominally obligatory and compulsory is, here and there, not in existence. Unfortunately few local authorities are even willing to make adequate use of the powers that they possess.

Everywhere in England and Wales the authority for putting the law in force is a Council directly elected by the ratepayers of its district (including women householders), either annually by thirds or triennially *en bloc*. This elected Council, referred to as the Local Health Authority, is, in all the 76 "County Boroughs," the entirely autonomous County Borough Council. In London the Public Health powers are shared between (a) the London County Council, (b) the Metropolitan Asylums Board, which is essentially a Public Health Authority, and (c) the City Corporation and the 28 Metropolitan Borough Councils. Outside London and the County Boroughs the County Council has now certain responsibilities and powers with regard to the health of the whole county. But, subject to a supervision by the County Council—which is, notwithstanding the provisions of the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1910, still somewhat vaguely defined—the Local Health Authority is the Council of either (a) the Non-County Borough, (b) the Urban District, or (c) the Rural District. In the service of every Local Health Authority (including now every county) there must be a qualified Medical Officer of Health, with whatever sanitary and administrative staff is necessary. The Local Health Authorities—apart from part payment of the salaries of the Medical Officer of Health and Inspectors of Nuisances in certain cases—receive from the Exchequer practically no grant in aid of their Public Health work. They can, however, now get up to 50 per cent. of their expenditure on schools for mothers or baby clinics from the Local Government Board. They are responsible to no Minister of Health, though their sanitary work is more or less supervised by the four or five separate divisions of the Local Government Board which deal with the subject.

HEALTH VISITORS.

In many towns in England, and in a few in Scotland, more or less elaborately organised voluntary agencies, working in conjunction with the Medical Officer of Health, exist. Over 300 towns have Health Visitors or Health Societies in active work, visiting (a) all notified births, (b) sometimes also houses where deaths are notified, and (c) following up cases discharged from hospital or specially reported. The number of Health Visitors definitely appointed by the local authority, paid out of the rates, and working under the M.O.H., now exceed 500. In addition, there are over 1,000 volunteer Health Visitors at work in nearly 100 different towns. There are now scores of municipal, and hundreds of voluntary baby clinics, usually acting more or less in co-operation with "schools for mothers" and the Medical Officer of Health.

WANTED, A PUBLIC HEALTH SURVEY.

No general survey of the Public Health service exists, and such a survey is badly needed. The 1,800 separate Local Health Authorities in England and the 313 in Scotland—which are, under the statutes, jointly responsible for preventing disease, and, therefore, for keeping the whole population in health—vary indefinitely in their activity. In some districts almost the only sign of a Public Health service is the payment of an annual fee of ten or 20 guineas to a local medical practitioner to walk through the part of Medical Officer of Health, and a corresponding fee (in England and Wales) to the Poor Law

Relieving Officer to pretend to be Inspector of Nuisances; and the whole Public Health expenditure of a Rural District Council responsible for the good health of tens of thousands of people sometimes does not exceed £100. At the other end of the scale stand cities like Liverpool and Manchester, where the Town Council provides elaborate drainage systems, water supply, parks and open spaces, baths and washhouses, workmen's dwellings, and municipal hospitals, whilst the Public Health Department is a highly organised and all-pervading influence, maintaining a vigilant supervision of the sanitary condition of the dwellings, the streets, the workplaces, and the food supply, and carrying on a persistent campaign not only against the ordinary notifiable zymotic diseases, but also against infantile mortality, tuberculosis, measles, whooping-cough, and the minor ailments of children at school. We know that the 1,800 Local Sanitary Authorities of England and Wales, together with the County Councils, have among them about 1,500 Medical Officers of Health, and that out of these about 350 (including those of London, the County Councils, and the County Boroughs) are salaried "full timers," whilst about 400 are private practitioners to whom the Local Health Authority pays a stipend of from £3 to £30 per annum. We know that out of these 1,800 Local Health Authorities only about 1,000 have any sort of hospital provision of their own for infectious diseases, and it is uncertain how many of the 700 without hospital accommodation can effectively secure isolation by arrangement with more energetic or more provident neighbours. We know that the 950 municipal hospitals have over 40,000 beds, or more than those provided in all the endowed or voluntary hospitals put together; that they must receive about 100,000 patients a year; that (as they can legally provide for all diseases, infectious or not) they are here and there widening the scope of their work, admitting patients suffering from accidents, from tuberculosis, from measles, from whooping-cough, and so on, and that they are beginning to open out-patients' departments or dispensaries (for tuberculosis, for ringworm, for various skin affections, etc.).

PUBLIC HEALTH IN SCOTLAND.

In Scotland, the local authorities, for the purposes of the administration of the Public Health Acts, are in counties (exclusive of burghs) the County Council where the county is not divided into districts, the District Committee where the county is divided into districts, and in burghs the Town Council. There are eight counties not divided into districts, 99 District Committees, and 206 burghs, making a total of 313 local authorities for 5,000,000 people. Each of these local authorities has a Medical Officer of Health and a Sanitary Inspector, and the Medical Officer of Health must possess a diploma in sanitary science, public health, or State medicine. An important fact is that no Medical Officer of Health or Sanitary Inspector can be removed from office except by or with the sanction of the Local Government Board for Scotland.

It should be noted that many of the smaller burghs have made arrangements by which they obtain the services of the County Medical Officer of Health and Sanitary Inspector, and practically all the District Committees have appointed the county officials to act also as their local officials. Uniformity of administration throughout the

county is thus, to a great extent, secured. In a few cases two counties have combined to appoint the same Medical Officer. In addition, almost all the local authorities have appointed a veterinary surgeon for the purposes of meat inspection and the inspection of cattle in dairies. With the exception of a contribution to the salaries of Medical Officers and Sanitary Inspectors, local authorities receive no grant in aid from the Exchequer. Their work is more or less supervised by the Local Government Board of Scotland, which (unlike that of England) is a real Board, composed of the Secretary for Scotland, the Solicitor-General for Scotland, and the Under-Secretary for Scotland as ex-officio members, and three appointed members, viz., a vice-president, a legal member, and a medical member.

In Scotland, as in England, there is no survey of Public Health available. The 313 local authorities have among them about 120 Medical Officers of Health. Of these, about 40 devote all their time to their duties, whilst about 80 are engaged in private practice and receive salaries varying from £2 2s. to £200. With but one or two exceptions, every local authority in Scotland is provided with hospital accommodation for cases of infectious disease. As already stated, the work of the local authorities is more or less supervised by the Local Government Board for Scotland, but with a staff of only two Medical Inspectors an adequate systematic survey of the Public Health service is impossible, and it has been revealed by evidence that in many places—notably in the Hebrides and in the Highlands, but also in some of the Lowland districts—the provision for the prevention of disease is little more than nominal, whilst the percentage of uncertified deaths is large.

IRELAND.

In Ireland the Health services are in the hands of the Borough or District Councils as in England.

See Fabian Tract, "What a Health Committee can do"; the valuable Annual Report of the Medical Officer of the London County Council; such scientific treatises on "Hygiene and Public Health" as those by Parker and Kenwood, Stevenson, and Murphy, or Sir B. A. Whitelegge. For history, see "The Public Health Agitation," by B. L. Hutchins; "English Sanitary Institutions, by Sir John Simon; and "The Sanitary Evolution of London," by H. J. Jephson.

THE PROVISION FOR THE MENTALLY DEFICIENT.

One of the most serious of the duties of the local authorities is that of providing proper care and treatment for the lunatics, the idiots, the imbeciles, and other persons who are mentally deficient. Prior to 1808, when the County Justices were first empowered to establish county lunatic asylums, the only institutions in England for the care and custody of the mentally defective, other than the poorhouses of the time, were a few endowed or voluntary "madhouses." Apart from the inmates of these charities, all that was done for the mentally defective was to "relieve" them, when destitute, by the Parish Overseer. Only very slowly and gradually was any general institutional provision made even for dangerous lunatics; and not until 1845 did it become obligatory on the Local Lunacy Authority to make the

necessary provision for all persons certified as of unsound mind and unable to pay for the necessary care.

LUNACY LAW.

By the Lunacy Act of 1890 (a convenient codification), which applies only to England and Wales, as amended by the Lunacy Act of 1891 and by the Mental Deficiency Act of 1911, it is the duty of the Local Lunacy Authority, acting through the Visiting Committee (of its own members), which that authority must appoint, and either alone or by arrangement with some other Lunacy Authority, to provide and maintain asylum accommodation for all the persons of unsound mind belonging to its area who, by reason of being unable by themselves or their legally liable relatives to provide for their full maintenance and necessary care, are wholly or partly chargeable to public funds, whether or not they are chargeable as paupers to any Poor Law Authority. These are termed pauper lunatics. If the Board of Control, which is the central authority, reports any Local Lunacy Authority to be in default the Home Secretary can peremptorily require it to provide what he directs. The Local Lunacy Authority may also, if it chooses, provide (a) separate asylums for patients on whose behalf the full cost is paid, or admit such "private patients" to the general asylum; and (b) separate asylums for idiots or patients suffering from any particular class of mental disorder. The Local Lunacy Authority may make provision for "boarding out" with relatives or friends on payment not exceeding the institutional cost. But though the Local Lunacy Authority may make provision in separate asylums for "patients suffering from any particular class of mental disorder," this is subject to the limitation that all such persons must be certifiable and certified as of unsound mind. Under the Mental Deficiency Act of 1911 it has the further duty of providing, subject to the approval of the Board of Control, for persons duly certified as feeble-minded from birth. No person not certified can lawfully be received, even as a voluntary inmate entitled to leave at will, in any institution of the Local Lunacy Authority; and no persons not so certified can lawfully be in any way provided for at its expense. Hence, whilst certified lunatics, idiots, and imbeciles are provided for, no provision is or can be made by the Local Lunacy Authority for other persons, notably for (a) sane epileptics, or (b) persons classed as morally deficient who cannot be certified as of unsound mind or as mentally deficient.

The law in Scotland is essentially similar to that of England and Wales, and has practically the same limitations.

It should be added that the Idiots Act, 1886, makes separate provision for idiots and imbeciles, who are also specially dealt with as regards London by the Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867. With regard to children between 3 and 16, who, without being certified as of unsound mind, are found to be mentally defective, provision is made by the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Acts, 1899 and 1914, for requiring local authorities to establish and maintain special schools for such children and to enforce attendance up to 16. Provision is also made by the Inebriates Acts for certified institutions for the reception and detention of inebriates, who may either be committed by a magistrate or voluntarily agree to their own detention.

THE LUNACY AUTHORITY.

The local administrative body with regard to persons certified as of unsound mind or mentally defective (the Local Lunacy Authority) is, in England and Wales, everywhere the County Council or County Borough Council acting through its Asylums Committee and its Mental Defectives Committee, to which (appointed annually by the Council exclusively from its own members) the statutes give great executive powers, independent of the Council, with regard both to asylum administration and asylum provision. The Council may, however, give directions to the Committee as to which method of providing asylum accommodation it shall adopt, and the Council must itself provide the necessary funds by loan or rate. The Corporation of the City of London and the Councils of some other cities or boroughs (in 1890 30 in number, but now reduced to a very few), though not County Boroughs, still retain their old rights as independent Local Lunacy Authorities, but tend more and more to merge in the county. In Lancashire all the County Boroughs have united with the County Council to form a single Lunacy Authority for the geographical county under a federal "Lancashire Lunacy Board." London has two such authorities: the London County Council, dealing under the Lunacy Act, with 20,000 lunatics and imbeciles, and, under the Mental Deficiency Act, with the mentally defective, and the Metropolitan Asylums Board, under the Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867, with about 7,000 imbeciles and idiots; whilst the statistical returns indicate that the practice differs widely in the different parts of the Metropolis as to which classes of patients are remitted to these two authorities.

In Scotland the Local Lunacy Authorities are the 22 District Boards of Lunacy, which are in 14 cases committees of persons nominated by the various County Councils in the lunacy district for which the Board acts, and in the eight largest towns the members of the Parish Councils.

The duty of taking charge, of getting certified and of conveying to asylum all lunatics, idiots, and imbeciles who are certifiable as of unsound mind, and who are not being properly provided for, is, however, placed not on the Local Lunacy Authority but on the Local Poor Law Authority. Thus, in practice, it is, in England and Wales, the Relieving Officer of the Board of Guardians who is called in to a lunatic or who discovers his need of food or care. It is the Relieving Officer who, in practice, gets the patient certified, removes him temporarily to the workhouse, arranges for a reception order, and conveys him to the county or borough asylum. In Scotland the Inspector of Poor and the Parish Council have similar duties.

On the other hand, the local administrative body with regard to epileptic and mentally defective children between 3 and 16, not being certified as of unsound mind, is, in Scotland, the School Board, and in England and Wales the Local Education Authority, for the purposes of Part III. of the Education Act, 1902—that is to say, in rural and small urban districts, the County Council; in urban districts over 20,000, and in Non-County Boroughs over 10,000 (except in seven, which have ceded their powers to the County Council), the District or Borough Council; and in County Boroughs the County Borough Council. In London some of these children are in the special schools of the London County Council as Local Education Authority, and

others in the Metropolitan Asylums Board's homes for feeble-minded children.

The local authority for the administration of the Inebriates Act is the County or County Borough Council, and as the subject does not fall within the statutory sphere of either the Asylums Committee or the Education Committee, it is usually dealt with by a separate committee for the purpose.

WHO PAYS FOR LUNATICS?

The cost of maintenance of the lunatic asylums is curiously shared. The Local Lunacy Authority determines annually the average cost of maintenance of the patients in its asylums, other than the paying patients and apart from loan interest and repayments, and levies this sum per patient per week upon the Poor Law Authorities of the unions in which the patients have respectively their settlements. Where no settlement can be established no charge can be made on any union, and the Local Lunacy Authority charges the cost of such patients, together with loan interest and repayments and other charges incidental to asylum provision, to the County Rate. A similar procedure is followed by the Metropolitan Asylums Board in the asylums of which there are no patients who are not chargeable to any union. The Poor Law Union then obtains from the County Council out of the Exchequer grant a sum equal to half the net cost of the union of each person so provided for after deducting the sums recovered from the patient or his relatives, but in no case exceeding 4s. per head per week, the balance becoming a charge on the Poor Rate. In London, moreover, the balance left to fall on the union funds is recouped from the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund raised by an equal rate throughout London. The result is that, as each Metropolitan Board of Guardians pays in effect the same proportion of the total cost of Metropolitan lunacy, whether it sends few or many patients, either to the London County Council asylums or to Metropolitan Asylums Board asylums, or to both, it has the utmost pecuniary inducement to transfer from the out-relief lists to these asylums as many mentally defective persons as possible. As between the London County Council asylums and the Metropolitan Asylums Board asylums, it is to be noted that a fee is legally payable to the certifying Medical Officer and Relieving Officer in respect of patients sent by Poor Law Authorities to the London County Council institutions, whereas no fee is payable in respect of patients sent to the Metropolitan Asylums Board institutions, which are technically those of another Poor Law Authority. On the other hand, outside the Metropolis, the Poor Law Authority incurs additional expense for most of the patients sent to the county asylums, as the charge per week, even after deducting the 4s. Government grant, usually exceeds the cost of maintenance either in the workhouse or the amount allowed in outdoor relief.

The cost of maintenance of the Local Education Authorities' schools for mentally defective and epileptic children is borne by the Education Rate, which is assisted by extensive grants in aid. In London, however, the cost of the mentally defective children in the Metropolitan Asylums Board homes (equalised for all London) falls on the Poor Rate. That of inebriate asylums is partly provided by the Government by a special grant in aid, the balance falling on the County or Borough Rate.

HOW MANY MENTALLY DEFECTIVE PERSONS ARE THERE?

The investigations of the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded led them to the conclusion that, in England and Wales, there were about 271,000 mentally defective persons, or 0.83 per cent. of the whole population. This total includes (i.) lunatics; (ii.) persons mentally infirm through age or decay; (iii.) idiots; (iv.) imbeciles; (v.) feeble-minded; (vi.) moral imbeciles; (vii.) mentally defective epileptics; (viii.) mentally defective inebriates; and (ix.) mentally defective deaf and dumb or blind. There exists at present adequate public provision for 122,000 certified lunatics of class (i.), who (apart from a very small number suitably looked after at home, and a dwindling little minority in a few certified private asylums) are maintained in the County or County Borough Asylums, some as private patients refunding directly to the Asylums Committee the charge for maintenance. For the 150,000 persons of classes (ii.) to (ix.) no systematic provision is made—that is to say, they come under public control, if at all, only in some other connection than their mental deficiency; for instance, as paupers, criminals, inebriates, or children at school. In Scotland the position is much the same as in England and Wales. Thus, the Commission reported that mentally defective persons (probably over 60,000 in number) were to be found in Poor Law institutions, including workhouses, casual wards, and infirmaries, and some even in the special homes for children and the aged. Others are chronically in and out of prison for petty offences. Others, again, are living in the slums upon pittance of out-relief, often under grossly insanitary and demoralising conditions. It is said that no small proportion of the 15,000 births that take place annually in the workhouses of the United Kingdom are cases in which distinctly feeble-minded mothers come into the institution almost every year to be delivered of a (frequently) feeble-minded child.

VOLUNTARY BODIES.

In connection with the local authorities there are various voluntary agencies, such as "After-Care" Committees, acting with the Asylums Committees, special committees under the Local Education Authority for "mentally defective" schools, and bodies of governors or managers of homes for inebriates under the committees of Councils administering such homes. A few endowed or voluntary institutions or homes receive idiots, inebriates, or feeble-minded women, some of whom are paid for by public authorities. The National Association for Promoting the Welfare of the Feeble-Minded and the Lancashire and Cheshire Society for the Permanent Care of the Feeble-Minded are prominent examples of such voluntary bodies, and have acquired valuable experience as to what is needed.

GRANTS IN AID.

The most important part of the constitution of British Local Government is really the grants in aid. This is a new thing.

The grant out of the National Exchequer of annual subventions towards the expenses of local governing bodies was unknown before 1832, and can hardly be said to have become a part of our financial system until 1846. But especially in the past quarter of a century

grants in aid have steadily grown. At present, out of an aggregate expenditure by the local authorities in the United Kingdom of about 160 millions sterling, the National Government contributes about 30 millions, or about 18 per cent. It is not too much to say that the efficiency of our Local Government depends to an enormous extent on these grants in aid and how they are made.

THE GOSCHEN FINANCE.

The complications of the statutory provisions with regard to these grants in aid in each part of the United Kingdom cannot be unravelled in this brief summary. We must note the effort made in 1888 by Mr. (afterwards Viscount) Goschen to simplify the relation between central and local finance by substituting a single Local Taxation Account for all the multifarious grants in aid then existing (with the exceptions of the Education Grant, the grants to industrial and reformatory schools, and the contributions in lieu of rates on Government buildings). By the Acts of 1888 and 1890, which set up this Local Taxation Account and determined of what it should consist, there was to be paid into it the proceeds of certain licence duties, of part of the estate duties, and of certain sur-taxes on alcoholic liquors, etc., less tithe rent-charge rates (1899), which are deducted by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue out of the sums payable by them to the Local Taxation Account in respect of the Estate Duty Grant. To these revenues were added, by the Agricultural Rates Act, 1896, a fixed sum annually in respect of the deficiency in local revenues then created by the provisions of the Act. Out of the Local Taxation Account has to be paid (a) practically all the multifarious grants in aid which had been instituted down to that date (except the pre-existing education grants to industrial and reformatory schools); (b) certain additional grants towards police superannuation and education other than elementary; (c) the fixed grant to make up the deficiency in rates caused by the Agricultural Rates Act, 1896. By subsequent Acts various other payments made by the Government (such as the expenses of measures taken against swine fever) have been charged to the Local Taxation Account and the grants in aid correspondingly reduced. Somewhat similar provisions have been made with regard to Local Taxation Accounts for Scotland and Ireland respectively.

Apart altogether from these arrangements stand the direct grants in aid of Local Education Authorities, which rest upon the Education Acts and the regulations of the Board of Education for England and Wales, the Scotch Education Department, and the Irish Government.

There remain apart also the grants made by the Home Office under the Industrial and Reformatory Schools Acts (now codified in the Children's Act, 1908).

Quite a new addition are the grants made under the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, by the Local Government Board.

In England and Wales an attempt was made under the Local Taxation Account to make the County and County Borough Councils the sole recipients of the grants payable from that account. The County and County Borough Councils were required to pay over to Boards of Guardians, Councils of Rural Districts, Urban Districts or Non-County Boroughs, and other local authorities any sums that they had been accustomed to receive. The Board of Education grants in England and Wales are paid direct to County and County Borough

Councils, with the addition, however, of those larger Non-County Boroughs and Urban Districts which administer their own elementary schools. In Scotland and Ireland all grants have continued to be paid direct to the County, Burgh, or Parish Council, Board of Guardians, School Board, or District Board of Lunacy whose finances were to be aided. The same course has always been followed with the grants in aid of industrial and reformatory schools, which are paid direct to the managers of such schools, whether these are voluntary committee or Local Education Authorities.

Of the 30 millions sterling of grants in aid over four millions go to local authorities in England and Wales, four millions to those of Scotland, and one and three-quarter millions to those of Ireland. Between eleven and twelve millions sterling come through the Local Taxation Accounts of the three kingdoms, and over 18 millions do not come through those accounts.

WHAT ARE NOW THE GRANTS IN AID?

We may most usefully classify grants in aid according to whether or not they are (a) so far fixed in amount as to be independent of any action of the local authority receiving them; (b) varying in some relation to the amount spent by the local authority; (c) dependent on certain specific services being undertaken by the local authority, but not increasing in proportion to the amount spent.

Among the fixed grants may be included such items as the deficiency grants under the Agricultural Rates Acts, the proceeds of taxes on alcoholic liquors (or the grants in lieu of these under the Finance Act of 1907) now definitely assigned to higher education, the grants to Boards of Guardians based on the amount of certain expenditure in a particular year long past, etc. But, in a sense, all the sums paid through the Local Taxation Accounts are part of one fixed grant, as the aggregate sum is independent of any action by the local authorities, and any increase in some items is little more than a matter of bookkeeping, as it merely diminishes the unallotted margin. The aggregate amount of the fixed grants, including on this ground all the payments through the Local Taxation Accounts, is between eleven and twelve millions.

The grants dependent on the performance of certain services, but not varying in proportion to the expenditure of the local authorities, are mainly the Education Authorities' grants and those to industrial and reformatory schools, amounting in the aggregate to about 15½ millions sterling.

The principal instance of the class of grants varying directly with the expenditure of the local authorities was the police grant, which is still nominally made on the basis of half the local expenditure on the service, subject to a certificate from the Home Secretary as to efficiency. Other instances are the moiety of salaries of Medical Officers or of the cost of medicine and drugs. But these have been in effect merged in fixed grants by the operation of the Local Taxation Accounts.

THE EFFECT ON THE RATES.

The net result on the finances of the several local authorities of a simultaneous receipt of these heterogeneous and varying grants in aid, some distributed on a valuation basis, others on a population basis, and others again on an expenditure basis, can only be described

as extraordinary. The amount of relief to the ratepayers of different places is (as the Report of the Poor Law Commission declares) "entirely irrespective of their circumstances, whether the test be population, area, poverty, amount of pauperism, efficiency of service, or economy of administration." We may give an example—not worse than others that could be cited from Great Britain—from Ireland. "Throughout the whole of Ireland the Government grants are arranged almost as if it had been deliberately designed that those districts which needed help most should receive the least assistance, whilst those which require the least aid had this aid heaped upon them in profusion. We have worked out the figures for six of the richest and six of the poorest unions in Ireland:—

Union.	County.	Death Duty Grant, 1906-7.	Medical and Teachers' Grant, 1906-7.	Agricultural Rates Grant, 1906-7.	Total Grants in Aid, 1906-7.	Population, 1901.	Valuation, 1906.	Valuation per Head.	Grants per Head.
		£	£	£	£		£	£ s. d.	d.
Dunshaughlin	Meath	399	332	2,383	3,114	7,979	105,242	13 47	9
Trim	Meath	485	408	3,568	4,461	13,973	109,054	7 16	4
Celbridge	Kildare....	579	453	2,122	3,157	14,225	106,057	7 9	5
Delvin	Westmeath	316	250	1,717	2,283	8,477	53,200	6 6	4
Croom	Limerick ..	597	402	2,677	3,676	10,806	63,836	5 18	9
Kilmallock ..	Limerick ..	1,477	757	6,104	8,338	25,551	140,273	5 10	1
Glenties	Donegal ..	669	530	1,059	2,267	33,191	22,314	0 13	4
Dunfanaghy ..	Donegal ..	364	194	392	850	15,781	12,036	0 15	0
Belmullet	Mayo	504	304	765	1,573	13,845	10,942	0 16	3
Oughterard ..	Galway ..	393	366	921	1,680	17,732	16,053	0 18	10
Swineford	Mayo	758	490	2,123	3,371	44,162	42,374	0 19	6
Clifden	Galway ..	507	370	1,020	1,897	18,768	19,010	1 0	0

"In the Dunshaughlin Union, amid the rich grazing lands of Meath, where the valuation amounts to no less than £13 4s. per head of population, the Government relieves the occupier from his burden of local expenditure to the extent of as much as 7s. 9d. per head. In the Dunfanaghy Union, amid the bare rocks of Donegal, the Government relieves the occupier of his local burden to the extent of no more than 1s. per head."

See Fabian Tract 172, "What About the Rates?"; "Grants in Aid," by Sidney Webb; "National and Local Finance," by J. W. Grice.

OTHER SERVICES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

ABATTOIRS (OR PUBLIC SLAUGHTERHOUSES).

The provision of these, in substitution for the less sanitary and less humane private slaughterhouses of the butchers, is very desirable. Public slaughterhouses are the rule in France, Germany, Austria, and Denmark. Without them there is great difficulty in systematically inspecting meat and preventing the sale of diseased meat. Under the Public Health Act, 1875 (sec. 169 and 267), any Borough or Urban Council, and, with the consent of the Local Government Board, any Rural District Council, may establish an abattoir (which may include a refrigerator and cold storage) and borrow the necessary funds. This is usually done in connection with the public market, but the abattoir may be set up independently, and more than 100 Boroughs and Councils have taken this course. The object is not profit, but some towns find the receipts from the charges made for slaughtering sufficient not only to pay all the working expenses, but also to pay interest and sinking fund. Here are some typical examples of abattoirs in towns large and small :—

Name of Town.	Population in 1911.	Date of start- ing.	Capital invested.	Receipts in 1912-13.	Working ex- penses (without interest or sinking fund).
Edinburgh	320,318	1910	£ 48,976	£ 8,091	£ 5,071
Bury (Lancs.)	59,040	1903	35,322	2,063	2,091
South Shields	108,647	1906	20,052	842	808
Lanark	5,900	1892	900	182	126
Newport (Mon.) ..	83,691	1863	4,000	668	571
Ilkley.....	7,992	1896	2,000	123	159
Lytham	9,464	1908	2,886	110	163

See Report of Committee to consider the Humane Slaughtering of Animals, 1908, and the publications of the Model Abattoir Society (8, Dartmouth Street, Westminster), which will be sent free to applicants; Report of Scottish L.G.B. on Public Slaughterhouses (Scotland), 1908, and "Our Slaughterhouse System," by C. Cash (1907).

ALLOTMENTS.

The Small Holdings and Allotments Act, 1908, provides that allotments must be provided for the labouring population if the Town or District Council, or, in rural districts, the Parish Council, are of opinion that the demand for such allotments cannot be met by voluntary action. An obstinate Council are compelled to take the matter into consideration upon receiving a representation from six of the electors. If they still refuse to act the County Council may take over their powers in the matter, except in a municipal borough; and if the County Council are in default the Board of Agriculture may transfer those powers to the Small Holdings Commissioners.

Land for allotments may be bought or hired compulsorily by means of a Provisional Order, to be confirmed by the Board, and nothing may be added to the price or rent on account of the transaction being compulsory. Allotments may be let to individuals or to co-operative associations. In every case, the rent paid by the tenants must cover all expenses incurred by the Council.

See Fabian Tracts 62 (Parish and District Councils), 137 (Parish Councils and Village Life), and 134 (leaflet on Small Holdings); "The Rural Problem," by H. D. Harben (Fabian Society); "The Small Holdings and Allotments Handbook," by C. Grant (1908).

ART GALLERIES.

These, and also schools of art, may be provided under the Public Libraries Act, 1892. The Act may be adopted by resolution of the Borough or Urban District Council, or, in a parish, by the Parish Meeting, where a poll of the electors can be demanded. The following places have public art galleries, usually to a considerable extent the proceeds of gifts, but nearly always maintained out of the rates :—

Aberdeen	Dundee	Leicester	Salford
Belfast	Durham	Liverpool	Sheffield
Beverley	Exeter	Maidstone	Southampton
Birkenhead	Halifax	Newcastle-upon-	Southport
Blackburn	Heywood	Tyne	Sunderland
Blackpool	Hull	Newport (Mon.)	Swansea
Bradford	Ipswich	Northampton	Warrington
Brighouse	Kettering	Norwich	Wednesbury
Brighton	King's Lynn	Oldham	Worcester
Carlisle	Kingston-on-	Paisley	Worthing
Cheltenham	Thames	Peterhead	Yarmouth
Derby	Leeds	Preston	York
Doncaster	Leek	Reading	

BATHS AND WASHHOUSES.

Every town—why not also every mining village?—ought to have public baths, with unlimited hot water available at the lowest possible charge. These can be established, and the necessary funds borrowed, under the Baths and Washhouses Act of 1846, amended in 1878, 1882, and 1899. Swimming pools may also be provided, open or covered, and they may be used in the winter (not exceeding five months) for other purposes, such as meetings or gymnasium, or (with a licence) for concerts and dancing (no money being taken at the doors) but not for a cinematograph. Any Borough or Urban District Council may by resolution "adopt" the Acts and then put them in operation. With the consent of the Local Government Board any parish may also do so by resolution of the Parish Meeting. Nearly 300 towns and villages, great and small, have now their own public baths, mostly combined with washhouses or public laundries. These include inexpensive open-air baths, sea-bathing stations, sea-water baths, slipper baths, swimming baths, cottage baths, Turkish baths, mineral baths, river bathing places, up to the most elaborate combined baths and washhouses, used also for concerts, etc. Sometimes the site

has been given; at Bacup, Barry, Reigate, Stalybridge, Warwick, and Featherstone the whole premises were presented to the town; at Aberdare, Ambleside, Aylesbury, Barrow-in-Furness, Bedford, Beeston, Boston, Bridgwater, Bury St. Edmunds, Cambridge, Colchester, Doncaster, and many other places the inexpensive establishment has been provided out of current revenue; on the other hand, Birmingham, Glasgow, Liverpool, and Manchester have each borrowed more than a quarter of a million for this purpose. Most places, large and small, run their baths for the public good, at charges that do not suffice to cover the working expenses, the balance, together with the interest and sinking fund being met from the rates. Here are some typical examples:—

Name of Place.	Population in 1911.	Date of start- ing.	Capital invested.	Receipts in 1912-13.	Working ex- penses (without interest and sinking fund).
Birmingham	840,202	1851	£ 265,532	£ 9,646	£ 24,540
Lambeth	298,058	1897	78,159	3,851	6,184
Wolverhampton ..	95,328	1875	19,949	1,165	1,175
Castleford	23,090	1911	8,000	387	778
Chesterfield	37,429	1900	800	197	194
Saffron Walden ..	6,311	1911	1,200	77	143

See "Public Baths and Washhouses," by A. W. S. Cross (1906); and "Public Baths in the United States," by G. W. W. Hanger (New York, 1904).

BIRTHS, NOTIFICATION OF.

One of the most effective ways of preventing infant mortality is to secure immediate notice of every birth. The Notification of Births Act, 1907, was compulsorily put in force for every part of England and Wales by the Act of 1915. The Act is of great importance in districts where efficient health inspectors are employed, who can insist upon conditions being observed which will lower the heavy death rate of children in the first three months of their life, and give some protection against infantile blindness and other diseases which were formerly supposed to be "inherited" and inevitable. The father of the child, or, if he does not reside in the house, any person in attendance on the mother, must give notice of the birth to the local Medical Officer of Health within 36 hours. The Council must supply stamped postcards to medical men and midwives who live or practise in its district, to facilitate immediate notification.*

BRIDGES

are part of the public highway, and it is the duty of the highway authority to construct them and keep them in repair. Except in county boroughs, therefore, a bridge on what is technically a "main

* See also Infant Life Protection on page 612.

road" should be maintained by the County Council, and other bridges by the Borough or District Council. In county boroughs, of course, the Borough Council is responsible for all bridges. Bridges over railways and canals, however, are usually subject to the provisions of local Acts of Parliament, which should always be consulted when questions arise as to the repair or enlargement of the structures. A Borough or District Council may, with the consent of two-thirds of their number, contribute towards the construction or alteration of a private bridge. Any tramway company proposing to lay its lines over a bridge, or any railway company wishing to alter a bridge, should be compelled, as one of the conditions of the consent of the Council, to widen the bridge in the interest of the public safety.

See the chapters on Bridges in "The Story of the King's Highway," by S. and B. Webb (1911).

BURIAL GROUNDS AND CEMETERIES.

It is the duty of the Local Health Authority to see that proper provision is made for the burial of the dead. The difference between a burial ground and a cemetery is now almost wholly a technical one. The Vestry of any urban parish may adopt the Burial Acts, 1852 to 1906, and an elective Burial Board may then be constituted to provide and manage the burial ground. The Council of the municipal borough or urban district in which the parish is situated may take over the powers of the Board, and in the majority of cases they have done so. In rural parishes the Parish Meeting may adopt the Act, and the Parish Council (if any) is the authority entrusted with the provision and management of the ground. A cemetery may be provided by the Council of any municipal borough or urban or rural district, under the Public Health (Interments) Act, 1879. If there is any difficulty in obtaining the land the Council may secure a Provisional Order giving them power to purchase it compulsorily, either inside or outside the district. In the case of either burial grounds or cemeteries the fees for interments must be approved by the Local Government Board. (Why should any fees be imposed for ordinary burial, grave, and use of the public officers? It would be better to abolish this tax on death, and let the expenses be charged to the rates.) Cemeteries were formerly subject to the legal right possessed by ministers of the Established Church to receive certain fees for such matters as the erection of monuments or the grant of the exclusive right of burial, as they held in respect of their parish burial grounds, apart from any actual services rendered by them, but by the Burial Act, 1900, these rights were curtailed, and were finally extinguished in 1915. Part of the burial ground or cemetery may be consecrated, and a chapel may be provided, but if it is to be reserved for the exclusive use of any denomination the necessary funds must now be furnished privately. A closed churchyard or burial ground may be handed over to the Council as an open space or recreation ground, subject to the licence or faculty of the bishop of the diocese in respect of consecrated land. (See the Open Spaces Act, 1906.) This has enabled many useful small recreation grounds to be provided in London and elsewhere.

See "The London Burial Grounds," by I. M. Holmes (1896).

EXAMPLES OF BURIAL GROUNDS AND CEMETERIES.

Name of place.	Population in 1911.	Date of starting.	Capital invested.	Receipts 1912-13.	Working expenses (without inter- est and sinking fund.
			£	£	£
Manchester	714,388	1867	216,380	13,431	8,441
Crewe	44,970	1870	8,847	443	622
Huddersfield	107,825	1855-1898	31,002	2,224	2,040
Hastings	61,145	1870	21,842	2,999	1,872
Saltburn-by-the- Sea	3,324	1897	2,250	70	143
Chislehurst	8,668	1912	5,975	22	221

See "Burial Grounds and Cemeteries," by E. Austin (1907); also under Cremation.

CINEMATOGRAPH.

Cinematograph exhibitions may only be given on premises which have been licensed for the purpose by the County Council. The regulations made by the Council and by the Home Secretary must be complied with. The licence may be for a period not exceeding a year, and the County Council may, if it thinks fit, delegate its powers in this matter to the justices for any petty sessions area. It has been held that premises erected as public baths cannot legally be let for cinematograph exhibitions.

CREMATION.

The Council of any borough or urban or rural district which maintains a burial ground or cemetery may also provide a crematorium. The plans of the building, and the fees to be charged for its use, must be approved by the Local Government Board. Cremated remains are usually interred in a burial ground or cemetery, but any clergyman who objects to reading the burial service at such an interment cannot be compelled to do so. (Cremation Act, 1902.) The Corporations of the Cities of London, Liverpool, and Sheffield each maintain a crematorium.

For further information apply to the Cremation Society; see its book "Cremation in Great Britain" (1909).

DRAINAGE.

The Borough or District Council is responsible for the sanitary condition of its area, but it is important to understand the distinction between a "drain" and a "sewer." The Council must construct all sewers which are necessary, but the private owner of property is responsible for the provision and maintenance of drains. Under the Public Health Act, 1875, a "drain" is a pipe used for the drainage of only one building, and communicating with a sewer or cesspool. A "sewer" is practically every other pipe made for conveying sewage. All "sewers" vest in the Council immediately they are constructed. The result is a heavy liability upon the public authority, for if the

owner of two or more adjoining houses drains them by a pipe leading to the public sewer, and connects each house with that pipe by a short length of drain, the pipe is maintained by the Council. Such an unfair burden has produced quite a sheaf of special exceptions, made by special Acts of Parliament. The Public Health Act, 1890 (which is adoptive), shifts the liability for such a pipe back upon the owners, if and when the houses belong to different owners, but not if they are all in the same ownership. Many other local Acts make more efficient protection for the Council.

The Council may lay its sewers through private property, if it is necessary to do so, but it must make compensation for any injury done. It may also make regulations as to the manner in which private drains are to be connected with its sewers, and bye-laws as to the mode of drainage, which may even apply to existing buildings. The disposal of sewage is a duty imposed upon the Council, which has power for this purpose to buy and farm land.

See the voluminous reports of the Royal Commission on the Disposal of Sewage; and "House-Drainage, Sewerage, and Sewage Disposal," by L. C. Parkes (1909).

The efficient drainage of each house is a liability for the owner to fulfil, and the Council may compel him to convey the sewage into a cesspool or a public sewer, if there is one within roof. of the premises. If he fails to carry out his duty in this matter the Council may (after giving formal notice) enter the premises, ascertain the nature of the work required, carry it out, and recover the expense from him.

In the county of London the main sewers and the disposal of sewage are matters under the control of the County Council, but the Borough Council is responsible for the provision of local sewers, subject to the approval of the County Council, which has wide powers of superintendence over the subordinate body in this matter. The peculiar burden of a provincial Council with regard to drains does not exist in London, as the private owner is responsible for any "drain used for draining any group or block of houses by a combined operation."

See "Bye-laws as to House Drainage and Sanitary Fittings made by the L.C.C.," by G. J. G. Jensen (1908).

ELECTRICITY.

The public supply of electric current for lighting or power is carried out by virtue of a Provisional Order, granted by the Board of Trade and confirmed by an Act of Parliament. The Order may be obtained by the Council of a metropolitan or municipal borough or urban district or by a company. In the latter event, the consent of the Council must be obtained, but if it is arbitrarily refused the Board of Trade may decide to dispense with it. Any Borough or District Council which has obtained an Order may transfer its rights to a company with the consent of the Board. In all large towns where the supply is in the hands of a company special Parliamentary powers have been obtained, but under the general Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, the Council are entitled to purchase the undertaking at the end of 42 years, paying the then fair market value, without any addition for prospective profits, or for goodwill, or for compulsory

purchase. The market value is settled by arbitration. The Board of Trade may, by Provisional Order, permit two or more local authorities to form a joint committee or joint board for the joint exercise of their electric lighting powers in their combined districts. They may also, by a similar Order, authorise, and, indeed, compel, any local authority or company to supply current in bulk to other authorities or companies, including railway and tramway companies having lines along the route of supply, but the Board would not, in practice, exercise this power in any case of magnitude, but would leave the matter to be dealt with by a private Act of Parliament. The general powers of a local authority supplying electric current under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 to 1909, do not include power to provide fittings. Full statistics for each undertaking will be found in the Annual Returns published by the Board of Trade.

See Fabian Tract 173, "Public versus Private Electricity Supply," by C. Ashmore Baker; and the Returns of Electric Supply Undertakings published by L.C.C. in 1909.

FERRIES.

The right to carry on a ferry (which includes the prohibition of any competitive ferry within a reasonable distance) has in many cases been established by royal grants of ancient date, but no new ferry having such a monopoly right can now be established except by Act of Parliament. The owner of a private ferry has no claim for compensation if his profits are reduced by the construction of a bridge.

New ferries (which may be steamboat services) are established by local authorities under special statutory powers. Wallasey, for instance, runs a profitable steamboat ferry across the Mersey; and the London County Council a (free) steamboat service across the Thames at Woolwich.

FIRE PROTECTION.

The first line of defence against fire is the proper construction of buildings, and every Borough or District Council should see that this point is not lost sight of when framing its bye-laws for the construction of new buildings. The model bye-laws issued by the Local Government Board contain fairly stringent regulations with regard to the thickness of walls, provision of staircases, and character of materials. Borough and District Councils also have power to make bye-laws to secure reasonable means of escape from factories and workshops in case of fire. In the case of any such building in which more than 40 persons are employed the Council can insist upon special means of escape being provided. In the county of London all these matters are under the control of the County Council. In Scotland they fall within the province of that Committee of the Town Council and ancient tribunal known as the Dean of Guild Court.

The Council of any Borough or District Council is also required to secure a proper provision of water for extinguishing fires and to see that fire plugs are fitted on the water system. All water companies are bound to fix such plugs.

Fire brigades, for extinguishing fires, may be established by the Councils of boroughs, urban districts, or parishes, and all the necessary equipment provided from hand-pumped machines to motor engines.

A Parish Council may arrange with a neighbouring authority for the use of the latter's engines in its parish.

No charge can be made by the Council for the attendance of the brigade at a fire within its own district, but the increased efficiency of local fire brigades has not been accompanied by any reduction in the tariffs of the fire insurance companies. If the brigade attend a fire outside their own district, however, their expenses may be recovered from the owner of the property. In the county of London the fire brigade is under the control of the County Council.

It is an offence, punishable by fine or imprisonment, to give a false alarm of fire or to permit a chimney to catch alight.

Consult the Annual Report of the L.C.C. Metropolitan Fire Brigade.

GARBAGE DISPOSAL.

The problem of utilising waste products is of even greater importance in municipal government than in the industrial world. The inhabitants of the smallest towns turn out tons of house refuse, garbage, and general rubbish in the course of the year, and if the health of the district is to be maintained it has to be collected and disposed of promptly and effectually. Some day chemistry may discover the means of transmuting this surplus matter into electrical power without the erection of costly works; but in the meantime the smaller towns find the problem a difficult one to deal with, especially when the production of current, or water, or the local tramways undertaking is in the hands of a private company.

WHAT THE LOCAL AUTHORITY MUST DO.

Except in the county of London, the Council is not legally compelled to collect house refuse, but the work is probably never wholly neglected even by the most backward municipality. The collection is usually made every six or ten days, according to the ideal of sanitation and economy held by the Council. In any event, the Local Government Board have power to issue an Order imposing a periodical collection on the Council if satisfied that the circumstances of the district demand it. House refuse does not include trade refuse from shops and factories or garden rubbish, and if the Council undertakes to collect these waste products they may make a charge for the work. Householders ought always, as a matter of economy, to burn as much as possible of their refuse, without, however, causing a nuisance to the neighbourhood. The Borough or District Council may make bye-laws intended to facilitate the work of collection, and it may also require the provision of a suitable ashpit or dustbin to every house. In the county of London such bye-laws are made by the County Council, but are enforced by the Borough Council, who carry out the actual work of collection. The Metropolitan Borough Councils may be compelled to collect trade refuse, subject to payment of a fair charge, which is settled, in cases of dispute, by the local Petty Sessional Court.

Bye-laws as to the carriage of noxious matter through the streets may be made by the Borough or District Council, or, in London, by the County Council.

HOW TO DEAL WITH GARBAGE.

The method of finally disposing of house refuse and garbage depends upon the situation of the town and the enterprise possessed by the members and officials of the Council. In the smaller semi-rural towns, such as Horsham, it is given to brickmakers, with whom, however, house refuse is not in such demand as a decade or so ago. Horwich uses it for the reclamation of moss land. Manchester disposes of a large part of its refuse by large destructors, and incidentally turns out artificial manure, oil, soap, tallow, and mortar as bye-products, and has also reclaimed a large area of moss land by transferring to it a million and a-half tons of refuse. At Bradford the resultant clinker is made into paving slabs, and at Huddersfield it is ground into mortar; Liverpool has six destructor depots, at which 160,000 tons of refuse are dealt with annually, and are turned to account by producing nine million units of electrical energy, but clinker and other refuse is barged out to sea. Henley-on-Thames sends its refuse to boiler furnaces for raising steam to supply air to the sewage ejector system. In most of the large towns destructors have been erected in which the refuse is disposed of by fire.

Street sweepings are very largely used for levelling up vacant land, or sold to contractors for this purpose. In some cases, as at Richmond (Surrey), sweepings from certain parts of the district are purchased by the allotment holders for manure, and in large towns which have a system of orderly bins (as is the case with the City of London) the contents are sold to contractors.

See "The Disposal of Municipal Refuse," by H. de B. Parsons (New York, 1906); "Garbage Crematories in America," by W. M. Venables (New York, 1906); "Refuse Disposal," by E. R. Matthews (Griffin, London), 6s. net; "Guide to the Reports, etc., of Sewage Disposal Commission," by Bertram Kershaw (King, London), 5s. net.

GAS.

The Council of any municipal borough (outside the county of London) or urban district may contract for the supply of an illuminant to light its streets. If no company has already legally established itself in the district the Council may itself supply gas for the purpose, and by a Provisional Order, granted by the Board of Trade and confirmed by Act of Parliament, secure power to break up the roads for the purpose of laying the necessary pipes. It also has general power to purchase, by agreement, the undertaking of any gas company within its area, but compulsory powers to do so need a special Act of Parliament. In the county of London gas is supplied by companies.

Gas supplied by local authorities or companies must be up to the standard of purity and illuminating power specified in the Gasworks Clauses Act, 1871, or in any special private Act which may have been obtained. Where the supply of gas is in the hands of a company the latter must provide and maintain a gas testing station and apparatus, but the gas tester is employed and paid by the Council. Although gas is now largely used for heating and cooking, there is no calorific standard in any general Act of Parliament.

EXAMPLES OF MUNICIPAL GAS WORKS, SMALL AND LARGE.

Name of Place.	Population in 1911.	Date of starting.	Capital invested.	Receipts 1912-13.	Working expenses (without interest and sinking fund).
			£	£	£
Leeds	445,550	1870	1,946,070	438,809	309,773
Dundee	165,066	1868	675,948	143,328	113,729
Filey	3,228	1898	29,401	4,499	3,032
Keighley	43,487	1824	146,224	54,869	37,075
Ramsgate....	29,603	1878	191,698	47,540	35,067
Glasgow	1,010,831	1869	4,247,329	1,022,918	868,579

See the Annual Returns of the Board of Trade as to statistics of municipal and non-municipal gas undertakings: "History of the Introduction of Gas Lighting," by C. Hunt (1907).

HEALTH VISITORS.

Health Visitors, who should usually be women, may be appointed by any Borough or District Council. Their duties are generally to bring up the hygienic standard of their district to the recognised minimum, not merely by compelling the observance of statutory requirements, but by visiting all the houses which are likely to require attention, and, by tactful counsel, introducing cleanliness and health in place of dirt and disease. The value of their work depends largely upon their personality and their knowledge, and the extent to which such work is co-ordinated with the department of the School Medical Officer and the School Attendance Officer. They are under the direction of the Medical Officer of Health, and in non-county boroughs and urban and rural districts the results of their visits should be of use to the County Medical Officer in dealing with tuberculosis. Officially, they form part of the staff of the Inspector of Nuisances outside London, and of the Chief Sanitary Inspector in the London boroughs. Both these officials usually work under the directions of the Medical Officer of Health. The post of School Nurse may sometimes be advantageously combined with that of Health Visitor. Some official qualification, giving proof of training, should always be required of candidates appointed.

The ideal Health Visitor, however, should be something more than an official. She should aim at becoming in a large sense the friend of the families whom she has to visit, tactfully impressing upon them the importance of health, and persuading them to second, or even surpass, the steps taken by the Council to ensure proper water supply, adequate drainage, and decent houses. She will be called upon to visit notified cases of tuberculosis, and combat the ignorance and prejudice of the patient or his friends and ensure necessary disinfection; to trace and advise "contacts" in case of infectious disease, to investigate outbreaks of measles and infantile diarrhoea, and, if possible, to make judicious inquiries into the deaths of infants, and obtain particulars as to the method of feeding, the source of the milk supply, the extent of overcrowding, etc. If (as will be the case in many towns) she is also a School Nurse, she will visit all cases in which children are absent from the elementary schools owing to

illness, and collect particulars which will be invaluable to a zealous Medical Officer who is capable of collating and using statistics.

The last report of the Local Government Board for the year 1913-14 (Cd. 7611) lays special emphasis upon the value of the work of these Health Visitors, and refers in detail to their qualifications and duties. "The Health Visitor," it states, "must be able to give advice regarding the feeding and clothing of the infant, and upon infant hygiene generally. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of breast-feeding, and the Medical Officer of Health should satisfy himself that every Health Visitor is in a position to give sound advice on this cardinal point, and that she is instructed to impress the matter on mothers at the earliest possible moment. In addition to her primary work of advising mothers, it is an important part of the duty of a Health Visitor to have regard to the care of the home generally. She should bring to the notice of the health department all cases of nuisance, and she should endeavour to secure cleanliness, ventilation, and order, and, so far as possible, the removal of conditions prejudicial to health. In cases where the home conditions are unsatisfactory frequent visits should be paid. The Health Visitor should endeavour to secure the attendance of mothers at infant welfare centres where such exist, so as to obtain among other things the advantage of medical inspection for the children and treatment in cases requiring treatment."

Bradford has a health visiting staff consisting of a chief woman inspector and six assistants. Practically each of the 5,500 births which occur annually are visited, and the inspectors also act as sanitary inspectors, and, where necessary, serve notices for the abatement of nuisances. There is a large infant welfare centre where infant consultations are held by two women Assistant Medical Officers of health and four special nurses. Children under school age only are dealt with, and treatment is given when required. Milk depots have also been established for the supply of modified milk to infants. At the infectious diseases hospital two wards have been set apart for the treatment of ophthalmia neonatorum (infantile blindness), providing accommodation for both mothers and infants. The success of the work has been so pronounced that it is to be extended, and a new centre is in course of construction, at which three whole-time women Medical Officers and thirteen nurses will be employed, and 20 beds for the treatment of non-infectious cases of children under school age will be provided.

At Birmingham similar work is carried on, and in close co-operation with the voluntary efforts of an Infants' Health Society and the Women's University Settlement. The salaried worker of the latter institution performs valuable ante-natal work. She visits prospective mothers regularly for some months before the birth of the infant, giving hygienic advice or recommending medical attention.

See also under Infant Mortality and Births.

HIGHWAYS AND STREETS.

The maintenance of existing highways and the repair of new streets form a very large part of the practical work of every Borough and District Council. The repair of what are technically known as main roads devolves upon the County Council in non-county boroughs and urban and rural districts, but in most urban areas it has made financial arrangements under which the minor body, the Borough or District

Council, do the actual work. The widening of such roads in the smaller towns is also usually the subject of an agreement between the Borough or District Council and the County Council, under which the cost is shared by both bodies. Bye-laws as to the use of main roads by vehicles, concerning the size of wheels, method of descending hills, etc., may be made by the County Council. When the character of a non-main road increases in importance the County Council may declare it to be a main road and assume the burden of its maintenance, or, in a contrary case, it may ask the Local Government Board for an Order reducing a main thoroughfare to the rank of a non-main road. The County Council has also power to contribute to the maintenance of non-main roads, and it often establishes a grade of such roads to the repair of which its contributions are made according to the extent of county traffic, as distinct from purely local traffic, which they are called upon to bear.

Outside a county borough, a negligent Council may be compelled to keep its highways in repair by an order of the County Council. So far as legal liability to persons using the road is concerned, however, it is useful to note that the Council is not liable for damages resulting from its neglect to do its duty, but only for any injury which may be the result of improperly carrying out the work of repair.

It is the duty of the Non-County Borough and District Council to compel the removal of obstructions and encroachments on the highways under their charge, and they are also given power to insist upon the pruning and lopping of trees and hedges which injure the surface by excluding the sun or wind, and to obtain an order from the magistrates directing barbed wire to be removed if it is likely to cause harm to persons or animals using the highway.

The public rights over a highway are strictly confined to locomotion, and any improper use of it for other purposes is an offence which the Council should take steps to prevent.

With the advent of motor traffic, heavy and light, the cost and trouble of maintaining highways in a decent condition have enormously increased. The legal duty of a Council with regard to its highways is merely to keep them in a suitable condition for ordinary traffic; and it may recover from the person who is responsible for unusual weight or extraordinary traffic the cost of any repairs which such traffic renders necessary. Injury of this nature is frequently caused to the roads in rural districts containing such buildings as the waterworks, gasworks, or asylums of large towns in the neighbourhood.*

MOTOR VEHICLES ON ROADS.

Heavy motor vehicles, weighing more than 5 tons, must be licensed by the Council of the county or county borough in which they are used, but if they are used by a road authority or for agricultural purposes they merely require to be registered with the Council. Bye-laws prohibiting, restricting, or regulating the use of locomotives on specified highways and bridges may be made by the Council of a municipal borough with a population of 10,000, or, in other cases, by the County Council, but they are subject to the approval of the Local Government Board. Motor cars, or light locomotives under 5 tons in weight unladen, must be registered with the Council

* See also Motor Omnibuses on page 603.

of a county or county borough, and bear a tablet showing the index letter assigned to the county or borough by the Local Government Board, and the number of the car in the register of the Council. Drivers of such cars must also obtain an annual licence from the Council of the county or county borough in which they dwell. The speed of these cars is restricted to 20 miles an hour, or such lower rate as the Local Government Board may impose upon the application of a County Council or the Council of a municipal borough with a population of 10,000. Public notices of any such regulations (which in practice it is not easy to persuade the Board to make) must be given by the Council, which must also set up any necessary signposts denoting dangerous corners, cross roads, etc. The Local Government Board have issued an Order under which cars weighing more than 2 tons unladen may not travel at more than a fixed speed, varying according to weight, but never exceeding twelve miles per hour. The powers given in these matters to local Councils are very useful to minimise danger to life and limb in close proximity to schools, public halls, narrow bridges, and other places where pedestrian traffic is occasionally congested.

WHAT IS A PRIVATE STREET?

The powers of the Borough or District Council with regard to streets, and the distinction between a public and a private street, are of special importance in urban areas. No street is now maintainable by the Council until it has been formally adopted by resolution. The owner of land may construct a street and dedicate it to the public either explicitly or by allowing the public to use it without restriction. But the right of way then acquired by the public is not accompanied by any liability to repair. All such private streets must comply with the bye-laws made by the Council as to level, width, sewerage, etc. The Council may compel the repair of private streets by the owners of the land fronting or abutting thereon in proportion to the extent of the frontage, but where the Private Streets Works Act, 1892, has been adopted, the contribution imposed upon the owner may vary according to the greater or less degree of benefit he receives from the work. The frontage of any church or chapel is exempt from payment, the amount being borne by the public rates. When all the necessary works have been completed the Council may take the street over.

The Council cannot be compelled to light the streets within its district, but in practice it invariably does so in both public and private streets.

THE BUILDING LINE.

The Council has wide powers for the improvement of its streets. It may obtain from the Local Government Board a Provisional Order, which must be confirmed by Act of Parliament, under which it will have compulsory powers for the purchase of land to construct new streets or widen existing streets. It may also prescribe the line at which new buildings are to be erected, but it does not thereby acquire the land left vacant, and must compensate the owner for any loss he suffers. No building may be erected or brought forward beyond the front main wall of the building on either side of it without the consent of the Council. The Council may also improve the amenities of its district by planting trees and providing refuges, public clocks, and conveniences in its streets.

Traffic in the streets may be regulated by the police, who also license hackney carriages, omnibuses, and other vehicles which ply for hire. In the Metropolitan Police District, embracing Middlesex and portions of the home counties within 15 miles of Charing Cross, all these matters are under the control of the Metropolitan Police.

The Council often comes into conflict with the Postmaster-General as to the erection of telegraphic and telephonic wires and poles in its streets. The consent of the Council is required to any such erection, but the Postmaster-General may appeal to the county court or stipendiary magistrate if this consent is withheld or conditions are imposed, and a further appeal may be made by either party to the Railway Commissioners. As the courts and the Commissioners do not appear fully to appreciate the importance of local amenities, it is often advisable for the Council to bear the whole or part of the cost of placing the wires underground.

In the county of London all highways and the streets vest in the City and Borough Councils, but the cost of widening them is usually shared between those bodies and the County Council by agreement. Metropolitan Borough Councils have the unique power of compulsorily acquiring land for widening without the help of a Provisional Order, but compensation, of course, is payable. Plans for the construction of new streets must be approved by the County Council and the bye-laws of that body complied with, but the repair of those streets may be enforced, at the expense of the owners, by the Borough Councils.

Large powers for compelling the construction of streets may also be obtained by town planning schemes.*

WHY NOT BEAUTIFUL STREETS?

Examples of enterprise in the provision of beautiful streets are to be found in the large cities of the Continent rather than in England. Many large towns of modern origin, however, have made considerable progress in the matter. Southport is renowned for its boulevards, and Willesden has planted more than 8,000 trees in its streets. The general law gives the Council no power over the elevations of buildings, but by judicious negotiation it can often secure the withdrawal of plans of buildings which would be a blot upon the appearance of its principal streets, and the substitution of more appropriate designs. Oxford, for example, has been very successful in this matter.

See "The Story of the King's Highway," by S. and B. Webb.

HOSPITALS.

There are nearly a thousand municipal hospitals in England and Wales for the treatment of diseases, including over 350 for small pox and 30 belonging to the Port Sanitary Authorities, all maintained out of the rates. They are, however, usually on the outskirts of the district; they make no insistent appeal for public support at Christmas time, or when there happens to be a Coronation or some similar national rejoicing, and the quiet removal of patients for treatment lacks the picturesque effect which is produced by the entry of the victim of a street accident into the ordinary voluntary hospital. It is, therefore, usually news, even to the municipal Councillor, that the number of

* See Town Planning on page 621.

beds maintained in these institutions nearly equal those in all the endowed and voluntary hospitals put together. He is also usually ignorant of the fact that the powers of the Council of a borough or urban or rural district in England and Wales are not limited to the provision of hospitals for diseases scheduled as infectious, but also embrace the maintenance of hospitals for all those who are sick. It depends only on the Councillors to equip the district with whatever hospitals are required. It has been held that the term hospital includes a dispensary for outdoor treatment.

At present, however, most authorities limit their work to providing for the reception of sufferers from contagious diseases, whose retention in their own homes would be a source of danger to those with whom they come into contact. Nearly 700 Local Health Authorities do not even do this, and make no provision at all for hospital treatment.

There is usually no difficulty in inducing such a patient to be conveyed to the hospital, but the Council have compulsory powers in the matter if an infected person is without proper lodging or accommodation, or is living in a room containing more than one family. If the patient or his friends object a magistrate's order may be obtained compelling his removal. Even this magisterial order is unnecessary if the patient is in a registered common lodging house or in a canal boat.

The Council may charge the patient for the whole or a portion of the expense of maintaining and curing him, but, in the public interest, this power is not usually exercised.

TUBERCULOSIS.

The campaign against tuberculosis, and the passing of the National Insurance Act, 1911, have resulted in a great increase in the number of hospitals provided to treat this disease by the County and County Borough Councils. (See the penny "List of Sanatoria and Residential Institutions approved by the Local Government Board for the treatment of persons suffering from Tuberculosis.") Even before the advent of the Act, Manchester, Brighton, and Leicester, amongst other towns, had established such hospitals. The special value of such institutions is not confined to treatment of the disease, but is to be found in the instruction in a healthy mode of living which is received by the patients, and which they are expected to follow when discharged to their own homes.

WHOOPING COUGH AND MEASLES.

In addition to the notifiable infectious diseases, minor diseases of a contagious nature are also largely treated in municipal hospitals. Liverpool receives infantile cases of whooping cough and measles, and allows the mother to accompany the patient. Other towns, such as Barry and Widnes, have hospitals which are intended for the reception both of non-infectious cases of illness and also for accidents.

It should be added that the Council has the same power to contribute to the use of an existing hospital, and obtain its partial use, as it has to establish a new hospital.

The Council has power to combine with any neighbouring authority to form a joint committee for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a hospital, and in many parts of the country these joint committees have been set up, as a large institution can obviously be

more economically and efficiently managed than a number of small hospitals each with from two to ten beds, sometimes all empty and on other occasions less than the demand.

The formation of such committees amongst the smaller urban and rural districts is encouraged by the Isolation Hospitals Acts, 1893 and 1901. The County Council has power, after a proper inquiry, to make an order constituting the whole or any portion of the county into a hospital district, and to determine the constitution of the necessary joint committee. The expenses are then defrayed by the non-county boroughs and urban or rural districts included in the order. The work of these hospitals, however, is confined to the reception and treatment of infectious cases, or of any other disease which the County Council may decide to add to the list.

In the county of London the provision of hospital accommodation for cases of infectious disease is in the hands of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, which has twelve large hospitals in or out of the county. No charge is payable by the patients for treatment, and such treatment is not pauper relief.

HOUSING.

In no department of our public life has the breakdown of private enterprise as a means of supplying public needs been more complete and more obvious than in the provision of dwellings for the working classes. Those dwellings have always been consistently bad—insanitary, unhealthy, jerry-built, and ugly—but with the growth of the urban population the demand for workmen's cottages has far exceeded the supply. The tenants have been content with anything in the shape of a shelter, and the owners, who, as a class, have shown remarkable business acumen in the collection of rents but an equally remarkable timidity in repairing their property, have grown rich out of the increase in rents. Even to-day, despite modern restrictive legislation, the successful shopkeeper and the thrifty workman are eager to invest their savings in small property. It is regarded, not altogether correctly, as the shortest cut to financial independence.

The student of the housing problem should first of all ascertain the conditions existing in his own town or village. A statement of these conditions—or, rather, the official version of them—he will find in the report of the Medical Officer of Health for the borough, urban district or rural district in which he lives. This report is invariably printed, and a polite request to the Medical Officer or the Town Clerk will nearly always secure a copy. A copy should also be in the local free library, and in the library of every social, political, or industrial organisation in the district. Every Trades Council should make a point of getting a copy annually.

The particulars which the Medical Officer is required by law to insert in his report should make it a complete summary of the condition of the public health, showing both what has been done during the year to raise the standard of sanitation and hygiene, and likewise the evils which still remain to be dealt with. It will range, according to the ability and enthusiasm of the author, from a brilliant treatise on the health and general well-being of the body politic, full of facts and pregnant with suggestions for reform, down to a colourless record of the minimum amount of work which has been grudgingly and inefficiently carried out. The intelligent reader will soon discern

whether the Medical Officer is the guardian angel of the public health, or merely an official who considers his duties terminate with the receipt of his meagre salary, as is the case with many of the part-time Medical Officers in rural and small urban districts. In any event, his report is the basis upon which any agitation for improvement must be conducted, and it should be studied and valued accordingly.

THE DUTY OF INSPECTION.

Under the Housing and Town Planning Act, 1909, Section 17, the Council of every borough or urban or rural district must cause their district to be inspected in order to ascertain whether any dwelling-house is in a state so dangerous or injurious to health as to be unfit for human habitation. The regulations made by the Local Government Board under that Act compel the Medical Officer to include in his annual report a full statement of the manner in which he has carried out this duty, and the action taken in cases where defects have been found. It must also include information as to the number of working-class houses which have been pulled down or closed or newly built, and as to the general character or sufficiency of the existing houses. The Medical Officer for the administrative county (which does not include the county boroughs) is also required to devote a section of his annual report to the administration of the Housing of the Working Classes Acts within the county. If all this work is even approximately carried out, the student should have in his possession a complete picture of the housing conditions in his district.

GROWTH OF MUNICIPAL POWERS.

The efforts of the Legislature at reform show an historical sequence of gradual and unwilling steps towards drastic remedies for the evils of overcrowding and unhealthy housing. The Public Health Act, 1875, and its amending Acts of 1890 and 1907, and the Public Health (London) Act, 1891, give the local authority power to deal with specific nuisances and isolated cases of overcrowding. The Housing Act of 1890 contains provisions which enable those authorities to demolish unhealthy blocks of slum property, or to close particular houses which are unfit for habitation, and, as a last desperate remedy, to build new houses. The Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909 strengthens the powers of demolition and closing, and practically makes it the duty of the local authority to build new houses wherever they are wanted. With regard to all these provisions, whether optional or compulsory, it is as well to remember Section 7 of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1885, which is often allowed to lie buried and forgotten by members and officers of the local Councils. It states that "It shall be the duty of every local authority entrusted with the execution of laws relating to public health and local government to put in force from time to time as occasion may arise the powers with which they are invested, so as to secure the proper sanitary condition of all premises within the area under the control of such authority."

NUISANCES.

The Public Health Acts enable the Council to deal with every kind of nuisance due to defective housing accommodation, which afflicts the worker, in either an urban or rural area. Whenever such a nuisance is ascertained, from the want of a proper dustbin to a

general breakdown of the drainage system, complaint should be made to the Medical Officer of Health. Acting upon the report of that officer or the Inspector of Nuisances, the Council should serve a notice upon the owner requiring him to put the matter right, and if he makes default, the appropriate remedy is for the Council to do the work and charge the owner with the cost, or to prosecute him in the local police court. The fact that very few working-class dwellings are entirely free of all sanitary defects is testimony to the tolerance of their occupants, or their fear that any complaint will result in friction with the landlord, and possible notice to quit or an increase in the rent, if the demand for houses in the locality is sufficient to enable him to indulge in either form of retaliation.

THE LANDLORD'S GUARANTEE OF FITNESS.

Protection of a different character to the individual tenant is given by the Housing and Town Planning Act, 1909. According to the common law a tenant takes his house at his own risk, "with all its imperfections on its head," but Sections 14 and 15 of that statute enact that in any letting of a house or part of a house after the 3rd December, 1909, there shall be implied a condition that the premises are reasonably fit for human habitation, provided the house is let at an annual rent not exceeding £40 in the county of London, £26 in a borough or urban district with a population of 50,000 or upwards, and £16 in other places. These limitations are in practice somewhat ludicrous, especially in the suburbs of the large towns. If, for example, a tenant takes a £40 house in the borough of Hammersmith (which is in the county of London), he may recover damages from the landlord should he suffer injury by the building not being "in all respects reasonably fit for human habitation," but if he moves next door into the urban district of Chiswick he must take a house of the rental of £16 or under to obtain this statutory protection. The presumed intentions of the Legislature have also been frustrated in this case, in accordance with common experience, by judicial decision, which has held that there is no right of action except to the actual tenant. If defective drains infect the tenant's wife or child with diphtheria the landlord is not responsible.

THE "CLOSING ORDER."

The Act also gives power to the Council, in cases within these rental limits, to require the owner to execute all works necessary to make the house reasonably fit for human habitation, and he then has the choice of either closing the house permanently or of complying with the notice. If he does neither the Council may do what is required and recover the cost from him. An owner may appeal to the Local Government Board against any decision of the Council in this matter. The Councils are making an increased use of these provisions year by year. Out of 1,800 local authorities 884 put their powers in this matter into action during the year ending 31st March, 1913, with reference to 52,670 houses. The owners in 1,706 cases elected to close their houses; in 42,630 cases they complied with the notices; in 107 cases the local authority carried out the work, and in the remaining cases the matter was not disposed of when the last report of the Board was issued.

TENEMENT HOUSES.

Large numbers of the working classes live, not in separate houses, but in lodgings. The Council of every borough or urban or rural district has power to make bye-laws as to houses which are let in lodgings (as distinct from common lodging-houses), which may regulate the number of lodgers, and the cleansing and drainage of the houses. All common lodging-houses, in which poor persons are received for short periods and allowed to inhabit a common room, must be registered with and inspected by the Council, who should insist upon the lime-washing of the walls and ceilings twice a year, and may make bye-laws to secure the health and decency of the tenants.

SLUMS.

In many large towns there are whole areas which are solid, concentrated blocks of overcrowding, disease, and vice. They represent the result of the policy, or lack of policy, of our grandparents, who held that it was undesirable, and, indeed, disastrous, to interfere with the rights of property or the "free contracts" of landlord and tenant. To clear the resultant slums is a big business, and an expensive operation to which no economist on the Council (unless he happens to be personally interested in the property) will consent while there is the slightest chance to procrastinate.

In any town (but not in a rural area) in which there is such a slum district it is the duty of the Medical Officer of Health to inspect it, and if he finds that the houses are unfit for human habitation, or that the general condition of the area is dangerous or injurious to the health of the inhabitants, to make a report to that effect to the Council. If he neglects his duty in this matter twelve ratepayers may require him to inspect the area and report to the Council upon its condition, and if he then reports that it is not unhealthy they may appeal to the Local Government Board, who may appoint a medical man to inspect the area and make the necessary report to the Council. In the county of London the matter is dealt with by the County Council.

Upon receipt of the report of the Medical Officer the Council must, "if satisfied of the truth thereof and of the sufficiency of their resources," prepare an improvement scheme. Should they incur any unreasonable delay or refuse to move in the matter the Local Government Board may make the scheme and enforce it by the judicial process known as a mandamus. The scheme may include the purchase of the area, the pulling down of the buildings, and the rearrangement of the streets, but the Council must afterwards sell or let the land, unless they obtain the approval of the Board to any proposal for dealing with it themselves. The scheme becomes legally operative and compulsory upon being embodied by the Local Government Board (after a public inquiry) in a Provisional Order, and, in addition, confirmed by an Act of Parliament, if it is proposed to take lands compulsorily and any other objects. Full compensation is payable by the Council to all owners and others who suffer financial injury, but no additional allowance is to be made on account of the purchase being compulsory, and deductions may be made if the property is unfit for human habitation, or constitutes a nuisance, or if its value has been enhanced by its being used for illegal purposes, or by overcrowding. The amount of compensation is settled by an Arbitrator appointed by the Board.

RE-HOUSING.

To complete the scheme the persons displaced must be re-housed. The number of houses to be provided for these evicted tenants is settled by the Local Government Board. The Board usually requires that a certain number of the tenants shall be re-housed on or near to the site of the unhealthy area, but if they are of the nomadic type it is often found useful to erect a municipal common lodging-house.

In connection with this matter, it is worth while noting that whenever property is acquired by local authorities or companies under legislative powers (as happens, for example, when a railway company extends its lines or erects a station) the Local Government Board may insist upon the persons displaced being re-housed if they number 30 or more of the working class. This number includes any persons who may have been displaced in contemplation of the proposed works within the previous five years.

The costly nature of these clearance schemes has prevented any large use of the powers given to local authorities, but the total amount of the loans sanctioned by the Local Government Board for carrying out such schemes, from the passing of the Act to the end of 1914, was £2,807,419. The amount borrowed during 1914 was £100,833, by four local authorities, the Councils of Nottingham (who expended over half this amount), Portsmouth, Exeter, and Barnes (Surrey).

For smaller slum areas, modified clearance schemes in either urban or rural districts, including the demolition, alteration, or reconstruction of dwellings, may be made by the Borough, Urban or Rural District Council, with the sanction of the Local Government Board. The order of the Board does not need the confirmation of Parliament unless an owner whose property is to be compulsorily taken from him objects to it. The Board will not allow large areas to be dealt with in this manner.

INSANITARY DWELLINGS.

Part 2 of the Act of 1890, in conjunction with the Act of 1909, gives the Council drastic powers as to the closing and demolition of insanitary dwellings. The Council are required to cause special inspection of their district to be made, to ascertain the existence of any houses unfit for human habitation, and to keep full records of the results of such inspection. These records should be incorporated in the annual report of the Medical Officer. If any house appears to the Council to be unfit for habitation it is their duty to make a closing order, by which its occupation is prohibited until it is rendered fit. The owner may appeal to the Local Government Board. Where an order has remained operative for three months the Council must make an order for its demolition, unless the owner puts it into proper repair within six months. Part 2 of the Act may be put into operation by the complaint of four householders that a house is in a condition unfit for human habitation, and if this complaint is fruitless the ratepayers may appeal to the Board, who have power to force the Council into action.

The number of local authorities who put the powers of Part 2 into operation has shown a large increase in the last few years. In 1913, 1,268 Councils, or 70 per cent. of the total number, did so. For the year ending 31st March, 1913, complaints were received as to 56,352 houses. Closing orders were made in respect of 10,853 of them, and of this number 2,266 were also demolished by the local authority.

The number made fit by the owners without closing orders was 18,194, and the number closed or demolished voluntarily 2,317. In 12,282 cases the Council decided to enforce the repair of the houses under Section 15 of the Act of 1909, already referred to.

Unfortunately, the official records omit to state what became of the evicted occupants of the closed dwellings. In practice those occupants show a decided objection to removal, for the obvious reason that they can usually get no other houses in which to live. A large number of them do not leave until the Council have obtained an order from the magistrates compelling them to do so, under pain of imprisonment, although the Council may, in fit cases, induce them to hurry up by paying the expenses of removal, which are subsequently recoverable from the owner.

PROVIDING MORE HOUSES.

Clearly the constructive task of building new houses is far more important than that of closing unhealthy dwellings. This work may be carried out under Part 3 of the Act of 1890 (which is no longer adoptive) and the amending Acts of 1900, 1903, and 1909. The London County Council, or the Council of any metropolitan or municipal borough, or urban or rural district, may build houses for their working-class population, either inside or outside their district, whenever they consider such houses are likely to prove useful, and regardless of whether there is any actual shortage of housing accommodation or not. The sanction of the Local Government Board is required to the necessary loan of the capital expenditure, but otherwise there is no restriction upon the powers of the Council. If the land cannot be obtained by voluntary agreement the Local Government Board may make a Provisional Order under which it may be purchased compulsorily, the price being determined, in cases of dispute, by an arbitrator appointed by the Board, and no additional allowance being payable on account of the compulsory character of the transaction. Common lodging houses may also be established under these powers.

The persistent agitation in recent years for more decent accommodation for the working classes has borne steady fruit. In the year ended 31st March, 1914, loans amounting to £565,860 were sanctioned in order to enable urban authorities in England and Wales to build 2,465 houses, and (what is still more encouraging) during the same period rural authorities received sanctions to the borrowing of £194,769 for the erection of 872 houses.

WHY MORE BUILDING IS NOT DONE.

The financial difficulties to be overcome in carrying out housing schemes are obvious. The speculative builder will provide houses for the working classes when there is a clear profit to be made out of the transaction. As a rule, it is only when the builder fears he may not make this profit, and ceases to build, that the average Council can be induced to put its powers into operation. When eventually they do so they cannot (and should not) run up the cheap structures which the speculator erects merely to sell; and unless their plans and specifications show an intention to erect houses of a more or less permanent nature the Local Government Board will not sanction the necessary loan. Moreover, interest and sinking fund have to be provided whilst the houses are in course of erection, and before they

can be occupied, and this always causes each scheme to be burdened during the first few years of its existence with a deficit, which ignorant or hostile critics regard as evidence of its financial failure. Nevertheless, large housing schemes in urban districts can be carried out so as to be self-supporting.

The usual maximum period for repayment of loans by local authorities is 60 years, but it is extended for housing purposes to 80 years. The latter period is, in practice, usually granted for loans raised to purchase the site, and 60 years for the capital expenditure on the buildings, streets, sewers, etc. By the Housing (No. 2) Act, 1914, the sum of £4,000,000 was provided to enable the Board of Agriculture, in agricultural districts, and the Local Government Board, in other parts of the country, to provide and improve housing accommodation for the working classes. It was the intention of these departments to make advances to local authorities, in order that building schemes might be undertaken to mitigate any unemployment arising out of the war, and the greater part of the money will doubtless be available for this purpose when the problem of the unemployed returns to us upon the declaration of peace.

HOW TO SET THINGS IN MOTION.

Difficulty is often experienced in inducing the Council to exercise its powers with regard to slum dwellings or the erection of new houses. The Housing and Town Planning Act, 1909 (Sections 10 to 12), provide that any four inhabitant householders of a district may complain to the Local Government Board that the local authority have failed to exercise its powers as to closing unhealthy houses or building new houses. If the Board find the local authority guilty they may order it to do its duty, and enforce the order by mandamus, or (except in the case of a county borough) authorise the County Council to take over the task. In the case of a rural district the County Council may, upon a similar complaint to them by four householders, transfer, from the District Council to themselves, all the necessary powers to provide new houses for the working classes.

THE PUBLIC AS MONEYLENDER.

There are politicians and journalists who contend that the remedy is to make every tenant an owner. Being rigid opponents of collective ownership, they regard it as unsound for the community to use its credit to provide houses which shall be the property of the town, but as the private organisation of thrift, by means of building societies and savings banks, has apparently not been successful they have fallen back upon the expedient of using the credit of the community to assist the individual to purchase his house. The Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, 1899, empowers the Council of a county, or of a municipal or metropolitan borough, or of an urban district, to lend to the purchaser of a house of the value of £400 or less four-fifths of its value, at interest not greater than 10s. per cent. above the rate at which the money can be borrowed from the Public Works Loan Commissioners. The advance must be repaid within 30 years, and the borrower must reside in the house. The influence of the Act upon the housing problem is negligible. Since it was passed only 57 local authorities have put it into operation, and the total amount raised for the purchase of houses has been £396,000.

See Fabian Tracts 76, "Houses for the People"; 109, "Cottage Plans and Commonsense"; 68 and 71, "Tenants' Sanitary Catechism"; "The Housing Handbook" and "Housing up to Date," by W. Thompson, 1907; "The Housing Problem in England," by E. R. Dewsnap, 1907; "Housing of the Working Classes," by M. Kaufman, 1907; Report by L.C.C. in 1913 on "Housing in London, 1855-1912."

HYDRAULIC POWER

(water under pressure) may be supplied by any municipal water undertaking. The Manchester Town Council does it with great success.

INFANT LIFE PROTECTION.

The Notification of Births Act, requiring instant notice to the Medical Officer of Health, was made applicable to every part of England and Wales in 1915. Invaluable work for maternity and child welfare may be carried out by any Council as part of its public health work. The Local Government Board frequently urge the Council to do so by circular letters sketching out a plan of campaign to be followed, and also stimulate it into activity by offering a grant of one-half the approved expenditure. Voluntary agencies may also obtain this grant if the directions of the Board are complied with. The principal features of the work are the appointment of Health Visitors to visit the homes of expectant mothers before and after the birth of children, the establishment of maternity centres at which expectant mothers and mothers with infants and little children may obtain advice and treatment, co-operating where possible with the midwives of the district and with any local hospital having a maternity department. The Medical Officer should be in charge of the centre, and records should be kept, which may be transferred to the School Medical Officer when the child is entered at an elementary school. The primary aim of the Board, as expressed in their circulars, is to secure "continuity in dealing with the whole period from before birth until the time when the child is entered upon a school register, i.e., the register of a public elementary school, nursery school, creche, day nursery, school for mothers, or other school." For rural and smaller urban areas it is desirable to establish a county organisation, under the County Council, but in close co-operation with the Local Sanitary Authority (i.e., the Town or Urban or Rural District Council).

The complete scheme for maternity and child welfare proposed by the Medical Officer of the Board comprises arrangements for (1) local supervision of midwives (see Midwives); (2) an ante-natal clinic for expectant mothers; (3) home visiting of expectant mothers; (4) a maternity hospital or beds at a hospital for complicated cases of pregnancy; (5) assistance in securing skilled and prompt attendance during home confinements, and in the confinement at hospitals of sick women and others suffering from conditions involving danger to the mother or infant; (6) hospital treatment of complications arising after parturition, whether in the mother or infant; (7) provision of systematic advice and treatment for infants at a baby clinic or infant dispensary, and the continuance of such institutions so that they may be available for children up to the age when they are entered on one of the school registers already referred to, and the systematic home visitation of infants and children not on any such register.

Another branch of the work, the establishment of schools for mothers, may be undertaken either by the Education Authority or by voluntary committees. The object of such schools is primarily educational, to provide training and instruction for mothers in the care and management of infants and little children. They may include systematic classes, or home visiting, or infant consultations, and every effort should be made to co-ordinate the work with that of the School Medical Officer and the Medical Officer of Health. A grant of one-half of the approved cost may be obtained from the Board of Education.

What should be an efficient check upon the system of baby farming is contained in the Infant Life Protection Act, 1897. This measure is almost the only modern statute which has deprived the Town or District Council of statutory duties, and handed them over to the Poor Law Guardians. Where any child under the age of 5 years is entrusted for nursing or maintenance to another person for more than 48 hours in return for reward the latter must give full particulars to the Guardians, who may then fix the maximum number of babies to be received in the house. If any child is handed over for adoption in return for a lump sum of less than £20 similar notice must also be given. If death should occur in either case the Coroner must be informed within 48 hours. The Guardians are required to appoint inspectors (who ought always to be women) to see that the Act is carried out. Unfortunately in most unions the duty is simply remitted to the Relieving Officer. It is the duty of such inspectors to notify any case in which an infant is maintained or adopted by an unfit person, but the power of the Guardians is limited to removing the child to the workhouse. In London the Act is carried out by the Common Council for the city, and by the London County Council for the remainder of the county.

See "Infant Mortality," by H. T. Ashby (1915); "Infant Mortality," by Sir George Newman (1906); "Statistical Analysis of Infant Mortality," by Helen Blagg; "Milk and the Public Health," by W. G. Savage; Fabian Tracts 122, "Municipal Milk and Public Health," by Dr. Lawson Dodd; 149, "The Case for School Nurseries," by Mrs. Townshend; 149, "The Endowment of Motherhood," by H. D. Harben; Proceedings of National Conference on Infant Mortality, 1908; ask for the publications of the National Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality, 4, Tavistock Square, London.

LIBRARIES.

A free public library may be provided by the Council of any municipal or metropolitan borough or urban district which adopts the Public Libraries Acts, 1892 and 1893 (poll of the ratepayers being no longer required), and by the Council of any rural parish where the Parish Meeting has adopted the Acts. The annual cost must not exceed the produce of a penny rate. As an inducement to the Council or electors to adopt the Act, especially in rural districts, the cost may be fixed at a smaller amount, say, a halfpenny, but for a town library this is wholly insufficient to provide and maintain a decent lending library, although it may suffice for a rural reading-room. In over 30 cases local Acts have been obtained enabling the penny rate to

* See also Art Galleries and Museums.

be increased. The Councils of neighbouring districts may co-operate in establishing a joint library. The Library Committee charged with the management of the library may include persons of either sex who are not members of the Council. At most libraries a suggestion book is kept, in which readers may enter the names of new books or periodicals which they think should be provided. In practice too little use is made of this means of popular control, and Trade Union branches and Workers' Educational Association classes should always make known the books that their members desire to have added to the public library.

See the publications of "The Library Association."

MARKETS.

A public market may be established in any town by resolution of the Council, subject to the proposal being approved by two-thirds of the Council in a municipal borough and by the owners and ratepayers (expressed at a statutory meeting, or, in the case of a poll, by the obsolete system of plural voting) in an urban district. No private market rights, such as often exist in towns of considerable age, may be interfered with, but the Council may buy a private market or market right. In London the principal markets are owned by the Corporation of the City of London, whilst others (such as Covent Garden) belong to private persons or companies, and in three cases the market is the property of the metropolitan Borough Council.

Maternity, Provision for.

See Infant Life.

Mothers, Schools for.

See Infant Life.

MUSEUMS AND GYMNASIUMS.

Any Borough or Urban District Council may confer upon itself power to establish a museum by adopting the Museums and Gymnasiums Act, 1891, but the total annual expense must not exceed the product of a halfpenny rate for museums and a similar amount for any gymnasiums provided. The minimum period during which each of such institutions must be opened free of charge to the public is three days weekly for museums and two hours a day for five days a week in the case of gymnasiums. The Act does not extend to the county of London. Up to 1914 57 Councils had adopted the whole of the Act, while 43 Councils had adopted the portion relating to museums, and six had limited their resolution of adoption to gymnasiums.

A museum may also be established in connection with a free public library, but the cost must be met by the library rate of 1d. in the £. Almost all public libraries contain the nucleus of a museum in small collections of articles of local interest which have been given to them.

Notification of Births.

See Births.

NOTIFICATION OF DISEASE.

Any case of small-pox, diphtheria, cholera, membranous croup, erysipelas, infectious fever, or tuberculosis must be notified by the doctor discovering it to the Medical Officer of Health for the borough

or district in which the patient is residing. If no doctor has been called in the duty of notification falls upon the person in charge of the patient, or the occupier of the house, or, in the case of a common lodging house, the keeper of the premises. The Council may extend the list of notifiable diseases by resolution approved by the Local Government Board. Measles is thus often made notifiable for a short period, when a severe outbreak occurs; and the same course is often followed, during the summer, in the case of diarrhœa. The Medical Officer of a non-county borough or urban or rural district must forward to the Medical Officer for the county a list of the notifications of tuberculosis, and in London the Medical Officer is required to forward a list of all notifications to the Metropolitan Asylums Board, which maintains the hospitals for treatment of the greater number of those diseases.

Wherever the departments of the school Medical Officer and the Medical Officer of Health are in touch with each other the latter should at once receive from the former, or from the head teachers, a list of all children reported to be absent from school owing to disease.

POLICE.

The control and management of the English police force is an example of municipal administration, kept in a state of efficiency by the grant of a subvention from the Government when the force is satisfactorily maintained. With the exception of Middlesex, each administrative county has a separate police force, although, for convenience, two or more county forces may be managed as a single unit. The number of officers and men is fixed (subject to the approval of the Home Secretary) by the standing joint committee, composed of an equal number of representatives from the County Council and the county justices. In boroughs with a population of over 10,000 the police are either merged into the county force or are controlled by the Watch Committee, a body appointed by the Town Council. It has for some time been the policy of the Government to encourage the union of county and borough police in the case of the smaller boroughs, and no new borough with less than 20,000 population is now allowed to establish a separate police force.

One-half of the cost of the pay and clothing of the police is paid by the Government if the force is certified by the Home Office inspector to be efficient.

The metropolitan area, within the county of Middlesex and a radius of 15 miles from Charing Cross, is policed by the Metropolitan police force. This is directly controlled by the Home Office, and the functions of the municipal bodies within that area are limited to raising one-half of the cost over which they have no control.

In the City of London the police are under the control of the City Corporation.

See "History of Police in England," by W. L. M. Lee, 1902; "Police Administration: a Study of Police Organisations in the United States and Abroad," by L. F. Fuld (New York, 1909); "The Constable's Pocket Book," T. O. H. Lees, 1907.

POOR RELIEF.

The United Kingdom is almost alone in the world in entrusting the public function of providing for those in distress to a separate

local authority. In France and Germany, for instance, the duty has long since been made part of the general functions of the municipality or local Council. In the United Kingdom the County Borough or District Council now provides as part of its general duties for the infants, the children, the sick, the unemployed able-bodied, the mentally defective, and the aged. But we still retain also a special Poor Law authority—in England, Wales, and Ireland the Board of Guardians, in Scotland the Parish Council—elected for the sole purpose of “relieving the destitute,” whether they are infants, children, sick or mentally defective persons, the unemployed able-bodied, or the aged. This causes a wasteful overlapping, which has become a public scandal.

THE RIGHT TO RELIEF.

Any person who is “destitute” has a legal right to poor relief (in Scotland, not an able-bodied man in health), and the Poor Law authorities incur a grave responsibility, which may amount to indictment for manslaughter, if the proper relief is refused to or withheld from any destitute person. If the Relieving Officer or Workhouse Master (in Scotland, Inspector of Poor or Poorhouse Master) refuses relief to any person in distress, it is worth while accompanying the person to make a second application and seriously remonstrating with the official.

OUTDOOR RELIEF.

Poor relief is either “outdoor” or “indoor.” The outdoor relief consists of small doles of money or food paid by the Relieving Officer (in Scotland by the Inspector of Poor) on the instructions of the Board of Guardians (in Scotland the Parish Council). This is usually refused to able-bodied men or to able-bodied women unencumbered by young children, and attempts are constantly being made by the Inspectors of the Local Government Board to persuade the Boards of Guardians (in Scotland the Parish Councils) to limit it in all other cases by “offering the house” as a “test of destitution” or as a way of inducing relatives to assist. But outdoor relief ought never to be refused (unless on special grounds) to (a) old people not in receipt of old age pensions and unable to earn a living, and yet capable of looking after themselves, or able to find homes with relatives; (b) mothers with young children without husbands to provide maintenance; (c) sick or infirm persons for whom the doctor does not recommend hospital treatment. There is no limit to the amount of outdoor relief that may be granted, except that it must be reasonable and not more than enough for maintenance. Its amount is entirely at the discretion of the Board of Guardians (in Scotland, Parish Council). They are constantly told officially that it ought always to be “adequate.”

THE PARISH DOCTOR.

Outdoor medical relief—that is to say, the attendance of the Poor Law doctor (District Medical Officer) and the medicines he furnishes—can usually be obtained by any sick person who is “destitute” (which merely means unable otherwise to get the medical attendance that he needs). It is still needed, notwithstanding the National Insurance Act and its “panel” doctors—who are often the same persons as the Poor Law doctors—by (a) homekeeping wives; (b) children under 16; (c) men who are not working for employers, but are (as hawkers,

peddlers, jobbing craftsmen or gardeners, boatmen, chairmen, or carriers) "on their own"; (d) persons who have missed insurance, got "lost," or "run out" of benefit. Old age pensioners who are ill are entitled, without forfeiting their pensions, to Poor Law medical relief, or admission to the sick ward of the workhouse, if they cannot otherwise get proper care.

INDOOR RELIEF.

Whenever outdoor relief is refused "indoor relief" ought always to be offered. This usually means admission to the general mixed workhouse (in Scotland, poorhouse), in which are interned young and old, sick and hale, sane and mentally defective, in hateful and demoralising promiscuity. The loss of freedom, the brutalising ugliness and monotony, the degradation and sense of shame which are deliberately attached to the workhouse, avowedly in order to make it as "deterrent" as a prison, cause it to be detested by the poor. The whole system was **unanimously** condemned by the Poor Law Commission of 1905-9, every member of which recommended the abolition of the workhouse; yet it still endures.

Hardly any really able-bodied men in health, or unencumbered women able in body and sound in mind, are to be found in the workhouses or poorhouses, so there is little "work" done there. The 300,000 inmates of the 900 general mixed workhouses of the United Kingdom are almost entirely made up of the sick, the mentally defective, the aged, the children, and the infants.

CHILDREN IN THE WORKHOUSE.

Notwithstanding all protests, there are shut up in the 900 workhouses of the United Kingdom to-day about 65,000 boys and girls under 16. There are to begin with about 50,000 infants and children under 5—some 15,000 being actually born in the workhouse each year. The inmates still include about 15,000 children between 5 and 16; more than a third of them in Irish workhouses; another third in the sick wards of English workhouses or Scottish poorhouses; and still several thousands there without the excuse of sickness, in spite of recent attempts of the English and Scottish Local Government Boards to keep all children out.

THE SICK IN THE WORKHOUSE.

About 130,000 of the inmates are ill in bed, and are in the workhouse (not intended as a place for the sick) merely because there is not sufficient hospital accommodation provided for them. For "chronic cases," for incurables, for maternity, for non-surgical cases needing prolonged nursing, and for venereal diseases there is, indeed, in most parts of the country absolutely no voluntary and no municipal hospital available for the poor. The Poor Law Commission found the workhouses quite unfit for the treatment of sick persons. Those in Ireland and Scotland are, with a few exceptions, in such places as Glasgow, both structurally and administratively, unfit for hospitals. In England and Wales, in **300 unions**—covering almost half the country—the only place to which the sick poor can go for treatment is the general mixed workhouse itself, usually an old building, not built for a hospital, and far below the lowest modern standard of hospital sanitation. Here a ward or two are set apart for the sick of

all ages, whatever their diseases. There is, of course, no resident doctor; **there is often no trained nurse** other than the Workhouse Matron. The nursing staff is, in the best cases, shamefully insufficient.

In nearly another 300 unions there is a separate building, apart from the general mixed workhouse, for some at least of the sick. But it is still under the Workhouse Master; a large part of the work of nursing is done by old and partly imbecile paupers; the staff of trained nurses is scandalously below hospital standard; and there is hardly ever a resident doctor.

Finally, in London and about 50 large towns, there are Poor Law infirmaries (now nearly 100 in number), with over 200 resident doctors; fairly good buildings; staffs of trained nurses, which make some approximation to hospital standards, and medical superintendents in charge. Even these Poor Law infirmaries have the drawback that they are open only to the "destitute" sick; admission involves pauperism (though not always loss of vote); and there can be very little specialist treatment.

THE MENTALLY DEFECTIVE IN THE WORKHOUSE.

There are in the general mixed workhouses, to their own hurt and the infinite annoyance of the other inmates, at least 10,000 actually certified lunatics, besides (so the Royal Commission of 1908 told us) 40,000 more who are feeble-minded and otherwise mentally defective. All these poor creatures ought to be taken out of the workhouse and dealt with properly by the Local Lunacy Authorities. This is what the Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded (1908) and the Royal Commission on the Poor Law (1909) both strongly recommended. It has not been done. "If you took away the feeble-minded women," said a Poor Law Guardian, "how should we get the scrubbing done?"

THE AGED IN THE WORKHOUSE.

To the old man or woman, crippled with rheumatism, or broken down by sheer old age, we give (but not until 70) an old age pension, which may be as much as 5s. a week. To those who break down before 70, or who for some reason fail to get an old age pension, the Poor Law Authority often gives a few shillings a week in outdoor relief. But where this is refused (as it often is), or where the old person can find no relative or friend to look after him, or where he cannot manage to exist on these meagre doles, he must "go unto the house"—the general mixed workhouse, where husband and wife are (nearly always) parted, because the Guardians make no adequate provision for separate apartments, and where they are herded with the feeble-minded and the idiots in the promiscuous wards. More than 100,000 of our veterans of industry are, to the nation's everlasting disgrace, thus interned in the general mixed workhouse, which was no more intended for them than it was for the sick. This is the fault of the Board of Guardians (Parish Councils in Scotland). It is within their power to give all the old people outdoor relief adequate for their maintenance, so that they need not come into the workhouse. It is within their power to provide (as has been done for a few old people at Birmingham, Bradford, Dewsbury, Sheffield, and Woolwich, for instance) entirely distinct quarters, with separate rooms for each inmate, comfortable furniture, with accommodation for their own belongings, each person with his or her own fire and teapot, with

plots of garden ground to cultivate what they like, permission to go out at will, to get up when they like, and to receive visitors. All this is within the power of the Boards of Guardians to-day. Yet they hardly ever choose to make this provision.

For full information as to Poor Relief in England and Wales, see "The Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, 1909"; for Scotland and Ireland, see the corresponding Minority Reports. Unfortunately, there have been hardly any important changes since the Commission reported.

PUBLIC PARKS.

All local authorities, from the County Council down to the smallest Parish Council, may dedicate a few patches of their district to the service of health and beauty by the establishment of public parks and recreation grounds. Happily, most of them have done so. The land may even be outside the Council's district, and if it cannot afford to purchase or lay out a park it may contribute to the support of any land which is used by the public as a pleasure ground.

Under the general law a public park must be open free of charge except on special days, not exceeding twelve per annum, when it may be granted, with or without payment, to any public institution or for any public purpose. In many of the larger towns, however, special Parliamentary powers have been obtained under which portions of a park may be let to cricket, football, or bowling clubs, or similar bodies. The London County Council and small bodies, such as the Richmond (Surrey) Town Council, derive a large revenue from letting pitches for fairs on Bank Holidays.

See for London Open Spaces, "London's Parks and Gardens," by the Hon. A. M. T. Cecil, 1907; "Municipal Parks and Gardens of London," by J. J. Sexby, 1898.

The Council has power to provide or arrange for the provision of boats to be let on hire on any lake in its parks.

A Council (outside the county of London which has adopted Part VI. of the Public Health Act, 1907, may enclose part of a park for skating, but may not charge for admission to more than one-quarter of the whole of the ice. It may also decide that certain portions of its parks are to be used for specified games and provide apparatus for games, charge for the use of seats (invariably an irritating proceeding, except in special places), and provide and let reading-rooms, pavilions for entertainments, and refreshment-rooms. It may provide or aid in the provision of a band of music to play in the park, but the cost must not exceed the product of a penny rate, or such lower amount as the Local Government Board may approve, and enclose not more than an acre of land, for the admission to which a charge may be made, for the convenience of the audience.

Trustees of open spaces and squares may transfer them to a County Borough or District Council, and the freeholder of a closed churchyard or disused burial ground may transfer those premises to the Council, but in the latter case the licence or faculty of the Bishop is necessary if the ground is consecrated.

The use to which parks and recreation grounds may be put is a matter governed by the bye-laws. Games by adults are usually prohibited in the smaller open spaces, as they monopolise too great an extent of the ground. Upon other recreation grounds it is customary

to lay out tennis courts and cricket and football pitches, the cost of marking out the courts and creases being usually paid by the clubs to whom the privilege of playing is allotted. On some of the larger grounds golf is allowed.

Bournemouth, for example, has two golf courses which are self-supporting. It also maintains a miniature rifle range. The power to provide parks, however, is not necessarily limited to the purchase of land which can be used for such sports. Bradford, for example, has acquired Baildon Moor, an area of over 700 acres in extent. In many cases local authorities have been able to purchase the whole or part of large estates in or adjoining their areas, which have come into the market owing to the district changing in character from rural to urban. Thus, Willesden has purchased Dollis Hill House, and the London County Council (in conjunction with neighbouring authorities) has acquired Marble Hill, a Thames-side mansion at Twickenham. In the latter case, the main object is to preserve the view from Richmond Hill from disfigurement by building, but in both instances the result is that gardens and grounds which formerly were maintained for the occasional delectation of the owner and his friends are now used by thousands, who take far more joy from their beauties than did the few visitors who used them whilst in private ownership.

The bye-laws with regard to recreation grounds and parks do not usually specifically prohibit the playing of games on Sundays, but the public are invariably under the impression that it is forbidden, as they are quite used to the idea that Sunday recreation should be reserved for those who can afford to subscribe to private golf clubs or who have tennis courts in their back gardens.

Slaughterhouses.

See Abattoirs.

THEATRES AND MUSIC HALLS.

Licences for the performance of stage plays are granted annually by the Councils of counties or county boroughs, but in the former case the Council may delegate its powers in this matter to the local Borough or District Councils. In certain districts within the county of London, and near royal residences, the Lord Chamberlain is the licensing authority in place of the County Council.

Music and dancing licences are granted by the local magistrates, except in Middlesex or within 20 miles of the city of London, where the matter is in the hands of the Councils of the counties and county boroughs.

TOWN HALLS.

A Borough Council may provide a Town Hall, which may include, in addition to the usual municipal offices, a hall for public meetings. The powers of a Council of an urban or rural district are limited to the offices required by their staff.

In the former case, a Council which regards its Town Hall as something more than a mere revenue-producing undertaking may make the building the centre of the social activities of its district. For bonâ-fide public purposes, such as town's meetings on current subjects of interest, or concerts, discussions, and general gatherings of an instructive or recreative nature, the hall may be let free of charge

or on lower terms than otherwise would be the case. There is no legal "right" in any group of inhabitants to have a town's meeting. It depends always on the permission of the Council.

TOWN PLANNING.

The town planning provisions of the Housing, Town Planning, etc., Act, 1909, are of extraordinary interest to everyone concerned with municipal government. That measure introduced several important new principles into English legislation. The towns of England, like Topsy in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," were not born, but "grewed," with results exceedingly unsatisfactory to the health, convenience, and general well-being of the town, its residents, its traders, and even its landowners. Within the very broad limits of the bye-laws as to new buildings (which were often made still wider by lax administration) the land speculator and the jerrybuilder did that which was right, or rather profitable, in their own eyes, regardless of the effect of their action upon the town at large, or even upon their fellow owners and builders. The Act of 1909 for the first time gave to the local authorities some measure of control over the manner in which the land within their districts, and also bordering upon their districts, should be developed. It is a mild attempt to replace the anarchy so popular with the extinct individualist, by systematic arrangements designed to promote the general well-being of the community. It is, of course, at least half-a-century too late. As to whether it will fulfil the hopes of its authors depends largely upon the courage with which the local authorities put its provisions into operation, and the success with which they can speed up the administrative machine at headquarters. The Act is only six years old, and the various steps which have to be taken in order to put it into execution are so prolonged and complicated that enough has not yet been done to justify a judgment as to its utility.

The local authorities who may put the Act into execution are the Councils of boroughs, urban districts, and rural districts, and in the county of London the London County Council.

There is no narrow restriction as to the contents of a town planning scheme. It may be made "as respects any land which is in course of development or appears likely to be used for building purposes, with the general object of securing proper sanitary conditions, amenity, and convenience in connection with the laying out and use of the land and of any neighbouring lands." The point as to the "neighbouring lands" should not be lost sight of. As a rule the operations of a local authority, as regards the supply of water, electricity, or tramways, for example, are restricted to its own area, which may date from the days when Archbishop Theodore laid out the boundaries of ecclesiastical parishes, but in this instance an enterprising Council, desirous of preserving the amenities or convenience of its district, can invade the area of a less progressive neighbour and protect itself from injury owing to the lack of capacity or public spirit of that neighbour. The practical effect is to apply a little ginger to the Councils who never do anything until they are compelled. When they receive notices that the Councils of the districts to the north, east, and west of them intend to include their vacant land in a town planning scheme they usually hurry up and secure permission to prepare a scheme themselves.

HOW TO PREPARE A SCHEME.

This permission, which is given by the Local Government Board, is a necessary preliminary to a scheme. It is important to note that persons alleging that they are injured by the making of a scheme cannot recover compensation on account of anything done in respect of land included in the scheme after the application for authority to prepare the scheme or such other date as the Board may fix. The procedure necessary to make the scheme is governed by regulations of the Local Government Board, which cannot be set down here in detail, but when once it is made by the Council and approved by the Board it has the effect of an Act of Parliament. The general matters which may be included in a scheme are the making or stopping up or diversion of streets within the area, the class of buildings which shall be erected, and the provision of open spaces. The general principle of the Act is that as far as possible the Council should secure the co-operation of owners and other persons interested in the land which is dealt with by conferences and negotiations, a task which should not be too difficult for the competent municipal administrator, as owners are interested, equally with residents, in preserving their property from injury by careless or unscrupulous action on the part of a neighbour. Power may be included in a scheme to pull down or alter existing buildings.

Compensation is payable to any person financially injured by a scheme, subject to the restriction already mentioned and according to the decision of an Arbitrator appointed by the Board. On the other hand, if it can be proved that the scheme increases the value of any property, the authority carrying it out may recover from the owner of the property one-half of the increment. The same authority may also purchase land comprised in the scheme, either by agreement, or, if compulsion is necessary, by an order made by that authority and confirmed by the Board, and at the price settled by the Board's Arbitrator. The Boards have also power to compel a recalcitrant authority to make a scheme or to carry a scheme out.

Over 80 local authorities have obtained permission to prepare schemes, but not many schemes have yet been finally approved.

See "Town Planning in Practice," by Raymund Unwin, 1909; "Town Planning Past, Present, and Possible," by H. I. Triggs, 1909; "The Housing and Town Planning Act as it Affects Rural Districts," by A. Churton, 1910; "Town Planning," by G. Cadbury, junior, 1915; and the publication of the Garden City Association.

Washhouses.

See Baths.

WATER SUPPLY.

Over 1,600 local authorities in England and Wales, great and small, have their own water supply, being two-thirds of all the County Boroughs, all but a few dozen of the Non-County Boroughs, about half the Urban Districts, and few Rural Districts and Parish Councils. In Scotland most supplies are public. In Ireland Belfast and Cork have municipalised their supplies, but not Dublin. Such large cities as Bristol, Dublin, and Newcastle-on-Tyne are now exceptions in still buying water from profitmaking companies. The London Water Companies—which supplied an area four times as large as that of

the county of London—were expropriated in 1902, their undertakings being transferred to the Metropolitan Water Board, which administers a capital of 50 millions sterling and a annual revenue of three millions, and is composed of 66 representatives of the local authorities concerned.

In the provision of a supply of water for the inhabitants of their districts the local authorities are supplying a necessity rather than retailing a commodity. Water, pure in quality and sufficient in quantity, is such a vital requirement in urban districts that ever since 1847 the Borough or District Council, or their predecessors, has been invested with power to provide it when no private company could be tempted by the prospect of profit to do so.

The Council is compelled to see that every house in its district is furnished with a proper supply, if it can be provided at a reasonable cost; and if the owner refuses to carry out the work the Council may do all that is necessary and recover the cost from him.

In cases where a company is already installed, and fails to provide a proper and sufficient supply for all reasonable purposes, the Council may, after giving the notice to the company, supply water without the necessity of obtaining any specific legal powers. It was under this provision that certain suburban districts, such as Croydon and Richmond, became the water authority for part of their district, which companies many years ago had not foresight enough to provide with a reasonable supply of water.

The Council also has power to purchase the works and rights of any company supplying its districts, but compulsory powers for such a purpose can only be secured by a Provisional Order, granted by the Board of Trade and confirmed by Parliament or by a local Act.

The Council has a discretion as to whether it will make a water rate which will cover all expenses incurred by the supply of domestic water, but it cannot levy rates which will obviously produce a profit. The supply for trade and garden purposes is usually by meter.

The Council has, of course, ample powers to protect the purity of its water against pollution, and it may take proceedings in the local police-court to secure the closing of any impure tank or well within its district. It may also provide and maintain public fountains within its streets or parks.

EXAMPLES OF MUNICIPAL WATER SUPPLY.

Name of place.	Population in 1911.	Date of starting.	Capital invested.	Receipts, 1912-13.	Working expenses (without interest and sinking fund).
			£	£	£
Liverpool	746,421	1848	6,604,556	371,419	132,295
Hull	278,021	1440	619,022	68,468	30,961
Dublin	304,802	—	912,864	44,180	32,334
Lostwithiel	1,373	—	3,500	10	27
Perth	35,851	1877	94,530	7,939	4,403
Aldeburgh	2,374	1901	9,586	883	204

See Annual Reports of Metropolitan Water Board and of the Water Departments or Committees of the principal British cities.

See also the L.G.B. Return of Municipal Waterworks in England, H. of C. 335 of 1915.

SUPERANNUATION AND PENSIONS.

The law relating to this matter is in the state of the utmost confusion. All servants and officers employed by Poor Law authorities come under a uniform pension scheme established by Statute 1896. No other local authority is under any compulsion to grant pensions. In London all local authorities (other than Poor Law) have power to grant non-contributory pensions under the Superannuation (Metropolis) Act of 1866. There is no such general Act applicable to the rest of the country. If any local authority claims to grant pensions it is necessary that it should promote legislation on its own account, and obtain a separate Act of Parliament authorising it to do so. In London the L.C.C. and the boroughs mentioned in the table given below have obtained powers for various contributory schemes. The remainder of the boroughs are content to exercise their powers under the Superannuation (Metropolis) Act mentioned above. A certain number of provincial local authorities have also obtained powers to institute contributory pensions schemes, and instances of some of the most important are given below. The schemes usually provide that officers and "permanent" servants shall be pensioned, but without detailed knowledge of the standing orders of each locality it is not possible to attach very precise meaning to this term. In London, for instance, the whole of the tramway service is not reckoned as permanent, and is not pensioned; while, generally speaking, the road sweepers and humbler servants of the Borough Councils are pensionable. It is perhaps worthy of notice that the latest creations in local authorities, the Insurance Committees, have no power to pension their servants, and it is a little doubtful whether Insurance Committees have the power—even if they had the will—to promote legislation for this purpose. So anomalous and complicated a state of the law calls for amendment. An Act on the model of the Poor Law Officers Superannuation Act of 1896 is urgently needed for the servants of all local and municipal authorities.

Authority or scheme.	Officers and servants concerned.	Officers and servants.	Contributions.	Authority.	Allowances. Scale.	Death benefits. Before retirement. After retirement.
1. Poor Law (1896).	All officers and servants (whole or part time) including managers of district schools and sick asylums and their staffs.	Under 5 years' service, 2 per cent. of salary & emoluments; 5 to 15 years, 2½ per cent.; over 15 years, 3 per cent.	Sums necessary.	1-60th for each year's service up to a maximum of 40-60ths.	No provision.	No provision.
2. Asylum officers (1909).	Established officers and permanent workmen.	Ditto.	Ditto.	(a) 1st class officers: 1-50th salary and emoluments for each year's service. (b) Others: 1-60th salary and emoluments for each year's service.	Gratuity equal to contributions or 1 year's salary, whichever is greater.	Ditto.
3. Greater London. Super-annuation (Metropolis) Act (1866).	Officers and servants at discretion of Council.	None.	Ditto.	1-60th salary for each year's service up to a maximum of 40-60ths.	—	—
4. Bethnal Green (1906).	Established officers and permanent workmen.	Under 5 years' service, 2 per cent.; 5 to 15, 2½ per cent.; over 15, 3 per cent. on salary and emoluments	Primary annual contribution of £100 and deficiency.	1-60th average salary & emoluments of last 5 years for each year of service up to a maximum of 40-60ths.	Half total contributions. Fixed allowances for servants.	—

Authority or scheme.	Officers and servants concerned.	Contributions.		Allowances. Scale.	Death benefits.	
		Officers and servants.	Authority.		Before retirement.	After retirement.
5. Stepney (1905).	Same as No. 4.	Same as No. 4.	Same as No. 4.	Same as No. 4.	Return of half contributions.	—
6 Kensington (1907).	Same as No. 4.	Same as No. 4.	Primary annual contribution of not less than £300 and any deficiency.	Same as No. 4.	Same as No. 4.	—
7. L.C.C. (1906 and 1907).	Same as No. 4. For those entering service before May, 1914.	Under 25 years of age, 3 per cent.; 25 to 34, 3½ per cent.; 35 to 39, 4 per cent.; 40 and upwards, 5 per cent. salary and emoluments.	On salaried staff, 3 per cent.; on wages staff, 3½ per cent.; guarantee 3½ per cent. interest; and any deficiency.	1-60th of average salary over whole service for each year of service. Maximum, 40-60ths.	Return of contributions with 3 per cent. interest.	Difference between allowances received and total contributions, with 3 per cent. interest if the former is smaller.
		Wages staff special scale.				
		Salaried staff :				
		Under 25 years, men 5 per cent., women 3 per cent.; 25 to 30, 6½ per cent., 5 per cent.; 30 to 35, 7 per cent., 7 per cent.; 35 to 40, 8½ per cent., 8½ per cent.; 40 to 45, 9½ per cent., 10½ per cent.; 45 to 50, 10 per cent.,				

<p>11½ per cent.; 50 to 55, 10½ per cent., 12 per cent.</p> <p>Wage's staff: Under 25 years, 1d. in 2s. 6d., 3·33 per cent.; 25 to 35, 1½d. in 2s. 6d., 5 per cent.; 35 to 50, 2d. in 2s. 6d., 6·66 per cent.; 50 to 55, 3d. in 2s. 6d., 10 per cent.</p>	Same as No. 4.	<p>Officers: Under 25 years of age, 3 per cent.; 25 and under 30, 3½ per cent.; 30 and under 35, 4 per cent.; 35 and under 40, 4½ per cent.; 40 and over, 5 per cent.</p> <p>Transferred officers are allowed abatement of half above rates. Salaries.</p>	<p>Officers: Under 25, 4½ per cent.; 25 and over, 5 per cent. In cases of transferred officers Board also pay abatement referred to in column 2.</p>	<p>1-60th of average salary and emoluments of last five years for each year of service up to a maximum of 40-60ths.</p>	—	<p>Own contributions and interest. Difference between allowances received and total contributions with 3 per cent. if the former is the smaller.</p>
<p>8. Metropolitan Water Board (1907).</p>	Same as No. 4.					
<p>9. Camberwell, Deptford, Hackney (1908).</p>	Same as No. 4.	<p>Primary annual contribution certified by actuary, and any deficiency.</p>	Same as No. 4.	Same as No. 4.	Same as No. 4.	Same as No. 4.

Authority or scheme.	Officers and servants concerned.	Contributions.		Allowances. Scale.	Death benefits.	
		Officers and servants.	Authority.		Before retirement.	After retirement.
10. Marylebone (1908).	Same as No. 4.	Same as No. 4.	Annual primary contribution of not less than £400 and deficiency.	Same as No. 4.	Same as No. 9.	None.
11. Westminster.	Same as No. 4.	Same as No. 4 except where salary does not exceed £120 per annum. 1½ per cent. Servants a pension scheme.	Primary annual contribution certified by actuary and any deficiency.	Same as No. 4.	Same as No. 9.	None.
12. Wandsworth (1909).	Same as No. 4.	Same as No. 4.	Annual primary contribution of less than £400 and deficiency.	Same as No. 4.	Same as No. 9.	None.
13. Paddington (1911).	Same as No. 4.	Under 5 years' service, 2½ per cent.; 5 to 15, 3 per cent.; over 15, 3½ per cent.; officers with not more than £120 per annum, 2 per cent. salary and emoluments. Servants on pension scale.	Same as No. 9.	Same as No. 4.	Contributions returned.	If within one year after retiring a sum not less than balance of one year's allowance.
14. Poplar.	Same as No. 4.	Same as No. 13.	Same as No. 9.	Same as No. 4.	Own contributions returned.	Amount at discretion of Council, but not less than difference

annuation super-
annances received
and 1 year's total
allowance if the
former be
smaller.

If within 1 year
after retiring not
less than balance
of 1 year's allow-
ance.

15. City of London (1912).	Same as No. 4.	Same as No. 4.	Sums necessary	Same as No. 4.	Contributions returned	—
16. Southgate.	Same as No. 4.	Under 5 years' service, 3 per cent.; 5 to 15, 3½ per cent.; over 15, 4 per cent. salary and emoluments.	Primary annual contribution to be certified by actuary, and any deficiency.	Same as No. 4.	Same as No. 4.	—
17. Chiswick (1911).	Established officers and permanent workmen.	Under 5 years' service, 2½ per cent.; 5 to 15, 3 per cent.; over 15, 3½ per cent. on salary and emoluments.	Primary annual contribution, and any deficiency.	1-60th of average salary of last 5 years for each year of service to maximum of 40-60ths	One-half of own contributions, but Council may return other half.	None.
18. Chelsea. (1914).	Established officers and servants.	Under 5 years' service, 2½ per cent.; 5 to 15, 3 per cent.; over 15, 3½ per cent.; officers with salaries not exceeding £120 per annum, 2 per cent. salary and emoluments.	Same as No. 17	Same as No. 17	Own contributions returned.	None.

Authority or scheme.	Officers and servants concerned.	Contributions. Officers and servants.	Authority.	Allowances. Scale.	Death benefits. Before retirement. After retirement.
19. Manchester Thrift Scheme (1891).	Established officers and permanent workmen, and in receipt of 30s. per week.	3½ per cent. on salary.	1¼ per cent. and 4 per cent. compound interest.	Whole of accumulated fund at 65 own contributions, and interest at earlier age.	Amount standing to credit of deceased. None.
20. Groydon (1893).	Established officers whose salaries and emoluments do not exceed £500 per annum; permanent workmen under age 30 at joining	2½ per cent. on salary and emoluments.	Sum equal to officers' and servants' contributions.	Endowment assurance policy is taken out at age 30, premiums being equal to 5 per cent. of salary and emoluments.	Contributions returned with 3 per cent. interest. None.
21. Bootle (1899).	Established officers and permanent workmen.	3 per cent. on salary and emoluments.	Sum equal to officers' contributions.	1-60th of average salary of last 3 years, with a maximum of 40 to 60. No superannuation allowance to exceed £400.	Contributions returned. None.
22. Wallasey (1901).	Established officers and permanent workmen of 20 years and upwards, excepting new entrants of 45 years and upwards.	Existing officers 3 per cent. to 5 per cent. Officers appointed after passing of Act, 2½ per cent. on salaries under £100, 3 per cent. on salaries over £100.	Sum equal to officers' contributions and 3 per cent. interest and any deficiency.	Annuity equal to gross sum standing to credit of contributor.	Whole amount standing to credit of deceased. Difference between own contributions and interest and amount received by annuity if the latter is smaller.

23. Edinburgh (1906).	Established officers and permanent workmen.	2½ per cent. on salary.	Sum equal to officers' contributions.	Same as Chiswick.	None.	None.
24. Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1911).	Same as No. 23.	Up to 5 years' service not exceeding 4 per cent.; 5 to 15, not exceeding 5 per cent.; 15 to 30, not exceeding 6 per cent.; over 30 years' service, not exceeding 8 per cent. salary and emoluments.	Sum equal to officers' contributions and deficiency.	Same as Chiswick.	Half amount of contributions, but Council may return other half as gratuity.	None.
25. Halifax (1911).	Same as No. 23.	Not exceeding 4 per cent. on salary.	Primary annual contribution and any deficiency.	1-80th of average salary of last 5 years for each year of service up to a maximum of 40-80ths.	Own contributions returned.	None.
27. Birmingham (1912).	Same as No. 23.	Not exceeding 25 years of age, 3 per cent.; 30 years of age, 3½ per cent.; 35 years of age, 4 per cent.; 40 years of age, 4½ per cent.; exceeding 40 years of age, 5 per cent., salary only.	Sums necessary	1-60th of average salary of last 5 years for each year of service up to a maximum of 40-60ths. If salary over £500 the maximum is 30-60ths.	Contributions returned.	None.

Authority or scheme.	Officers and servants concerned.	Contributions.		Allowances. Scale.	Death benefits.	
		Officers and servants.	Authority.		Before retirement.	After retirement.
26. St. Helens (1911).	Same as No. 23.	3½ per cent. on salary not exceeding £500. Contributions cease at 40 years service.	3¾ per cent. on salaries not exceeding £600 according to age of member at entry.	Life annuity purchasable by accumulated fund. (Post Office Savings Bank tables.)	Whole amount standing to credit of deceased.	None.
28. Bradford (1913)	Established officers and permanent workmen.	Not exceeding 4 per cent. of salary and emoluments	Sums necessary	Same as Chiswick.	Contributions returned	If within one year of retirement balance of that year's Superannuation Allowance.
29. Liverpool	Established officers and permanent workmen.	Existing officers: 4 per cent. with less than 5 years' service; 5 to 9, 4½ per cent.; 10 to 14, 5 per cent.; 15 to 19, 5½ per cent.; 20 to 24, 6 per cent.; 25 to 29, 7 per cent.; 30 and over, 8 per cent. New entrants: Under 25 years of age, 4 per cent.; 25 to 29, 4½ per cent.; 30 and over, 5 per cent. salary and emoluments.	Primary annual contribution as certified by actuary at end of first year, and percentage decided as necessary at each actuarial valuation (5 per cent. for first year).	Same as Chiswick.	Contributions with interest.	Difference between own contributions and interest and amount received by annuity, if the latter is the smaller.

FAIR WAGES CLAUSE.

The Local Government Board have issued a circular to all local authorities urging them to adopt the Fair Wages Clause as adopted for Government contracts. The operative words of this clause are, as is well known :—

“ The contractor shall pay rates of wages and observe hours of labour not less favourable than those commonly recognised by employers and trade societies (or, in the absence of such recognised wages and hours, those which in practice prevail amongst good employers) in the trade in the district where the work is carried out. Where there are no such wages and hours recognised or prevailing in the district those recognised or prevailing in the nearest district in which the general industrial circumstances are similar shall be adopted.”

The Local Government Board have no information as to how far this resolution has been adopted by the authorities generally. Certain authorities have adopted a better and stricter form of contract. The L.C.C. provisions are especially elaborate, the rules with regard to Fair Wages occupying in fact about 20 pages of the Standing Orders. Summary giving the most important provisions for London and for some other typical towns are given below :—

EXTRACTS FROM FAIR WAGES CLAUSE.

LONDON.

L.C.C. Standing Order No. 281 :—

“ No contract shall be entered into with any person or firm if it is shown to the satisfaction of the Council that such person or firm does not pay such rates of wages and observe such hours of labour as are recognised by associations of employers and Trade Unions or are generally accepted as fair and in practice obtain in the districts in which such person or firm carries on work.”

L.C.C. Standing Order No. 286 :—

“ (a) There shall be kept at the County Hall a list of the rates of wages and the hours of labour to be paid and observed by the Council in works of construction, repair or maintenance of buildings or of engineering works, whether civil, mechanical, or electrical, which the Council may resolve to carry out without the intervention of a contractor on a site wholly or partially within a radius of 20 miles measured in a straight line from Charing Cross.

“ (b) The list shall be settled by the Council on the recommendation of the General Purposes Committee, and shall be based on the rates of wages and hours of labour recognised by associations of employers and Trade Unions and in practice obtaining in London.

“ (d) The list shall include the rates of wages and hours of labour recognised by associations of employers and Trade Unions and in practice obtaining in London, or where no such rates and hours are so recognised the rates and hours in practice obtaining in London in the printing and bookbinding trades.”

L.C.C. Standing Order No. 287 :—

“(a) In contracts for the supply of goods, materials, or manufactured articles a clause shall, unless otherwise ordered by the Council, be inserted to provide that with respect to all goods, materials, or manufactured articles manufactured, produced, or supplied by the contractor, he will in the manufacture, production, or supply thereof, as the case may be, pay and observe the under-mentioned rates of wages and hours of labour, viz. :—

“(1) Where the manufacture, production, or supply thereof is carried on within a radius of 20 miles from Charing Cross the rates of wages and hours of labour appearing in the Council's list (which for the purposes of paragraph (c) hereof shall be deemed to be the minimum scale to be fixed by the Council as therein mentioned), and if the contractor employ any employee or employees in any trade not included in the Council's list the rates of pay shall not be less, nor the hours of labour more, than those recognised by associations of employers and Trade Unions and in practice obtaining in London, or where no such rates and hours are recognised the rates and hours in practice obtaining in London.

“(2) Where the manufacture, production, or supply thereof is carried on beyond the radius of 20 miles from Charing Cross, and the Council has fixed a minimum scale of wages as applicable thereto, the rates of wages and hours of labour therein prescribed, and where the Council has not fixed a minimum scale, the rates of wages and hours of labour recognised by associations of employers and Trade Unions and in practice obtaining in the district where the manufacture, production, or supply is carried on, or where no such rates and hours are so recognised, the rates and hours of the nearest town or district in which recognised rates of wages and hours of labour are to be found.

“(b) In the case of contracts for the supply of goods, materials, or manufactured articles, if it is not practicable to insert the clause above specified, the contractor shall be required to declare that he pays such rates of wages and observes such hours of labour as are recognised by associations of employers and Trade Unions or are generally accepted as fair and in practice obtain in the districts in which the contractor carries on work.

“(c) In contracts for the supply of clothing, other than waterproof clothing, and in other contracts for the supply of goods, materials, or manufactured articles to be supplied through the Stores and Contracts Committee, under which persons are employed as regards whom there are neither rates of wages and hours of labour recognised by associations of employers and Trade Unions nor rates and hours in practice obtaining or where difficulty is or has been experienced under contracts of a similar nature in arriving at a decision as to the recognition or the obtaining of such rates and hours, a clause shall, on the instructions of the Council, be inserted providing for a minimum scale to be fixed by the Council of wages for workers and work of every or any description, with liability to a penalty of £25 in respect of every breach of contract as to wages. Provided that such minimum scale shall be ordinarily based on the rates and hours actually paid and observed by good employers in the district in which the goods, etc., will be manufactured or supplied.”

BRADFORD.

Adopted as a Standing Order of the Council :—

“And the contractor hereby gives an assurance that during the three months immediately preceding the date of his tender for this contract he has paid the whole of his workmen not less than the standard rate of wages as hereinafter defined, and he undertakes that he will continue to pay that rate of wages to all his workmen employed thereon during the existence of the present contract.”

LEICESTER.

Clause adopted 30th September, 1902 :—

“In every tender for any work to be done for the Corporation the person tendering should be required to state that he pays such rates of wages and observes such hours of labour and conditions of employment as are then recognised and practised by the employers and Trade Unions of the town or district in which the work tendered for is to be done.”

GLASGOW.

Standing Orders of the Corporation :—

“All specifications issued by the Corporation shall provide that only persons or firms paying the standard rates of wages or piece prices to all competent workers for all classes of work, whether under contract or otherwise, and recognising Trade Union conditions, shall be eligible to estimate for and receive Corporation contracts.

“(1) The contractor shall pay to all competent workpeople employed by him not less than the standard rate of wages or piece prices in each branch of the trade.”

LIVERPOOL.

“If any tender which (I or we) may submit shall be accepted by the Corporation (I or we) undertake to execute the work, or supply the material required, in accordance with a contract to be prepared by the Town Clerk, and to give such security for the due performance of the contract as the Corporation may require, and (I or we) hereby declare that (my or our) firm pays the rate of wages and observes the hours of labour recognised or agreed upon between the Trade Unions and the employers in the locality.”

SHEFFIELD.

“The contractor shall at all times abide by, perform, observe, fulfil, and keep all and singular the stipulations following, i.e. : He shall, in the manufacture and supply of the goods, pay to his workmen, except a reasonable number of his legally bound apprentices, if any, wages at rates not less, and observe hours of labour not greater, and provide conditions of employment not less favourable to his said workmen than the rates, hours, and conditions recognised jointly by the Trade Unions and employers of the district.”

WAGES AND LABOUR CONDITIONS.

The following table, compiled in July, 1915, shows the wages and labour conditions before and since the outbreak of war of various municipal employees in a number of representative cities and towns:—

BATTERSEA BOROUGH COUNCIL.				BURY COUNTY BOROUGH.			
	Normal hours.	Pre-war wages.	War changes.		Normal hours.	Pre-war wages.	War changes.
Sett paviors	48	10d. per hour	Plus 5 per cent.		54	9d. per hour	
Rammers	48	9d. "	" 5 "		54	6½d. "	
Labourers .....	...	" "	" "		54	6d. "	
Bricklayers	48	11d. per hour	Plus 5 per cent.		54	10d. "	
Labourers .....	...	" "	" "		54	7d. "	
Concretors	48	8½d. per hour	Plus 7½ p.c. on 8d.		54	6d. "	
Labourers .....	...	" "	" "		...	" "
Carpenters	48	11d. per hour	Plus 5 per cent.		53	10d. per hour	
Joiners	48	11d. "	" 5 "		53	10d. "	
Painters	48	10d. "	" 5 "		53	10d. "	
Roller drivers	48 & steam time	9½d. "	" 5 "		54	30s. weekly	
Attendants .....	...	" "	" "		...	" "
Navies	48	8d. per hour	Plus 7½ per cent.		54	6d. per hour	
Sewer pipe layers	48	9d. "	" 5 "		54	6½d. "	
Labourers .....	...	" "	" "		54	6d. "	
Timbermen	48	9d. per hour	Plus 5 per cent.		54	6½d. "	
General labourers	48	8d. "	" 7½ "		54	6d. "	
Street sweepers	48	32s. weekly	" 7½ "		36 to 45	16s. to 21s. weekly	
Domestic refuse collectors	48	32s. "	" 7½ "		Day 50	26s. weekly	
		" "	" "		Night 47½	30s. "	
		" "	" "		Day 50	27s. "	
		" "	" "		Night 47½	31s. 3d. "	
Drivers	48	32s. "	" 7½ "		60	30s. to 33s. 9d. wkly.	
Tramway motormen .....	...	" "	" "		60	27s. to 32s. weekly	
Tramway conductors .....	...	" "	" "		60	24s. to 30s. weekly	(Hours reduced to 59.)
		Chalet attendants,	Plus 7½ per cent.				
	48	21s. weekly	" "				
	48	Baths attendant,	" 7½ "				
	48	23s. weekly	" "				
	48	Milk depot,	" 7½ "				
	48	21s. weekly.	" "				
Women	40	Cleaners, Town Hall, 8d. per hour.	" 7½ "		No	women employed.	

War bonus granted: To 30s. wages, 2s.; 30s. to 40s., 1s.

The following table, compiled in July, 1915, shows the wages and labour conditions before and since the outbreak of war of various municipal employees in a number of representative cities and towns :—

War bonus: 2s. in certain cases only.

WAGES AND LABOUR CONDITIONS.

The following table, compiled in July, 1915, shows the wages and labour conditions before and since the outbreak of war of various municipal employees in a number of representative cities and towns:—

GLOUCESTER CORPORATION.				LEEDS CORPORATION.			
Normal hours.	Pre-war wages.	War changes.		Normal hours.	Pre-war wages.	War changes.	
{ Summer, 56½ Winter, 50½ }	7½d. 8d. per hr.			Summer, 50 Winter, 44½ }	10d. per hour	10½d. per hour	
Sett paviors.....	8d. per hour			"	7d.	7d.	2s. bonus
Rammers.....	5½d. "			"	6½d.	6½d.	2s.
Labourers.....	8½d. "			"	10d.	10d.	No change
Bricklayers.....	5½d. "			Summer, 49½ Winter, 41½ & 44 }	7d.	7d.	"
Labourers.....	5½d. "			"	...	...	"
Concretors.....	...			"	...	...	"
Labourers.....	8½d. per hour			Body makers, 53 Summer, 49½ Winter, 41½ & 44 }	8½d. per hour	8½d. per hour	"
Carpenters.....	8½d. "			(Coach) 53 (House) 50 }	9½d. "	9½d. "	"
Joiners.....	7½d. "			Summer, 50 Winter, 45 }	8d. "	8d.	8½d.
Painters.....	6½d. and 7½d. per hr.			"	5s. 5d. per day	5s. 5d. per day	1s. bonus
Roller drivers..	...			...	...	...	...
Attendants.....	5½d. per hour			50	6½d. per hour	6½d. per hour	2s. bonus
Navvies.....	6d. "			49½	29s. weekly	29s. weekly	2s. "
Sewer pipe layers	5½d. "			49½	27s. "	27s. "	2s. "
Labourers.....	5½d. "			...	...	...	...
Timbermen.....	5½d. "			53	22s. to 26s. 6d. wkly.	22s. to 26s. 6d. wkly.	2s. bonus
General labourers	5½d. "			48	25s. weekly	25s. weekly	2s. "
Street sweepers	4s. per day			48	27s. "	27s. "	2s. "
Domestic refuse collectors	5½d. per hour			54	29s.	29s.	2s. "
Drivers.....	4s. 6d. per day			54	7d. to 7½d. per hour	7d. to 7½d. per hour	1s. "
Tramway motormen	6d. per hour			54	5½d. to 6½d. "	5½d. to 6½d. "	2s. "
Tramway conductors	5½d. per hour			...	...	...	...
Women.....	...			...	...	...	...

War bonus: Men married or with dependents,
Wages to 25s., 2s. 6d. per week;
Wages over 25s. to 40s., 2s. per week.
Boys and single men without dependents,
1s. per week.

WAGES AND LABOUR CONDITIONS.

The following table, compiled in July, 1915, shows the wages and labour conditions before and since the outbreak of war of various municipal employees in a number of representative cities and towns :—

MANCHESTER CORPORATION.				NORTHAMPTON COUNTY BOROUGH.			
	Normal hours.	Pre-war wages.	War changes.		Normal hours.	Pre-war wages.	War changes.
Sett paviors	50 1-13th	9 ³ d. & 10 ³ d. per hr.	No change		55 ³ / ₄	9d. per hour	
Rammers	50 1-13th	28s. weekly	30s. weekly		55 ³ / ₄	9d. "	
Labourers	50 1-13th	26s. "	28s. "		55 ³ / ₄	6d. "	
Bricklayers	50 1-13th	10 ³ d. & 1s. per hr.	No change		55 ³ / ₄	9d. "	
Labourers	50 1-13th	28s. 6d. weekly	30s. weekly		55 ³ / ₄	6d. "	
Concretors	50 1-13th	26s. weekly	28s. "		55 ³ / ₄	6d. "	
Labourers	50 1-13th	26s. "	28s. "		55 ³ / ₄	"	
Carpenters	49 ³ / ₄	10 ³ d. per hour	No change		55 ³ / ₄	9d. per hour	
Joiners	49 ³ / ₄	10 ³ d. "	"		55 ³ / ₄	9d. "	
Painters	50 1-13th	8 ³ d. & 9 ³ d. per hr.	"		55 ³ / ₄	8d. "	
Roller drivers	50 1-13th	38s. weekly	"		55 ³ / ₄	33s. weekly	
Attendants	"	"	"		"	"	
Navvies	50 1-13th	26s. weekly	28s. weekly		55 ³ / ₄	6d. per hour	
Sewer pipe layers	50 1-13th	31s., 30s., 29s. wkly.	{ 29s. rate advanced to 30s.		"	This work is done by bricklayers.	War bonus of 2s. 6d. to all employees.
Labourers	50 1-13th	27s. weekly	29s. weekly		"	"	
Timbermen	50 1-13th	34s. "	No change		55 ³ / ₄	6d. per hour	
General labourers	50 1-13th	26s. "	28s. weekly		55 ³ / ₄	32s. weekly	
Street sweepers	53	26s. "	28s. "		55 ³ / ₄	6d. per hour	
Domestic refuse collectors ..	53	26s. "	28s. "		55 ³ / ₄	6d. "	
Drivers	53	27s. 6d. "	29s. 6d. "		55 ³ / ₄	7d. "	
Tramway motormen	54	28s. to 34s. weekly	30s. to 36s. weekly		54	6d. "	
Tramway conductors	54	28s. to 33s. "	30s. to 35s. "		54	"	
		5s. to 41s. 6d.	{ 2s. War bonus in a few cases				
500 cleaners, etc.	various	£26 to £15 per ann.	{ 2s. War bonus to 82 Assistants				
131 library asssts.	40	18s. weekly	2s. War bonus				
23 lavatory attds.	48	13s. to 15s. weekly	2s. "				
9 bedmakers ...	41	18s. to 45s. weekly	3s. War bonus to 3 Health visitors.				
22 health visitors	44	£40 to £47 5 per ann.	No change				
2,566 teachers ...	27 ³ / ₄	8s. to 35s. weekly	{ 2s. War bonus in a few cases				
Clerks	44						
Women ...					No statistics	available as to employment of women	

WAGES AND LABOUR CONDITIONS.

The following table, compiled in July, 1915, shows the wages and labour conditions before and since the outbreak of war of various municipal employees in a number of representative cities and towns:—

PETERBOROUGH CORPORATION.				READING COUNTY BOROUGH.			
	Normal hours.	Pre-war wages.	War changes.		Normal hours.	Pre-war wages.	War changes.
Sett paviors	56½	35s. 4d. weekly	37s. 4d. weekly	Masons, 56½	7½d., 8½d. & 9d. p.h.	...	No change
Rammers	56½	21s. weekly, min.	24s. or 23s., min.	Masons' labourers, 56½	6d. per hour	...	War bonus, 3s. wkly.
Labourers	56½	21s. " "	24s. or 23s., " "	56½	9d. " "	...	No change
Bricklayers	56½	35s. 4d. weekly	37s. 4d. weekly	...	...	...	...
Labourers	56½	21s. weekly, min.	24s. or 23s. weekly	...	...	...	...
Concretors	56½	35s. 4d. weekly	37s. 4d. weekly	...	...	...	...
Labourers	56½	21s. weekly, min.	24s. or 23s. weekly	...	...	...	...
Carpenters	56½	35s. 4d. weekly	37s. 4d. weekly	56½	8d. & 9½d. per hr.	...	No change
Joiners	56½	35s. 4d. " "	37s. 4d. " "	...	...	...	...
Painters	56½	35s. 4d. " "	37s. 4d. " "	56½	7½d. per hour	...	No change.
Roller drivers	56½	26s. " "	27s. weekly	56½	7d. & 7½d. per hr.	...	War bonus, 1/0½ wk.
Flag boys	56½	...	...	56½	6 days at 2s. 10d.	...	War bonus, 1s. wkly.
Navvies	56½	21s. weekly	24s. or 23s. min.	...	...	...	...
Sewer pipe layers	56½	21s. " "	24s. or 23s. " "	...	...	...	...
Labourers	56½	21s. " "	24s. or 23s. " "	...	...	...	...
Timbermen	56½	21s. " "	24s. or 23s. " "	...	...	...	...
General labourers	56½	21s. " "	24s. or 23s. " "	56½	5½d. & 6d. per hr.	...	War bonus, 3s. wkly.
Street sweepers	56½	21s. " "	24s. or 23s. " "	56½	5½d. per hour	...	3s. " "
Domestic refuse collectors	56½	23s. weekly, min.	24s. weekly	62	4s. 4d. per day,	...	3s. " "
Drivers	56½	23s. weekly	24s. " "	60	6d. pr. hr. overtime	...	3s. " "
Tramway and motormen .....	...	...	...	60	5½d., 6d., 6½d., 6¾d. p.h.	...	3s. " "
Tramway conductors .....	...	...	...	various	4½d., 4¾d., 5d., 5½d. and 5¾d. per hr.	...	3s. " "
Women .....	...	...	...	56	3 lavatory attendants, 21s. weekly	...	3s. " "
					4 cleaners, 15s. wkly.	...	3s. " "

WAGES AND LABOUR CONDITIONS.

The following table, compiled in July, 1915, shows the wages and labour conditions before and since the outbreak of war of various municipal employees in a number of representative cities and towns —

WATFORD URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL.				WOOLWICH METROPOLITAN BOROUGH.				WORCESTER CORPORATION.			
	Normal hours.	Pre-war wages.	War changes.		Normal hours.	Pre-war wages.	War changes.		Normal hours.	Pre-war wages.	War changes.
Sett paviors	Summer, 56½	35s.	War bonus on wages under 24s. weekly, 1s. weekly.	48	10d. per hour	no change	54	4s. 4d. per day.	War bonus 2s. 6d. to all employees. inc. of 3s. " 3s. " 3s.		
Rammers	"	35s.		48	32s. weekly	7½ % inc.	..	..	
Labourers	"	25s.		48	30s.	7½ "	54	3s. 6d. & 3s. 9d. dy.			
Bricklayers	"	..		48	11d. per hour	no change	54	5s. 6d. & 4s. 6d. dy.			
Labourers	"	..		48	30s. weekly	7½ % inc.	..	..	
Concretors	"	..		48	30s.	7½ "	54	3s. 6d. & 3s. 9d. dy.			
Labourers	"	..		48	30s.	7½ "	..	..	
Carpenters	"	9½d. & 7d. per hr.		48	11d. per hour	no change	..	..	
Joiners	"	9½d. & 7d. per hr.		48	11d.	"	..	..	
Painters	"	7½d. per hour		48	9½d.	"	..	..	
Roller drivers	"	32s. to 35s. wkly.	War bonus on wages under 24s. weekly, 1s. weekly.	48	37s. and 3s. 6d. steam time wkly	"	..	..	
Flag boys	"	..		48	30s. weekly	7½ % inc.	54	5s. per day			
Navvies	"	..		48	30s.	7½ "	..	..	
Sewer pipe layers	"	30s. weekly		48	32s. and 2s. weekly.	7½ "	..	3s. 6d. & 3s. 9d. dy.			
Labourers	"	..		48	30s. weekly	7½ "	54	..			
Timbermen	"	..		48	32s.	7½ "	54	3s. 9d. per day.			
General labourers	"	24s. to 26s. wkly.		48	30s.	7½ "	54	3s. 6d. & 3s. 9d. dy.			
Street sweepers	"	21s. to 27s.		48	30s.	7½ "	54	3s. per day.			
Refuse collectors	"	27s. weekly		48	30s. weekly	7½ "	54	3s. 6d. per day.			
Drivers	"	29s.		48	30s. and 33s. 9d. weekly	7½ "	54	3s. 6d.			
Women .....	..	..	..	9 regular lavatory attendants, 48 hrs.	21s. weekly	7½ % inc.	..	..	..
	4 relief lavatory attendants, 21½ hrs.	9s.	7½ % inc.		
	1 washer, 48 hrs.	30s.	No change.		

PART VIII.

SOCIAL INSURANCE.

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INTRODUCTION.

An important feature of our time is the development of Social Insurance in many varied forms. It is recognised that, whilst the ordinary wage-worker may be able to provide for his own immediate needs so long as things go well with him, the present wage system makes no provision for the future and leaves him and his family specially liable to be reduced to destitution by any contingency that interrupts his work or increases his requirements. By ordinary Insurance is meant a voluntary arrangement by which payments are made by or in respect of large numbers of persons in normal circumstances, in order to provide funds out of which such of them as find themselves in abnormal circumstances may be succoured in their hour of need. Social Insurance is a compulsory arrangement by which payments are made by everybody to provide against all the contingencies, normal or abnormal, which the income of the wage-worker is too small and precarious to cover. So far as the great mass of the people are concerned, this Social Insurance is of very recent growth. A century and a-half ago there was practically no such provision in this country apart from the Poor Law. Seventy-five years ago there was none except what certain sections of the wage-earners had voluntarily created for themselves in their Friendly Societies and Trade Unions. During the past half-century this Social Insurance has, in nearly all civilised States, been increasingly taken up by the Government, extended to new kinds of need, and made applicable to the greater part of the working population. This organisation of Social Insurance by nearly all Governments, which took its real start from Bismarck's far-reaching proposals in 1881 for German State Insurance, was not initiated on the demand of the wage-earners themselves or on that of the Socialists, though some of its progress has been due to their agitation. In this country the organised workers have had considerable influence in securing the development of Workmen's Compensation and Non-Contributory Old Age Pensions; but here, too, State provision against sickness has been made on the initiative of others. Voluntary Insurance, on the other hand, was largely developed by the wage-earners themselves, and their efforts served as the model for

subsequent developments of State Insurance. The past half-century has seen, too, the establishment, especially in connection with Government and Municipal employment, mining, and the railway service, many accident, sickness, and superannuation schemes, partly on a voluntary and partly on a compulsory contributory basis.

THE GAIN FROM SOCIAL INSURANCE.

It is plain that, under the conditions of wage-earning employment, the collective organisation of Social Insurance, though still very incomplete, must have mitigated much suffering and helped to maintain the standard of life of the wage-earning class. In so far as the cost has been levied, directly or indirectly, on the wage-earner's income, it has meant, we may believe, on the whole, a specific allocation of his resources advantageous to himself and his family as well as to the community. And even allowing for the contributions thus exacted from the class to be benefited, it is probable that most of the developments of Social Insurance have represented a real addition to the gains of Labour.

The contingencies in the wage-earner's life against which he needs to be socially "insured"—that is to say, in respect of which he requires some supplementary provision to be collectively arranged, are, mainly, Accident, Maternity, Sickness, Invalidity, Old Age, Unemployment, Fire, and Death.

THE PROVISION FOR ACCIDENTS.

We do not commonly realise the extent to which modern industry maims and kills those who are harnessed to its car. It is estimated, on the basis of the officially recorded statistics of typical countries that, year by year, in Europe and the United States* alone, **between four and five millions of manual workers meet with an accident** at or in connection with their employment. There were half as many industrial accidents to workmen during the year of peace 1913 as the total number of casualties in the armies of all the belligerents during the first twelve months of the Great World War, 1914-15. These industrial accidents are not easy to classify, but a large proportion of them are evidently serious enough. From the exact statistical data published in some countries it has been calculated that about 7 per cent. of them all are fractures of limbs or other bones, representing, for Europe and the United States, at least 300,000 actual breakages every year. About 6 per cent. result in the loss either of a limb or hand, or fingers or toes, or one or both eyes, representing at least a quarter of a-million manual workers thus crippled each year. In actual deaths, indeed, the workmen's accidents in peace are not so destructive as the soldier's wounds in modern war. Yet each year more than 50,000 manual workers are killed by industrial accidents in Europe and the United States—a death toll actually greater than that of most of the wars of history. These accidents are, for the most part, the result of modern capitalist industry. Everywhere they accompany, as a dark shadow, the power-driven machinery, the manifold developments of mining and metallurgy, the construction of gigantic works and

* For statistics of accidents in the United Kingdom, see page 233 *seq.*

buildings, the use of high explosives, and the going and coming at great speed which are characteristic of the present age. So far as accidents are concerned, the most dangerous trades are everywhere mining and quarrying, smelting and metal working, works of construction and building, seafaring and railway working, stevedoring and dock labour, the chemical and pottery industries, and the running of power-driven machinery. In the home industries, in workshops not using power, and in peasant agriculture, arts that survive from the eighteenth century, the proportion of accidents is relatively insignificant.

THE MONEY LOSS THROUGH ACCIDENTS.

Everyone of these four or five millions of industrial accidents in each year—seeing that this total omits the merely painful bruises and burns and scalds that do not cause suspension of work—entails to the community a loss of production, and to the suffering wage-earner, if not death, at any rate pain and impaired vitality, and—what can be measured in cash—the need for medical attendance and a more or less prolonged stoppage of the income on which he and his family depend for their living. Moreover, the manual workers are also subject, like the members of other social classes, to accidents unconnected with their occupations; and these, when they occur, are equally destructive of their standard of life. Accordingly nearly every State has found it necessary to organise some form or other of Social Insurance for part or the whole of the persons employed in industry against all or some of the accidents to which they are liable.

FORMS OF SOCIAL INSURANCE.

This provision may be made either (1) primarily on the lines of **Compensation** by rendering the employer legally liable to pay compensation to the injured workman, either whether it is left optional for the employer to insure, or such insurance is made obligatory, with the State or in a prescribed office; or (2) primarily on the lines of **Insurance** by providing a common fund out of which the cost of accidents shall be met, whether the whole cost falls on the employer or whether the fund is partly subsidised by the State, or by deductions from wages or by a combination of these methods. Such funds are managed in some cases by the State and in others by joint boards or committees of a more or less public character. In the United Kingdom, the United States, and the British Dominions the idea of Compensation and Employers' Liability has been primarily acted on, though latterly the idea of Insurance has become more prevalent. In the rest of the civilised world reliance has been placed primarily on Insurance, though the liability of the employer has also been increasingly recognised.

HISTORY OF PROVISION FOR ACCIDENTS.

The history of provision for accidents in the United Kingdom is the record, first of a struggle to amend an inequitable system of law which denied compensation for injuries even when they were caused by employers' wrongdoing; secondly, of the almost general adoption of a system of voluntary insurance by employers; and, finally, of the institution of a publicly administered insurance fund to supplement workmen's compensation.

The story clearly indicates what happens when government is left in the hands of the upper and middle classes to the exclusion of the workers. It is hard to believe to-day how utterly inequitable and unreasonable was the English law, even within living memory, as regards the workman who suffered injury. The idea of the lawyers was always to discuss the matter as one of personal wrongdoing, and then, in the interests of "freedom for industrial enterprise," to find reasons for exempting the wrongdoer from pecuniary liability if he was the employer of labour. An employer, like anybody else, was liable in damages for any personal injury clearly due to his negligence or wrongful act. But if the employer used what the lawyers regarded as "ordinary care" they ruled that he was not liable for any injury suffered by his employees. Moreover, "ordinary care" meant for the lawyers only the care that was ordinary among employers, and the more or less dangerous nature of the occupation was taken for granted. Hence, the employer was never held liable for a real accident in the strictest sense of the word. The justice or the social expediency of making provision for the injured workman was not taken into consideration. The judges preferred to lay down arbitrarily and without warrant in the Statute Book, or in equity, or in commonsense, that every workman who took a job must be deemed to have agreed to suffer all the consequences and the risks attaching to it without any consideration other than his wages. This was to hold good even if he had not seen the place of work, or the tools or tackle, or the other men whom the employer had enlisted, and though the matter had not so much as been mentioned in his contract or in his bargaining with the employer. Moreover, even when the employer clearly failed in his duty and provided faulty tools or machinery, weak scaffolding, etc., if the workman stayed on at his job while knowing of the defect, he was deemed to have accepted the extra risk and the employer was let off. The worker's only remedy was to throw up his job.

THE DOCTRINE OF COMMON EMPLOYMENT.

Again, the accident might happen, and very often did happen, wholly or partly through some act of a fellow worker which could be described as negligent or faulty. In that case the worker was met by the quite arbitrary legal figment called "the doctrine of common employment," which declared that when the worker accepted the wages contract he accepted with it all the consequences of working with negligent or unskilful fellow employees; and so once again the employer was relieved from pecuniary responsibility. Moreover, even where the employer himself had clearly committed a wrong, and so himself had caused the accident, yet if the injured employee could be shown to have helped in any way by his own neglect or default, the lawyers decided that this was a reason for letting off the employer.

Even this was not sufficient protection for capitalist enterprise. If the neglect or default of the employer were so serious that the accident was fatal, the wrongdoer for a long time got off scot-free on the purely arbitrary ruling that the wrongful injury was a personal one to the victim, and on the no less arbitrary rule, not peculiar to actions against employers, that after a victim's death a personal injury could not be made the ground for any action. A further scandal was that the whole burden of proof was put on the

injured party when the employer might far more justly have been called upon, in every case of accident, to show cause why he should not compensate the injured. As by the nature of the case the injured workman found witnesses against an employer hard to get, and in practice none the less so when the employer was glaringly in the wrong, the sufferer was often non-suited for sheer lack of evidence. Finally, the victim, even when legally entitled to compensation, could not get it at the time when he and his family most needed it—when his weekly income was stopped, and there was a doctor's bill to pay—but only subsequently, at the cost of expensive, troublesome, and often protracted legal proceedings in which there were many chances that he would be worsted. It is hard to refrain from anger when one realises that, whilst accidents were happening annually to many tens of thousands of workmen, this, in general terms, was the state of law in the United Kingdom as recently as the middle of the nineteenth century; that the hardship and injustice to which the maimed and crippled workmen were daily subjected, and the misery in which they and their families were plunged, appealed, during the half-century of middle-class rule that followed the Reform Bill, neither to Melbourne nor to Peel, neither to Cobden nor to Bright, neither to Disraeli nor to Gladstone; and that successive Ministries, Whig and Tory, Liberal and Conservative, in successive Parliaments from which Labour representatives were excluded, saw no need for any change.

HOW THE LAW GOT CHANGED.

To-day the ordinary person of the upper or middle class can hardly believe that the law could have been so unjust and so callous to human suffering. But, hard as it is to credit to-day that any responsible person could have been found to defend the iniquitous law that the judges had elaborated, yet it was only very slowly and reluctantly that alteration was secured. In 1846, indeed, by what is known as Lord Campbell's Act, the widow and orphans of a deceased workman, along with other sufferers through wrongful deaths, were given the same right to sue for damages as the injured person had whilst he lived. This, however, as we have shown, was in most cases of workmen's accidents almost illusory. Not until after many years' agitation by the coal miners' unions, the railway servants' union, and the Trades Union Congress was any attention paid to the workmen's grievances. Even then it was not until Alexander Macdonald and Thomas Burt, after an electoral campaign in which the Trade Unions all over the country first made their weight strongly felt, forced their way into Parliament as Labour Members in 1874 that any serious attention was secured for the subject, though the Government in 1873 had got so far as to promise a bill. During the next few years eight different Bills were introduced without success. At last, after the exercise of no little electoral pressure by the Trade Unions, and on the election in 1880 of additional Labour Members, the Liberal Cabinet brought forward an Employers' Liability Bill. This was a very inadequate reform, but it was bitterly opposed by the capitalists on both sides of the House, and it needed all Henry Broadhurst's skill and pertinacity, and all the weight of the organised Trade Union movement outside the House, to get it passed into law. This Act, passed in 1880, whilst not otherwise altering the law which the judges had made, rendered the employer liable whenever the accident resulted

from the negligence of any superintendent, manager, or foreman, from the carrying out of any improper order or rule, or from the default of any person in charge of railway signals, points, or engines. Such a reform, whilst it left the great majority of industrial accidents still uncompensated, applied to many of the worst disasters, especially on railways or in mines.

"CONTRACTING OUT."

The obstinate employers met it by the device of "contracting out," and the wage-earners were compelled, as a condition of employment, to sign away the rights the Act had given them, and to receive in exchange whatever chance of compensation might be afforded them from the benefit club which most employers instituted, partly at the worker's expense. Against this evasion of the law the Trade Unions vehemently protested; but not until yet another electoral campaign had been fought, and still more Labour Members had been returned, was any redress even offered. In 1893 the Liberal Government brought forward a Bill to improve the law and make it apply to employers in nearly all trades. It was strenuously resisted in the House of Commons without distinction of party; but the Government, with the Trade Unionists behind them, forced it through that House only to find that the House of Lords ruthlessly insisted on an amendment to permit contracting out under new safeguards. On the demand of the workmen's representatives, the Cabinet dropped the Bill rather than accept this amendment. For four years more the agitation went on, another election was fought, and in 1897 the Conservative Government, at the instance of Joseph Chamberlain, met the workmen's demands by carrying through the Workmen's Compensation Act, which, as amended by a subsequent Act of 1900, extended the liability of the employer to practically all accidents in manufacturing industry, and even in agriculture, and swept away many of the technicalities by which the lawyers had hitherto baulked the injured workmen. Contracting out was indeed still legal, but the safeguards were made so stringent that it was no longer worth the employer's while. One-fourth of all the wage-earners were, however, still left outside the scope of the law. Finally, after yet another election, the entry of still more Labour Members into the House of Commons, and the formation of a definite Labour Party, the Workmen's Compensation Acts of 1897 and 1900 were amended by the Liberal Government in 1906, so as to bring within their scope seamen, fishermen employed at wages, domestic servants, and, indeed, practically all employed manual workers, and also all other persons in employment under £250 a year; and to put certain "industrial diseases" (such as anthrax and lead poisoning) on the same footing as accidents.

ACCIDENT INSURANCE TO-DAY.

What inspired Alexander Macdonald to press for compensation for accidents, and induced him to keep the whole Trade Union movement solid for this demand, was his belief that this was the best way to prevent accidents. It was argued that if the employer had to pay for all accidents he would take pains to reduce them to a minimum. The argument was fallacious, because human life is so cheap. Experience proves that it often costs an employer much more to prevent accidents than to pay for them! But any effect that the

new liability for compensation might have had on the employers was promptly neutralised by their action in commuting the liability for a fixed annual payment. In deference to Alexander Macdonald and the Trade Unionists of 1880-1897, Parliament adopted the principle of compensation instead of State Insurance. Yet what we have to-day is neither the one nor the other, but a muddle which combines some of the disadvantages of both. Immediately after the passing of the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897 employers of all sorts, large and small, contracted with joint stock insurance companies to relieve them from all liability for accidents on payment of a fixed annual premium, which in the great majority of cases is now settled by a common tariff agreed to by all the companies with respect to each trade.

WHY ACCIDENTS GO ON INCREASING.

Thus compensation is, in fact, paid from an insurance fund which is not under public direction or control. Again, it is not compulsory for the employer to insure himself, so that the workman has no security that the employer will be able to pay. The result is that, whilst here and there an employer who becomes notorious for excessive accidents may find the premium raised against him, the common ruck of employers have practically no greater pecuniary motive to take costly precautions against accidents than they had before they were liable at all, and, in fact, the number of accidents, which the Trade Unions hoped to diminish, goes on steadily increasing.

THE DEFECTS OF THE LAW.

Nor do the injured workmen, or their suffering families, or their widows and orphans, find that the provision made for their needs is what it ought to be. In the first place, the law is still unsatisfactory in that (a) "out-workers," or persons to whom the employer gives out work to be done at home, are wholly excluded, even if an accident occurs whilst they are on the employer's premises, or if infectious materials are supplied to them; (b) fishermen paid on shares are excluded, though this is a very usual method of employment in this industry; (c) the compensation is unduly limited, viz., to a maximum of half-wages in total disablement or £300 at death, which sums may be insufficient to provide proper maintenance for dependents; (d) this limitation is specially hard on the poorly paid labourer or woman worker who is permanently incapacitated, the compensation being based on the low wages, with a maximum of one-half of their inadequate amount, a sum quite insufficient for maintenance; (e) the workman's right to recover compensation is dependent, when the employer is not insured, upon the solvency of the employer; (f) the legal technicalities regarding notice of the accident and the claim have too frequently disentitled a workman through a very natural ignorance of his rights and duties under the statute; (g) it is found to be a serious disadvantage that the workman has to make his claim against his employer. The claim made against the employer is in nearly all cases met by a profit-making insurance company of great wealth and power, having no sense of responsibility for the accident and no compunction for the sufferers. They are simply concerned to reduce to a minimum the amount that must be paid, and are served by a staff specially skilled at making "good

settlements," especially by the offer of a small lump sum, when the injured workmen or their relatives do not know how to insist on their rights.

HOW THE WORKMAN IS "DONE."

As soon as notice of a claim on an accident is given the insurance company, without tendering any travelling expenses, directs the injured workman, if he can get about at all, to call on the company's doctor, whose surgery is usually at a considerable distance from the workman's home. The sufferer from an accident is legally bound to submit to reasonable medical examination, but he is not bound to go to the doctor, still less to do so without the necessary travelling expenses being paid to him. It ought to be obligatory on the company to pay these in advance. After the company's doctor has seen the sufferer the company's "claim officer" sees him, and does his best (unless there is a Trade Union to look after the workman's interests) to induce him to settle the matter for a lump sum down. Some protection is afforded by the fact that a lump sum settlement may be subsequently repudiated, unless it is registered in the County Court. This, however, does not in practice avail much in the less serious cases, as the insurance companies prefer to run the risk of non-registration wherever they can settle for less than £5. Some companies do this whenever they can settle for less than £10. When a larger sum is paid the employers or the insurance company usually think that it would not be safe to withhold the agreement from registration, but even then the insurance company often manages to obtain a settlement at an inadequate amount. The agreement is always drawn up by the insurance company, and the description of the workman's injuries is deliberately made in the vaguest terms. A medical report is not obligatory. If the Registrar chooses to call for one it is usually given by the insurance company's own doctor! Independent medical testimony ought always to be insisted on, to be paid for as part of the costs in the case. Even if the Registrar is dissatisfied, and induces the County Court judge to take his view, they cannot increase the compensation unless the insurance company consents. All the County Court can do is to refuse to record the agreement, which only happens in the most glaring cases. The result is that there are still a considerable number of inadequate settlements. Moreover, the award of a lump sum to a permanently injured workman, even if it is £100 or £200, is not a suitable form of provision for himself and his dependents. In most cases the amount is promptly lost or dissipated, the family frequently sinking to destitution and pauperism. In the case of widows and orphans, some further protection is given by the County Court controlling to some extent the investment of the money for the benefit of the children, and requiring the widow to show that any purpose for which she wishes to draw the balance is a useful one, but even this practice, which has now become almost universal, does not always ensure adequate provision for the children.

THE INSURANCE ACT.

Five years after the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1906 came the National Insurance Act of 1911. This purports to provide, so far as employed manual workers are concerned and all other employed persons under £160 a year, for all sufferers from accidents

who fail to get compensation from the employer; it supplements the compensation where it is less than the benefits of the Act; and it adds medical attendance. Thus it meets the cases of (a) accidents other than "industrial," or arising outside the scope of the worker's employment; (b) industrial accidents or diseases suffered by employed persons excluded from the previous Acts, such as out-workers; (c) accidents involving suspension from work for less than a week (which the previous Acts had wholly disregarded), or more than one week and less than two (in which the Workmen's Compensation Act only provides for the second week), though only in so far as concerns the period after the first three days. But it provides for them in quite another way. Instead of asking compensation from the employer, the sufferer may claim attendance by the "panel doctor," and Sickness Benefit, and eventually Disablement Benefit, from the fund under the Act to which he himself, together with the State and the employer, is a contributor. This fund is administered by Approved Societies, under Government direction and control. It has been decided that the "panel doctor" is not to be called upon to deal seriously with any grave surgical cases, with injuries to the eyes, or with anything requiring an important operation, but the Government has not yet made provision for the more skilled medical or surgical attendance required in such cases, or for the necessary hospital accommodation. The Sickness Benefit of 10s. a week (or 7s. 6d. for a woman) is often much less even than the standard of "half-wages" set up by the Workmen's Compensation Act, whilst the provision for the permanently and totally incapacitated workman is, after six months, the ludicrously inadequate sum of 5s. a week. Moreover, between the Workmen's Compensation Act and the National Insurance Act the injured workman may for some weeks be left unprovided for. The Approved Society withholds Sickness Benefit, because it thinks he ought to claim against the employer, and the stronger the claim looks the less disposed is the society even to lend the money; on the other hand, unless the employer chooses to consent to pay a weekly allowance meanwhile, no claim against the employer's insurance company yields anything meantime for the family to live on! The Approved Society has power to take action on behalf of a member, but is not compelled to do so (as it might well be).

WE FAIL TO PREVENT ACCIDENTS.

The result of all this muddle is, first and foremost, that we still fail to prevent accidents. In 1913 nearly 200,000 men, women, and young persons met with industrial accidents in the United Kingdom—**more than in any previous year.** Five thousand of them—16 every working day—were killed. We have, however, begun to pay for accidents. The total amount paid by the employers and the insurance companies—together with the comparatively small charge yet placed on the National Insurance Fund as the result of accidents is estimated at between five and six millions sterling annually. This represents a considerable advantage to the manual working class, as it is almost a net gain since Alexander Macdonald started the agitation 60 years ago, at which time practically nothing was paid to the victims of the already numerous accidents. But owing (a) to the lack of clear thinking in our law makers, (b) to the failure of the manual workers

themselves to demand what was necessary, and (c) to the stubborn resistance of the capitalists to any increase on the "cost of production," the provision for the sufferers from accidents is still very imperfect and inadequate.

THE LABOUR POLICY WITH REGARD TO ACCIDENTS.

What is required is that we should look upon every accident, not merely from the standpoint of the employer's personal wrong—he may not be personally to blame—but from the triple standpoint of (a) how to prevent such accidents for the future; (b) how to make the requisite provision in the wisest possible way for the sufferer and all his dependents; and (c) if there is a wrongdoer, how to bring home to him the gravity of his fault, so that he does not repeat it. The present law is terribly defective.

WHERE THE LAW REQUIRES AMENDMENT.

(a) It does not cover all the workers—not even all those in receipt of less than £160 or £250 a year. The great army of "out-workers" need to be provided for, on the scale of the Workmen's Compensation Acts, when injured or incapacitated, just as much as the other wage-earners. So do the multitude excluded even from the obligatory scope of the Insurance Acts, such as jobbing craftsmen "on their own," hawkers, pedlars, and many other types of independent workers.

IT DOES NOT EXTEND TO ALL ACCIDENTS.

(b) All accidents are not at present included, though it is equally essential to the community, as to the sufferer, that proper provision should be made in all cases. Thus all non-industrial accidents—all incurred not in or on the employer's service—together with all those in which it can be said that the employee has contributed by his "serious and wilful misconduct," are excluded from the Workmen's Compensation Act. These, together with accidents to out-workers and to cabmen who pay for their vehicles, and accidents involving no more than a week's suspension of work, are covered only by the National Insurance Act, with its quite insufficient scale of benefits.

IT IS FAR TOO STINGY.

(c) The provision is far too small. Even where the Workmen's Compensation Act applies, the maximum is 50 per cent. of the wages or £300 for death. The recent law of the Netherlands makes the maximum 70 per cent., and the latest Swiss law gives 80 per cent. For lump sums in case of death, four American States now make the maximum 3,000dols. (£600), whilst two more make it 3,500dols. and 3,600dols. respectively (£700 and £720); and Washington has a maximum of 4,000dols. (£800).

IT FAILS TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE MEDICAL AID.

(d) It is as vital to the community as it is to the sufferer that the best possible medical and surgical treatment, the best available institutional care, and all necessary appliances should be given to every victim of an accident in order to restore him to productivity as quickly and completely as possible. Yet there is, in nearly all work

places, no certainty of proper "first aid," and no systematic provision of ambulances. Nowhere in the United Kingdom is there anything like adequate provision of hospitals and convalescent homes. The medical attendance guaranteed by the Insurance Act is restricted to treatment of little use to most sufferers from serious accidents. The surgical appliances provided under the Act have similarly been limited by the Commissioners, quite arbitrarily, so that what is often needed by such sufferers (such as a truss) is not allowed to be supplied.

IT IS TOO SLOW.

(e) The money payment given is not given with sufficient promptitude. What is wanted when a workman is actually forced to stay away from his work by any accident is a payment in lieu of wages on the following Saturday. At present this is often not so provided, because the Approved Society hopes that compensation will come under the Workmen's Compensation Act, and the employer, or his insurance company, is in no hurry to pay any claim.

IT CREATES ILL-FEELING AND LITIGATION.

(f) The workman should not be obliged to claim against his employer. Such a claim does not improve the relations between them, still less incline the foreman to give the claimant another job. An accident should be regarded as a matter of public concern, to be dealt with as soon as notified by a public official—such as the local Medical Officer of Health or local representative of the Insurance Commissioners—whose duty it should be to see that all requisite medical and surgical treatment is at once provided, and the needs of the sufferer's family attended to that very week-end, on whomsoever the burden might ultimately be cast.

IT DOES NOT PREVENT ACCIDENTS.

(g) At present the provision for preventing accidents is far from adequate. There is little done to bring responsibility for taking further precautions home to those whose faulty machinery or tackle, or lack of precautions, have been the cause of accidents. At present machinery must be fenced (under the Factory Acts), mines worked as safely as possible (under the Mines Regulation Acts), and railways, docks, quarries, etc., must be safeguarded. But similar requirements are not yet made on all places where people work; they are still limited to a few of the more obvious safeguards; the inspectors are too few in number to get the regulations everywhere enforced, and, above all, there is (except where a death occurs, or in some other mining and railway accidents) no official inquiry into the causes that have led to the accident—not even when a particular factory or employment becomes notorious for a continual stream of accidents which result not in death but in serious incapacity. Wherever inquiry shows not only that statutory safeguards have been neglected, but even that reasonable precautions against accident have not been taken, the employer should be criminally prosecuted and made liable to imprisonment as well as fine in proportion to the measure of his guilt, and irrespective of the amount of injury actually inflicted.

IT DOES NOT ALWAYS SECURE THE WORKMAN'S FUTURE.

(h) No commutation of the worker's claim—no settlement for less than the maximum statutory provision—should be allowed without the consent of the County Court judge. It is emphatically not merely a private matter in which the injured sufferer can do as he likes. The community has also to be secured against having the victim subsequently on its hands. For this reason no lump sum settlement should be permitted (in lieu of weekly pension), except under special circumstances and subject to proper investment of the capital sum. The County Court judge should be required always to obtain independent medical testimony (other than that of the doctor paid by the employer or the insurance company) as to the sufferer's condition and likelihood of recovery, and to have the agreement in all cases drawn up by the Registrar of the Court. It should be made compulsory for the insurance company to be openly cited as a party in all cases in which it is concerned.

WHAT TO DO WHEN AN ACCIDENT HAPPENS.

It may be well to append some advice on how to make the best of the present imperfect law.

No matter what other medical attendance has been provided at the works or elsewhere (if the accident is to an insured person) always consult the "panel doctor" at once—the injured person going to him if well enough to do so or else asking him to call. The doctor's certificate of incapacity to work should be always obtained at once (he makes no charge for this) and sent to the Approved Society. His evidence as to the extent of the injury and his advice as to the likelihood of recovery will be subsequently required.

No matter who witnessed the accident, or whatever verbal notice has been given, always give notice **in writing** to the employer as soon as possible. No special form is required. Let a short letter be written (by the patient if well enough, or by wife or child, or any friend) informing the employer that an accident has happened, stating the place, the day, the hour, the name of the injured person, the nature of the accident, and the apparent extent of the injury suffered. Do not mention the Workmen's Compensation Act, or give any particulars of the claim. You cannot at this point be sure in what way the claim can best be made; and if you are rash enough to mention one Act of Parliament, you may find difficulty in claiming under another. The law requires notice to be given as soon as practicable after the accident and before the workman has voluntarily given up the situation in which he was injured. Notice should, therefore, be sent immediately (remember, it must be in writing). Even if some time has elapsed, the employer does not necessarily escape liability, and the notice should be sent all the same, adding an explanation of the delay. If there is any doubt as to which employer is liable (as in the case of working for a sub-contractor, or when a man is sent by his own employer to work on the premises of another employer) let the notice be sent to both. No matter how clever an injured person thinks himself he ought never to deal with his own claim for compensation, least of all agree to any settlement, **without seeking advice**. This applies even more strongly when the sufferer is a woman or under age. A member of a Trade Union should consult the Union officials. A member of a Friendly or other Approved Society ought to consult its officials.

Failing these, consult the "Poor Man's Lawyer" at a neighbouring "settlement"; consult the doctor, if he is friendly (your own doctor, of course—not the one paid by the insurance company or the employer); consult any working-class official; consult the local Labour or Socialist organisation or club; consult the minister of the church or chapel—**never act without some consultation and advice.** If the injury is serious and the claim is disputed, it may be necessary to consult a solicitor, but don't incur this expense without taking somebody's advice first.

When notice of the accident has been given, the employer (or more usually the insurance company which has assumed his liability) will send a doctor to examine the sufferer. The sufferer must submit to any reasonable medical examination even more than once. He is often summoned to attend at the doctor's home or surgery. This he is not legally required to do, but if he is able to walk easily, and if the distance is quite small, he may as well go. If, however, he is not well enough to walk, he should simply write to that effect. If the distance is beyond a mile or two, he may properly write saying that he will come if his travelling expenses there and back are sent to him in advance. No charge may be made to him for this medical examination or travelling.

NEVER ACCEPT THE FIRST OFFER.

After the doctor may come the claims agent of the insurance company, full of sympathy for the sufferer, and really eager (though this will not appear in his manner) to "settle" the case at once for a lump sum down. However tempting are the golden sovereigns that he may display **do not accept them** or make any kind of settlement with the claims agent when he calls. This applies even more strongly when the sufferer is a woman or a boy or girl, but not even the cleverest man ought to "give himself away." **Wait to think it over and take advice.** The lump sum offered is hardly ever equal in value to the weekly annuity to which you may be entitled.

One of the points on which to take advice is whether it may not be better to claim under the Common Law (when there is no limit to the amount that may be recovered) or the Employers' Liability Acts rather than under the Workmen's Compensation Acts (when there is a limit of half-wages for life or £300 down in case of death). The possibility of claiming under the Common Law is specially worth considering when the accident has been caused by a third party, for instance, when a carman at work is injured through the negligence of another carman. Accidents caused by tramcars, motor vehicles, and runaway horses often give ground for such claims. Usually no claim can be made with success under the Employers' Liability Acts unless (a) the accident was caused by some act or default of the employer himself, or of a person definitely authorised by him, or a person in charge of railway signals, points, or engine; or else caused by some proved defect, known to the employer and unknown to the sufferer, in machinery plant, tackle, or in railway signals, points, or engine; and (b) unless also there was no contributory negligence on the part of the sufferer.

In any fatal or otherwise serious accident in a mine, or on a railway, the possibility of a claim under the Employers' Liability Acts is specially worth considering.

NEVER ACT ON THE BELIEF THAT YOU WILL SOON BE WELL.

Remember that a person totally incapacitated by accident is entitled to **half-wages** during the whole period of the incapacity. Who can tell how long the incapacity will continue? Even 10s. a week for a year is better worth having than £20 down. It is safer to assume that the incapacity will be permanent. Never assume anything in the way of recovery except on **your own** doctor's advice.

Do not be satisfied merely with the fact that the employer, perhaps out of kindness, **without any definite undertaking in writing**, is paying a pound, or some other sum, week by week, waiting to see how the injured man gets on. If the employer takes this course, a letter should be written stating that any such payments are accepted, under protest, without prejudice to the claim, and that a formal undertaking to continue to pay the compensation for the whole period of **either total or partial** incapacity is requested; failing which proceedings must be taken.

The injured workman who accepts any settlement is entitled to an unqualified undertaking by the employer for payment of compensation **during total or partial incapacity**, or until the same is ended, diminished, increased, or redeemed in accordance with the Act. He must never accept a settlement which leaves it to the employer to decide when total incapacity has come to an end, or how much shall be payable when the incapacity has become partial, or leaves it in doubt how or when these points are to be settled.

In the case of a fatal accident, the widow and children should always refuse to accept anything less than the statutory maximum of three years' full wages of the deceased, not exceeding £300 and in no case less than £150, however low the weekly wage. They should stipulate for this to be safely invested under the direction of the Registrar of the County Court.

Be very careful, when the accident has happened to a young person under 21, in not agreeing to any compromise or final settlement based on the sufferer's low wages as an **apprentice**, a learner, or a youth. The law provides that such a person may from time to time apply to the County Court to have the amount of compensation increased up to half the wage that he or she might have expected to be able to earn by that time if the accident had not occurred. Thus an apprentice earning 3s. or 4s. a week who meets with an accident which incapacitates him can get at once compensation at the rate of full earnings (not exceeding 10s. a week). But this 3s. or 4s. a week will not be enough to support him throughout life. When he reaches the ages at which he would normally have been earning 25s. or 30s. a week he may obtain an order to have the allowance increased to 12s. 6d. or 15s. a week for the rest of his life. Never agree to forego this.

ALWAYS CONSULT THE CLUB.

Any person insured under the National Insurance Act is **required** if incapacitated from work by accident to take all steps necessary to recover any compensation that may be due under the Workmen's Compensation Acts, Employers' Liability Acts, or the Common Law before he can get the Sickness Benefit and Disablement Benefit to

which he would otherwise be entitled. Hence he ought never to compromise or settle his claim without consulting the officials of his Approved Society (or if he is a deposit contributor, not in any society, the Clerk of the local Insurance Committee). If for any reason no compensation is eventually obtained from the employer, the insured person incapacitated from work by an accident is entitled to draw from his Approved Society Sickness Benefit at the rate of 10s. a week (7s. 6d. for a woman) commencing on the fourth day of such incapacity. Hence the importance of at once consulting the "panel doctor," whose certificate of incapacity is required.

INDUSTRIAL DISEASES.

What has been said about accidents applies also to industrial diseases. Certain illnesses, such as anthrax poisoning ("wool sorters' disease") and "miners' worm," entitle the sufferer to claim compensation from the employer just as if they were the result of accidents. The following is the list of the diseases in which this right to compensation has been given:—

- Poisoning by certain derivatives of benzene.
- Poisoning by carbon bisulphide.
- Poisoning by nitrous fumes.
- Poisoning by nickel carbonyl.
- Arsenic poisoning.
- Lead poisoning.
- Poisoning by African boxwood.
- Ulceration by dust, and liquids, chrome, tar, and oils.
- Chimney sweeps' cancer.
- Miners' nystagmus.
- Glanders.
- Compressed air illness.
- Beat hand.
- Miner's beat knee.
- Miner's beat elbow.
- Inflammation of the wrist joint (miner's).
- Cataract in glassworkers.
- Telegraphist's cramp.
- Writer's cramp.

This list is added to from time to time.

Ask the doctor whether the illness is one of these. It may be noted that the Act provides that if the workman, at the time of entering the employment, wilfully and falsely represents himself as not having previously suffered from lead poisoning, compensation shall not be payable if he then suffers from lead poisoning.

THE PROVISION FOR MATERNITY.

Of the 1,100,000 babies born annually in the United Kingdom it is estimated that at least 950,000 are born in families below the Income Tax level of £160 a year. In all these households at any rate the event involves a great strain on the financial resources, for which some provision must be made.

Down to 1911 the only provision for maternity by way of insurance was that afforded by a few Friendly Societies (such as the Hearts

of Oak and the Royal Standard), which paid 30s. on the confinement of a member's wife. Now, under the National Insurance Acts, 1911 and 1913, when a woman (being a British subject) gives birth to a child within the United Kingdom, she is, whether married or not, if she is an insured person, or if her husband is an insured person (whether or not he is at the time of the birth within the United Kingdom), entitled to receive Maternity Benefit to the amount of either 30s. or £3 from the Approved Society. She (or her husband) has to make private arrangement with the doctor or midwife for medical attendance. If the doctor is summoned for an emergency, at the instance of the midwife, no deduction may now be made by the Approved Society from the Maternity Benefit for his fee. If the woman, being a British subject, is herself an insured but unmarried person, or if she is not herself an insured person but has a husband who is, the Maternity Benefit is 30s. only. If she is herself an insured person, a member of an Approved Society, a British subject, and an employed contributor, and is legally married, then the Maternity Benefit will be doubled, and will amount to £3, whether her husband is also an insured person or not. But this extra payment is conditional on the woman abstaining from remunerative work for four weeks after the birth of the child. If not herself suspended from benefit for arrears, she is entitled to the full £3, even though her husband has fallen into arrears, or has not paid 26 contributions, or, being a deposit contributor, has not so much standing to his credit. If the child is born after her husband's death she is nevertheless entitled to the £3. In all cases, whether or not she is married, the whole Maternity Benefit is her property, and will normally be payable only to her. But she may authorise her husband to receive it on her behalf, in which case he is bound to pay it to her.

If the mother is not a British subject because she was born outside the British Empire of a non-British father and has not been naturalised (under the amending Act of 1913 a British woman who marries an alien retains her British nationality for the purpose of benefit) then the Maternity Benefit may be less than 30s. or £3 respectively. If she is a deposit contributor, and not a member of any Approved Society, the amount payable will only be what may be standing to her credit, not exceeding 22s. 6d. (instead of 30s.) or 45s. 10d. (instead of £3). If she or her husband is a member of an Approved Society it will be such a sum as the society may have fixed (probably the same as above). The Maternity Benefit is payable not only in respect of labour resulting in the issue of a living child, but also labour after 28 weeks of pregnancy resulting in the issue of a child whether alive or dead; and whether or not the father is still alive. It is (except as regards aliens and deposit contributors) always payable in full, without deductions for arrears or anything else. It cannot be refused on the ground of misconduct. It is administered by the Approved Societies, subject to the supervision and control of the Commissioners, to whom immediate complaint should be made if payment is refused. Almost the only ground on which it can legally be withheld by the Approved Society is complete suspension from benefits, either for some offence (which must not be that of her husband only) under the rules of the Approved Society (when there is always a right of appeal), or for being

suspended for a year from November by reason of arrears amounting to **more than 26 weeks** of "penalty arrears" (arrears less reserve contributions) during the preceding year ended in July. Even in this case there may be arrangements for payment of arrears at a reduced rate, to aid in which a Benevolent Fund has been provided. The benefit will not be payable whilst the mother is an inmate of any institution supported wholly or principally out of public funds (such as workhouse, Poor Law infirmary, or municipal hospital). No charge may be made upon her or her husband by any such institution in such a way as to encroach on the Maternity Benefit. In such cases the benefit may be paid to the mother herself (or to her husband with her authority for transfer to her) on her coming out of the institution, or where only one Maternity Benefit is payable, it may be applied to the relief of dependents, if any. If there are no dependents, and if the woman, whether married or unmarried, is a member of an Approved Society, and becomes an inmate of any hospital, asylum, convalescent home, or infirmary **that is supported by charity or by voluntary subscriptions**, then it may be paid to that institution. If the double Maternity Benefit is payable, payment to dependents may be made out of the one-half, whilst the other may be paid to the voluntary institution.

DEFECTS OF THE SCHEME.

From the standpoint of the community this Social Insurance is defective in the following respects:—

NEARLY A MILLION MOTHERS ARE LEFT OUT.

1. It falls far short of being universal, even as regards the households under £160 a year. Thus it entirely excludes the wives (not being themselves insured persons) of "exempted" and "excepted" men in employment, who, but for their exemption or exception (which is granted on the husband's application, without consultation of the wife, and without any requirement as to provision for maternity) would be insured under the Acts. Maternity within six months of entering into insurable employment, or within six months of the husband entering insurable employment, is unprovided for. The Acts also exclude from their compulsory scope the wives of hawkers, pedlars, costermongers, jobbing craftsmen of all sorts, and others "on their own," together with those of the little dealers, carriers, and shopkeepers. All women themselves working at these occupations, and those not in employment and without any occupation, are also left unprovided for unless they happen to be married to insured men. Altogether only about nine-elevenths of all the mothers in each year actually find themselves entitled to Maternity Benefit, these being probably less than 95 per cent. of the mothers in households below the Income Tax level of £160 a year. At least 5 per cent. of these are still unprovided for at childbirth by any form of Social Insurance.

DEPOSIT CONTRIBUTORS GET VERY LITTLE.

2. Unmarried women deposit contributors and women deposit contributors married to uninsured men and the wives of deposit contributors will often fail to get any appreciable Maternity Benefit, if any at all. The occasions when this is needed are spread only over a short period of life, but the income out of which the benefit

is provided is spread over the whole period from 16 to 70. Hence, what with expenses, and what with withdrawals for Sickness Benefit, there will often be no sufficient amount standing to the credit of a deposit contributor to permit of the payment of 30s. or £3 when a birth occurs.

PENALISING THE MOST HELPLESS.

3. The insured unmarried mother gets a Maternity Benefit of only 30s. instead of £3, though just as much is paid by her into the Insurance Fund as by a married woman whose husband is not insured, and though she probably needs the help more. Owing to the costly and stringent divorce law many thousands of wage-earners, whose husbands have deserted them, and who are for all practical purposes divorced, cannot enter into a legal marriage. The Maternity Benefit should be the same, and at least £3, in all cases.

NO SECURITY FOR PROPER MEDICAL ATTENDANCE.

4. Even where the Maternity Benefit of 30s. or £3 is available, the mere gift of money does not secure to all women adequate medical attendance and treatment in their confinements. Skilled assistance is often sadly to seek; in some rural districts and in the slums of the cities there are not enough practising doctors and midwives; in case of emergency the competent man sometimes cannot be got for hours; hardly anywhere are there maternity hospitals available even for difficult cases; only in a few cities has there been developed anything approaching to an organised maternity department of the work of the Medical Officer of Health, with a proper system of health visiting, systematic provision for midwives and doctors, a nursing service, a "maternity clinic," and whatever hospital accommodation is required. Such systematic public provision for maternity is an essential part of any effective Social Insurance, and it ought to be made by every Borough and Urban District Council and, by developing and co-ordinating the work of the rural districts, also by every County Council. These local authorities, and not the Approved Societies, ought to have the administration of the Maternity Benefit in conjunction with their organised provision for all childbirth. The provision for maternity might very well be separated altogether from the Insurance Act as it is in the Australian Commonwealth.

THE PROVISION FOR SICKNESS.

When illness comes to a wage-earning family provision is required of (i.) medical attendance and medicine for the sick person (ii.) extra nourishment and care during the illness and suitable environment for convalescence; (iii.) when the sick person is a wage-earner, also a weekly income to replace the wages ceasing during incapacity to work; (iv.) when the sick person has been doing the household work or looking after young children, also any necessary substitute during her incapacity. It seems that, with our present knowledge and our present customary habits of life, men and women in the prime of life, say, between 20 and 45, may expect, on an average, to be incapacitated from work by illness (apart from the wife's confinements) at the rate of between one and two weeks for each year, whilst the children,

young and old, may each need the doctor at about the same rate. After 45 the amount of illness steadily rises. Out of the 15 millions between 16 and 70 working for wages or for salaries below £160 a year probably nearly half-a-million are on any given day away from work owing to ill-health. At least as many non-wage earning members of their families will be found to be under the doctor.

THE MONEY LOSS FROM SICKNESS.

Of the whole 40 millions of men, women, and children below the Income Tax limit of £160 a year it is estimated that the number suffering from illness so as to require medical attendance amounts at all times to between three-quarters of a million and one million. The amount lost in wages from this cause alone exceeds 50 million pounds a year. It is rarely possible, at any rate for the mass of manual working wage-earners, to provide at all adequately for this illness out of individual savings. What, then, is done by Social Insurance?

HOW WE HAVE MUDDLED THE MATTER.

Down to 1911 the wage-earners were left to make what provision they could for sickness by the voluntary institutions they themselves invented and built up to a high degree of efficiency: their Friendly Societies and Trade Unions. These were supplemented, on the one hand, by a partial and inadequate supply of hospitals and dispensaries, some municipal and public, others voluntary and philanthropic, together with a scanty array of convalescent homes generally charitable in character; and, on the other hand, by the pauperising medical service of the Poor Law. In 1911 there was added to this confused medley, without any attempt to sort it all out into any kind of a system, the vast compulsory organisation of the National Insurance Act. The total annual expenditure on sickness in the United Kingdom out of collective funds of one sort or other—national or local government, “medical charities” of all kinds, mutual benefit societies of various types, and the Insurance Fund—cannot be put at less than 40 millions sterling. Yet the provision is very far from being adequate to the need. To understand how much is lost or wasted through our lack of system we must briefly describe each part of this unco-ordinated Social Insurance.

THE FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

The oldest and in some respects the most characteristic provision for sickness of the British wage-earners is that of the Friendly Society, which dates from the very beginning of the 18th century. At first entirely unrecognised by the Government and unprotected by law, the workingmen's Friendly Societies have now a whole series of Acts of Parliament largely framed to suit their own requirements, and a special Government Department (the Registry of Friendly Societies) to help them in the adjustment of their affairs. We cannot here describe the almost innumerable varieties of these democratically self-governing mutual benefit societies dealing with sickness. Great and small, registered and unregistered, they are believed to number as many as 30,000. They vary in size and importance from the humble little association of the men of a particular workshop or the inhabitants of a village up to such leviathans as the Manchester Unity

of Oddfellows with more than a million members. Always professedly democratic, their constitutions range from the simple autonomy of the members' meeting to the most centralised autocracy of a nominally elective headquarters' executive. They differ, in fact, in complexity from the simple "Slate Club," sharing out at the end of the year all that is left, up to what are, in effect, the most complicated permanent life assurance societies, having invested funds running into millions sterling. They may be narrowly local, centred round a particular factory or mine, a particular church or chapel, or even a particular public-house. They may be geographically unrestricted but confined to persons of particular occupation, particular races, particular creeds, particular ages, or a particular sex; on the other hand, some are national or even world wide, and open to any person whatsoever. What is common to all of them, so far as they deal with sickness, is that, in return for a weekly, monthly, or quarterly payment—varying from 1d. a week to something like £1 a quarter—they give, besides other benefits, Sickness Benefit of between 5s. and 20s. during each week that the member is incapacitated from work and unable to earn wages. It is this sick pay which has always been their great attraction. Many of them still provide, in addition, the free attendance of the "club doctor," who has been appointed by the members, together with the medicines that he prescribes and usually himself dispenses. Occasionally the member has a right to go to a convalescent home at a small weekly charge. Provision is sometimes made, in return for an additional payment, for medical attendance and medicines for wife and children whenever they are ill. Instead of having each its own "club doctor," the different Friendly Societies in a given locality may combine in a Friendly Societies' Medical Institute (of which there are in existence 50 or 60), which has for the service of the combined membership and managed by a local joint committee, its own staff of doctors, and its own dispensary, and even it may be (as at Swindon) its own consulting physician and surgeon, and its own little hospital for operations.

THE TRADE UNIONS.

Trade Unionism, as a whole, is described elsewhere. Here we need only mention the part it plays in insurance against sickness. A large proportion of the Trade Unions, covering more than 50 per cent. of the total number of Trade Unionists, offer Sick Benefit to their members. In some cases this benefit is compulsory upon all members, in others voluntary, but often full membership is open only to those who are insured against sickness. It may be estimated that more than two million members, out of an aggregate Trade Union membership of nearly four millions, are thus insured. Sick Benefit varies, roughly speaking, from 5s. to 15s. a week. Only very occasionally, as in the Boilermakers' Society, is a doctor provided. Sometimes the union pays Sick Benefit out of its General Fund, but sometimes, especially where insurance against sickness is optional, a special fund is set aside for it. Generally speaking, the unions make no elaborate actuarial calculations of the liabilities which this benefit involves, and build up no invested fund to meet the increasing sick claims of their members as they grow older. But as new members join for other reasons than a desire for Sick Benefit, and as, therefore, the average age remains, as a rule, practically

stationary, it is enough if, with a small reserve for times of stress, the current rates meet the current outgoings. However, some unions which are paying a higher rate of benefit than they can afford are compelled to resort frequently to special levies to make both ends meet.

HOSPITALS AND CONVALESCENT HOMES.

It is computed by the most expert authorities that in a modern industrial community from five to six beds in medical institutions should be available, apart from the provision for lunacy, for every 1,000 inhabitants if those patients who imperatively need institutional treatment are to obtain it. It seems as if no city or county in the United Kingdom has yet come near attaining this standard of hospital accommodation. Apart from the Poor Law buildings, which cannot be deemed fit places for the sick, England and Wales has not so many as two and a-quarter sick beds per 1,000 population.

The medical attendance provided by the Friendly Societies and Trade Unions, or paid for out of their Sickness Benefit, is supplemented by a motley collection of hospitals, dispensaries, and convalescent homes, under all sorts of management, with all sorts of conditions of admission, dotted about the country more or less haphazard, without any close relation to the particular local needs. They are under no public inspection or general control. There is not even any official account of what exists, and no complete list of these institutions is published by any Government Department or medical organisation, or can be compiled from published materials. No one knows—not even the Government Department supposed to be responsible for public health—how inadequate is the provision in any particular county. After 44 years of complacent ignorance on the subject, the Local Government Board for England and Wales has, at last, in 1915, compiled a bare list of institutions for the sick, which is not yet published.

THE MUNICIPAL HOSPITALS.

Contrary to the common impression, something like one-half of our existing hospitals are provided and maintained out of public funds and managed by elective public authorities. These are the hospitals of the Town and District Councils, over 1,000 in number, having altogether over 40,000 beds, or nearly as many as all the endowed and voluntary hospitals put together. These essentially public hospitals "vary in size and elaboration from the cottage or shed set aside for an occasional smallpox patient, up to such an institution as the Liverpool City Hospital, divided into seven distinct sections in as many different parts of the city, and having altogether 938 beds, served by six resident and seven visiting doctors, and treating nearly 5,000 patients a year for an average period of seven or eight weeks."* All the 1,807 Local Sanitary Authorities of England and Wales are empowered and directed by the Public Health Acts to provide and maintain such hospitals out of the local rates, but only 1,034 have yet done so; and most of the Rural District Councils, many of the Urban District Councils, and some even of the Borough Councils have so far neglected their duty in this matter.

* "The State and the Doctor," by S. and B. Webb, 1910, p. 157.

THE COUNCIL MAY PROVIDE FOR ALL ILLNESSES.

These municipal hospitals, where they exist, have nearly always been established with special reference to smallpox or cholera, and they have gradually come to take in cases of scarlet fever, enteric fever, and sometimes diphtheria, in addition to any stray cases of plague or typhus that occur. It is very commonly assumed that these hospitals are only for infectious cases and that the local authorities cannot provide hospitals for other diseases. This is a mistake. The Public Health Acts do not prescribe the kind of diseases to be treated in the hospital which they authorise, and whatever may have been the primary object for which it was established, there is nothing to prevent the local authority from admitting any sick patients whatsoever. As a matter of fact, more and more kinds of diseases are constantly being added to those dealt with in the municipal hospitals, such as puerperal fever, erysipelas, chickenpox, whooping cough, and measles. The Borough or District Council has only to give the order, on a report from its Health Committee, for any other cases to be admitted. There is, in fact, nothing in law to prevent a Borough or District Council transforming its hospital into one taking all cases whatsoever. It may even start a hospital out of the rates exclusively for non-infectious cases. The Barry Urban District Council (Glamorganshire) did so in 1900, actually on the advice of the Local Government Board. The Widnes Borough Council (Lancashire) runs not only a fever hospital and a smallpox hospital, but also another for non-infectious cases, chiefly accidents.

Besides residential hospitals, general or special, the Borough and District Councils are equally authorised to provide dispensaries for the medical treatment of out-patients at the public expense whatever their diseases. It has been held officially that the word hospital in the Public Health Acts includes dispensary. The Widnes Corporation Hospital treats several hundred out-patients annually. In only a few cases (as at Willesden and temporarily at Barking) has this yet been done elsewhere.

THE VOLUNTARY HOSPITALS.

Apart from infectious diseases, the institutional provision for the sick is largely in the hands of the multitude of "voluntary" or "charity" hospitals, administered under committees of trustees, governors, or subscribers, mainly by the medical staff. Of these institutions there is no official inspection, no general control, and not even any published list.*

They appear to number a little over 800 in all, and to provide, in the aggregate, nearly 45,000 sick beds. They differ among themselves in every conceivable respect. Some are large institutions, with medical schools, resident staffs, and extensive out-patients' departments. Others are just cottages to which the local doctors send their own patients, so as to be able to treat them under better conditions than at home. In fact, only about 275 have a resident doctor. Some (like St. Bartholomew's, Guy's, and St. Thomas's hospitals in London) have large endowments, but most of them are supported, wholly or mainly, by donations, annual subscriptions, and a

* The most complete lists published are those in Burdett's "Hospital Annual" and Churchill's "Medical Directory," but these omit many institutions.

continual stream of legacies. Some are maintained by large firms, principally for their workpeople. Payments are often exacted from patients, sometimes of small amounts, but often of substantial sums, and this is now a large and increasing source of income. Regular subscriptions are often collected from the workmen in large undertakings for the support of some local hospital to which, when ill, they gain admission. The fees for instruction paid by medical students and probationer nurses amount to no small sum. Church and chapel and street and factory collections, under royal or mayoral or socially influential auspices—together with the proceeds of bazaars, concerts, etc.—eke out the total, which must exceed three millions sterling per annum.

Unfortunately, though these 800 voluntary hospitals play in the aggregate a large and valuable part in our Social Insurance, they have come into existence owing largely to local accident, to the whim or caprice of particular donors or testators, or to the preference of the skilled surgeons and physicians for the Metropolis or the county town, and they are, consequently, by no means always situated where they are most wanted. Nor are they all generally available. Many of them restrict themselves to particular kinds of illness. All of them reject merely "chronic" cases, few deal with maternity, and scarcely any will admit persons suffering from tuberculosis or syphilis. Many of them, too, are barred to the very poor by making a charge or requiring special recommendations for admission.

CONVALESCENT HOMES.

The convalescent homes that exist are all under private management and more or less charitable in their nature. The larger voluntary hospitals maintain some into which to discharge a certain proportion of their own patients. Others are maintained as independent institutions by the voluntary subscriptions of the charitable. Others, again, under working-class control, are provided through such agencies as the Co-operative and Friendly Society movements or the Working Men's Club and Institute Union. Admission is generally dependent on a weekly payment, which is sometimes only a nominal sum, but in other cases rises up to nearly the whole cost of board and lodging.

WHERE NO HOSPITAL IS AVAILABLE.

Over a considerable part of the kingdom, especially in the rural parts, there is often no hospital, municipal or charitable, to which the sick person can gain admission. This is one of the worst scandals of the 20th century—yet no Government has yet put any proposal before Parliament to remedy it. In some parts not even an accident case can get to a hospital. In many rural districts there is no chance of any "medical" case getting to hospital. Hardly anywhere can admission for other than urgent cases be gained without prolonged waiting for a vacant bed. There is frequently nothing in the shape of a maternity hospital available. There is hardly ever any chance for a "chronic" case, whatever the illness, or for a case of venereal disease, however innocent the sufferer. The deficiency of hospital beds is specially marked as regards the special diseases of women, together with most non-surgical cases requiring assiduous nursing. Moreover, there is no public ambulance service or other

method of conveyance within the means of the poor available to carry the patient to any distant hospital.

"LET THEM GO TO THE WORKHOUSE."

For all who cannot get to hospital, and for whom institutional treatment is imperative, there is available—assuming that the sufferer can be regarded as legally "destitute"—the Poor Law "workhouse." In at least half the Poor Law unions this is nothing but a general mixed workhouse, setting aside one or more rooms as a sick ward, without resident doctor, often without even a trained nurse other than the Matron. In about a third of the unions the sick are in a separate building, but are still under the Workhouse Master and Matron, and there is no resident doctor. In the large towns this sick ward has often developed into a separate Poor Law infirmary, often with resident doctors, which may be, in the best cases, little inferior to a voluntary hospital. The Poor Law, with its stigma of pauperism, thus provides in workhouse sick wards or infirmaries 95,000 beds, or twice as many as all the endowed and voluntary hospitals put together. Such as they are, they are in most places all that is available for the "chronic" case, the sufferer from venereal disease, the person discharged from hospital as incurable, even for the woman in childbirth, often even for the workman stricken down by sudden accident.

THE NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT.

Upon this very miscellaneous array of diverse agencies the National Insurance Acts of 1911 and 1913 have superimposed a compulsory and professedly universal State system of sickness insurance with uniform contributions and benefits. This is based on a combination of central control with local administration by voluntary Approved Societies. The existing work of the voluntary organisations, whether societies or hospitals, is left practically untouched. Both Trade Unions and Friendly Societies, whatever their type, are encouraged to develop "Approved Societies" as separate new sections of their old organisations, and thus to add to their other duties the administration of the new State benefits, for which a definite capitation fee is allowed them. As, however, the existing Friendly Societies and Trade Unions did not effectively cover the whole country, the formation of new "Approved Societies" was also encouraged, and many such came hurriedly into existence, especially to cater for domestic servants, laundresses, nurses, men and women teachers, etc. The Act itself created a society of special type for seamen, and authorised (in Scotland and Ireland only) the formation of county societies in connection with the County Councils, of which only a few have yet been established. But the most important of the new Approved Societies have proved to be those established by the industrial insurance offices in order to work the new State insurance in profitable connection with their own business. The great Prudential Assurance Company Limited has established no fewer than six separate "Prudential" Approved Societies for men, women, miners, laundry-workers, agricultural and rural workers, and domestic servants respectively, with over three million members, all completely under the control of the Prudential Company's own directorate, and managed, at a fixed charge per member, by the Prudential Company's own clerical and agency staff of 25,000 persons. Ten other industrial

insurance offices, headed by the Pearl and the Refuge, the next in magnitude to the Prudential, have similarly established under their joint control and management the National Amalgamated Approved Society. This society, which has over one and a-half million members, is served, with the least possible pretence of democratic control, by the combined staffs (numbering over 30,000) of the dominant companies. Other industrial insurance offices (such as the Liverpool Victoria, the Blackburn Philanthropic, the Royal Liver, and the Salvation Army) have started their own "State sections," ranking as Approved Societies.

HOW TO TRANSFER FROM ONE SOCIETY TO ANOTHER.

It is now not easy to transfer from one Approved Society to another, and the insured person should not attempt it unless there are good reasons for the change. Such a change means trouble to the National Health Commission in connection with the transfer of the necessary reserves or "transfer value" from the old society to the new, and also trouble to both the societies. In fact, many societies now habitually refuse consent to their members to transfer to other societies. This they are entitled to do only when they can prove that there is not a good reason. They even refuse to accept transfers from other societies with which they have entered into a mutual agreement to prevent transfers. Insured persons have, however, legal rights in the matter, and, in spite of the difficulties placed in the way, it ought practically always to be possible for a persistent person to arrange for a transfer, if he has real grounds.

FIRST ASK CONSENT OF YOUR SOCIETY.

The first step is to obtain the consent of the member's Approved Society. Its agent should be asked to furnish, without delay, a copy of a form of application for consent to transfer (A.S. No. 73). This form, which cannot legally be withheld, states "that the member, being desirous of transferring to another society, applies for the consent of the present society to the termination of membership." The reason for transferring should then be fully stated, together with the member's signature, membership number, postal address, and the date. Transfer will only be arranged for, in normal cases, so as to take place at the end of the half-year. But the insured person has a right to have the transfer made without delay **if he can give a good reason for urgency**, and in that case he should add the words "at the earliest possible date." If thus exceptionally accepted for prompt transfer the change will be made at the end of the quarter, instead of at the end of the half-year. When the form of application for consent is filled up it should be sent to the secretary of the member's present society at its head office.

VALID REASONS FOR TRANSFER.

In due course the society will reply, either consenting or refusing consent to the transfer. The society is not legally bound to give reasons for refusing to consent to the transfer, but such consent must not be unreasonably withheld. As examples of what have been held to be good reasons for transferring, we may mention the case of an insured person belonging to a Trade Union which has an Approved Society connected with it, or that of an insured person obtaining employment in an establishment supporting an Approved Society of

its own. Any insured person who belongs to a Trade Union or to a Friendly Society, but who has joined some other Approved Society, may at any time find it more convenient to have all his benefits, voluntary as well as State, from a single organisation. Moreover, the Commissioners, in their Circular A.S. 167, of June, 1915, expressly mention as valid reasons, not only for transfer, but even for specially urgent transfer during war time, the case of an insured person who removes to a place in which his old society has no convenient agency, and the case of a member whose membership is being terminated according to the rules.

On the other hand, when a member has merely become annoyed with the management of his society, perhaps owing to some delay which is frequently quite unavoidable, it has been considered that this is not a sufficient reason for transferring.

GET CONSENT OF THE SOCIETY YOU WISH TO ENTER.

Should the present society agree to the transfer, the form of consent, together with the insurance card and book, should be sent to the secretary of the new society, whose consent to accept the transfer should have been previously obtained. This is of importance, because, as already mentioned, transfers involve the societies in a great deal of work, and there is actually an agreement amongst some of the largest Approved Societies (other than those connected with Trade Unions) not to accept transfers **from each other**. If, however, the consent of both societies has been obtained the new society will issue a fresh book and card, and the matter is then at an end.

In the event of the present society refusing consent to the transfer, or not replying within one month of the application, this refusal, together with the member's book and card, should be forwarded to the secretary of the new society. The new society should then communicate with the National Health Commissioners—in case of its refusal the insured person may himself do so—stating that consent to withdrawal from the present society has been withheld, or else that (a month having elapsed from the time the application for consent was sent to the old society) no reply has been received by the member. The Commissioners will then communicate with the old society, calling upon it to give its reasons for refusing its consent. These reasons will then be considered by the Commissioners, and in the majority of cases the matter is finally decided by the Commissioners informing the new society that a transfer value in respect of the member will be credited to them, and in that event membership of the new society is granted, and the necessary forms issued.

The Commissioners only refuse to compel the carrying out of the transfer when it is obvious that the member has no reason beyond the mere desire to change, or perhaps none except dissatisfaction with the agent, or with the society, over some unimportant matter of procedure.

TRANSFERS DURING THE WAR.

In their Circular A.S. 167, of June, 1915, the Commissioners deprecate any transfers not urgently required, in order to diminish trouble during war time. But there is no real saving of trouble by stopping those transfers that are called for by the genuine needs of insured persons—it would only mean putting them to the trouble, instead of the Approved Societies—and consequently those who have

valid reasons for wishing to transfer may properly persist in their demands. It would be a very strong step for the Commissioners to compel an insured person to remain in an Approved Society which he wishes, for good reasons, to leave, and in which he can only remain at inconvenience to himself. Any insured person who fails to get justice should get a Member of Parliament to press his or her case.

DEPOSIT CONTRIBUTORS.

Those persons who find themselves compulsorily insured and have not become members of any Approved Society—either because of apathy or ignorance, or because they are in such bad health that no society will accept them, or because they have been expelled—are called deposit contributors. Their interests are nominally looked after by the Local Insurance Committee. But they get very little. They are not really insured, and can draw only the amount standing to their credit. The Insurance Commissioners charge them each year in advance with an arbitrarily fixed sum for the ensuing year's expenses, in return for which they are allowed the right to choose a doctor for Medical Benefit and they are eligible for Sanatorium Benefit; they are allowed to draw out the money only when certified as incapable of work, and then only at the rate of 10s. a week (7s. 6d. if a woman); if there is any over, it may be drawn for Maternity Benefit. When the deposit contributor dies his next-of-kin does not even get the unexhausted balance, whatever it may be, but only four-sevenths (or in the case of a woman one-half) of it, the rest being forfeited, thus losing all paid in for him by his employers and the State. No one should continue in the disadvantageous position of deposit contributor. He or she ought at once to join an Approved Society.

The administration of this huge and complicated machine of State insurance—the mere expenses of which are believed to amount altogether to three or four millions sterling a year—is in the hands, partly of separate Boards of Commissioners for England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales respectively, and of a Joint Committee of all four of them; partly of the County and Borough Councils through their Health Committees; partly of the Local Insurance Committees set up in each County and County Borough area, representing the Approved Societies, the medical practitioners, and the local public authority; partly in those of local committees of the medical practitioners and chemists; and partly in those of the Approved Societies (these financially independent societies, branches, courts, and lodges being over 20,000 in number) into which the 15 millions of insured persons have been brigaded.

HOW THE MONEY IS RAISED.

With the income side of the new State insurance the Approved Societies, whether grafted on old Trade Unions or Friendly Societies, or independently created, have nothing to do except in so far as they exact fines and extra levies. The State Insurance Fund, entirely governed by statute and by the regulations of the Government Insurance Commissioners, is fed by contributions compulsorily levied on all employed manual workers and all other employed persons under £160 a year, and also on their employers, supplemented by fixed subventions from the Exchequer. These

contributions are collected by means of stamps, which must be affixed and cancelled at all payments of wages. The stamp for each week's employment is of the value of 7d. for a male and 6d. for a female employee, the whole amount being payable by the employer, who is, however, authorised to deduct from the wages in the normal case 4d. for a male and 3d. for a female employee. It is important that the provisions for the benefit of very low paid workers should be better known. Where persons over 21, men or women, are paid at a lower rate than 2s. per day the Government contributes a special 1d. towards the weekly premiums and the employer an extra 2d. (if his wage exceeds 1s. 6d. a day), or even an extra 3d. (if he is paying actually less than 1s. 6d. a day). The employer has also to contribute an extra 1d. for men to whom he pays between 2s. and 2s. 6d. a day. The result is that persons over 21 earning at the rate of less than 1s. 6d. a day are insured without any deduction from their wages; those earning between 1s. 6d. and 2s. a day need suffer deduction only of 1d. a week; whilst men earning less than 2s. 6d. a day have to be stopped 3d. instead of the normal 4d.* Care should be taken to see that all these low paid workers do not suffer larger deductions from their wages than are legally due from them. At present, it is feared, owing to the neglect or indifference of their employers and to their own ignorance or timidity, a vast number of them are charged the full 4d. or 3d. per week.

THE PERSONS EXCLUDED FROM THE ACT.

A considerable number of persons are left outside the scope of the Act, except in so far as they may choose to come in, on onerous terms, as voluntary contributors. There are, first of all, the wives and children who are not in wage-earning employment. There are all those who work "on their own" and are not employed by a master for hire. These two great classes the Act ignores. Next come those whom it specifically "excepts"—persons employed under the National or Local Government (including elementary teachers) or by any statutory company, who have already advantages in sickness and disablement not less favourable than those given by the Act (note that in estimating these advantages Maternity Benefit is ignored and is, therefore, lost in many cases); agents paid by fees or commission not mainly under a single employer; persons on farms maintained by the farmer and paid no money wages; casual workers employed by private persons; persons employed for maintenance and without money wages; persons engaged in duly scheduled employments merely subsidiary to their main livelihood; "share" fishermen, who are not regarded as in wage-earning employment; persons engaged by their husbands (or wives); persons earning more than £160 a year otherwise than as manual workers.

Special arrangements are made for the Army and Navy.

* In Ireland, because no Medical Benefit needs to be provided, the normal weekly stamp is 1½d. per person lower, the payment by the employer being 2½d., that by the male employee 3d., and that by the female employee 2d. The State contribution, where wages are under 2s. per day, is the same as in Great Britain, namely, 1d. The result is that where employees receive less than 1s. 6d. per day, as in Great Britain, no deduction is made; between 1s. 6d. and 2s. a day, a deduction of a halfpenny only and between 2s. and 2s. 6d. a day, a deduction of 2d. only, whether male or female.

The "exempted" persons are in a peculiar position. The employer in these cases has to pay his part of the weekly tax, normally 3d., the intention being that he should have no motive for giving them preference in employment. But the "exempted" persons themselves pay nothing, and are not entitled to Sickness or Disablement Benefit. They can get (after 26 payments) Medical, Maternity, and Sanatorium Benefit by applying to the Insurance Commissioners. Persons of either sex who are either in receipt of an income of £26 a year not dependent on their personal exertions, or who are ordinarily and mainly dependent for their livelihood on some other person, or on some occupation within the Act, may obtain certificates of exemption by applying to the Insurance Commissioners.

MEDICAL BENEFIT.

In return for the compulsorily exacted payment the insured person is given by statute the right to Medical Benefit, that is, to "adequate" medical attendance and treatment in all diseases or whenever incapable of work from any cause whatsoever except childbirth, "a due supply of proper medicines, and the surgical appliances prescribed for him so far as included in a list drawn up by the Insurance Commissioners. Unfortunately, the funds under the Act proving insufficient, medical attendance has been cut down from that promised by Mr. Lloyd George, the supply of medicines has been administratively limited in various ways, and the list of surgical appliances is a very narrow one.

What the insured person now gets is the right once a year to choose one doctor from the "panel" drawn up for his County or County Borough and to consult that doctor, but that one only, whenever he feels ill, either by calling at the doctor's surgery within the prescribed hours—in emergency at any time—or, if the patient is too unwell to do this, by asking the doctor to attend at the patient's home. The doctor is only required to give the attendance and treatment that falls within the scope of a general practitioner of ordinary skill and capacity. When the case requires something more than this (even if it is within the doctor's own capacity) he is, in accordance with the contract made by Mr. Lloyd George with the medical profession, not required to give the attendance and treatment which is "adequate" to the need, but only to "advise" the patient how he might possibly obtain it elsewhere from some medical charity.*

Medical Benefit is not given for childbirth. In those cases of miscarriage for which Maternity Benefit is not payable, the woman insured person, whether married or not, is entitled to Medical Benefit.

* In Ireland, where a gratuitous State Medical Service has existed since 1851, it was naturally thought unnecessary to provide Medical Benefit under the Insurance Act.

In Ireland any "poor person," not necessarily a pauper, has a statutory right to free medical attendance and medicine, quite apart from Poor Relief. The whole country is divided into 840 dispensary districts, each with its salaried doctor, who is also Medical Officer of Health under the local Public Health Authority. The "dispensary doctor" is required to attend without fee, and to supply with medicine, any person presenting a "dispensary ticket." Such tickets are given away freely by Guardians of the Poor, local wardens, relieving officers, etc., to any "poor person" who asks for them; the custom being for them to be used, as a matter of course, not only by all wage-earners, but also by many of the small farmers and shopkeepers.

The weekly contribution under the Insurance Act from wage-earners in Ireland was accordingly fixed at 1½d. less than in Great Britain.

Medical Benefit cannot be refused in cases of venereal disease, even if due to personal misconduct.

The 15,000 doctors on the several panels of the County and County Borough Insurance Committees in Great Britain are thus now available, day and night, to give free of charge to all insured persons in their ordinary ailments (except at childbirth) the medical attendance and treatment that is customary. In addition, they are required to prescribe whatever medicine they think the case requires. This medicine will be dispensed without charge (beyond a deposit of 1d. for any necessary bottle) by any of the thousands of chemists with whom the Insurance Committees have contracted for this purpose. The doctors may also prescribe any surgical or other appliances needed by the patient (such as bandages, splints, etc.), and these will also be supplied free of charge by the same chemists, but only if they have been included in the very limited list drawn up by the Insurance Commissioners. Thus trusses are not included, nor elastic stockings for varicose veins, nor surgical boots for flatfoot, nor crutches nor spectacles. The doctor must also give free of charge all the certificates required for the purposes of benefit under the Act.

WHEN THE DOCTOR MAY MAKE A CHARGE.

The doctor may if he chooses—many of them do not—make a charge for the services which are not included under the terms of contract with the medical profession, namely, any treatment outside the scope of the practice of the doctor of ordinary skill and capacity (for instance, all dentistry; all treatment of any but the slightest affections of the eye or ear; any serious surgical operation), attendance at childbirth, any certificates required for other purposes than the National Insurance Act (such a charge is seldom made unless an exceptional number are required), and any quite exceptional attendance or treatment specially asked for and agreed to by the patient. The insured person may (and always should) submit any such doctor's bill to the local Insurance Committee before paying it. The doctor is not allowed to make a charge on the insured person for calling to see him, however great may be the distance or however frequent his visits, or for coming at night, or for seeing the patient outside the stated hours, or for treating, so far as is within the scope of the general practitioner, any disease or accident or ailment whatsoever (apart from childbirth), or for supplying medicine or appliances himself instead of writing a prescription for the chemist, or for giving any certificates required by the Approved Society, or for recommending the patient to a hospital or other institution, or for facilitating admission thereto.

The administration of this "Medical Benefit" is not in the hands of the Approved Societies, but in those of the Insurance Committees, to whom, as well as to the Insurance Commissioners themselves, complaint should be made of any neglect or malpractice of doctor or chemist.

SICKNESS BENEFIT.

The Act entitles every insured person (who has been in insurance for six months and has made at least 26 weekly payments, who is not penalised for past arrears, and who has not been lawfully suspended from benefit by his Approved Society) to receive from that society

Sickness Benefit for every whole day that he is incapacitated from work either by specific disease or by any mental or bodily disablement. Benefit begins with the fourth day after the incapacity began—that is to say, no benefit is payable under the Act for the first three days of incapacity, unless it is in continuation of a previous illness. Hence the importance of going at once to the doctor and getting a certificate on the very beginning of incapacity. The payment will be, in the case of British subjects over 21, normally at the rate of 10s. a week for a man and 7s. 6d. a week for a woman.* Where, in the case of a woman, the incapacity is due to confinement at childbirth Sickness Benefit is not payable, being merged in the separately described Maternity Benefit. Where the incapacity is due to the misconduct of the insured person himself, the rules of the Approved Society may prevent his receiving Sickness (though not Medical) Benefit. This is often understood as disqualifying all persons suffering from venereal disease. But this is incorrect. Innocent sufferers from diseases due to other persons' misconduct are legally entitled to full benefit.

WHEN SICKNESS BENEFIT IS PAYABLE.

Questions arise as to the kinds of illness or disablement during which Sickness Benefit is payable. A certificate by the insured person's panel doctor is practically always required, though the fact that the certificate is by some other doctor is not a valid ground for refusal of benefit. The certificate must state in so many words that the doctor has seen the patient on a stated day, and that he is **incapable of work**. But the doctor's certificate, though evidence, is not conclusive. It is for the Approved Society to satisfy itself that the claimant is legally entitled to Sickness Benefit, and some societies reject many claims. Attempts have been made to refuse the benefit to women incapacitated by normal pregnancy, to blind or crippled persons, and to persons suffering merely from extreme weakness on the plea that this is not "sickness." Such a refusal is, however, illegal. Benefit is payable, not for sickness, but **for incapacity to work**, whether due to specific disease or any other mental or bodily disablement, transient or permanent (except only childbirth, in which case it is replaced by Maternity Benefit). Sickness Benefit is payable just as much when the incapacity for work is caused merely by pregnancy, even without complications, or by blindness or loss of limbs, or by some quite inexplicable weakness which the doctor calls "anæmia," as it is when the incapacity is caused by bronchitis or fever. In those cases of miscarriage in which Maternity

* Less than the full Sickness Benefit (of 10s. per week for a man and 7s. 6d. for a woman) will be paid to (a) *Unmarried Minors*—that is, persons under 21 years of age—who will get, if males, only 6s. a week for 13 weeks, followed by 5s. a week for the next 13 weeks; and if females 5s. per week for the first 13 weeks and 4s. a week for the second 13 weeks. (b) *Women* who were insured whilst unmarried, and who, on marriage, elect to become voluntary contributors, get only 5s. a week for 13 weeks and 3s. a week for 13 weeks. (c) *Aliens* joining after 1911 who get only the special reduced rate of Sickness Benefit that has been fixed by the Approved Society that they have joined; or if they are deposit contributors only 7s. 9d. a week if men, or 5s. 7½d. a week if women. And, most frequent case of all, (d) *Persons penalised for arrears of contributions* in the year preceding that in which they fall ill. Relief in respect of arrears can be obtained from the Approved Society, which has at its disposal for this purpose a fund provided by the Government; provided that application is made before 4th October in each year, that more than six contributions are in arrear, and that the arrears are due to genuine unemployment.

Benefit is not payable, Sickness Benefit may be claimed for the period of incapacity.

"INCAPACITY TO WORK."

But it must really be incapacity to work. Some societies have attempted to argue that this means incapacity to perform **any kind of work**, even knitting or "picking peas," or putting the kettle on the fire. This is nonsense, and illegal nonsense. The Insurance Commissioners now advise that, so far as temporary incapacity is concerned, the Act means by "incapacity to work" exactly what most Friendly Societies meant by "incapacity to pursue his usual occupation" or "incapacity to go to his usual work." Thus, if a miner cannot go down the pit, he is not to be regarded as ineligible for Sickness Benefit merely because he is capable of carrying in the coals from the coal shed; if a woman is incapable of attending to her looms or working at the laundry she is not to be deprived of her Sickness Benefit merely because she is able to set out the meals, boil the kettle for tea, or attend to her children. Nor can any insured person be expected to change to "a light job" whenever he has an illness which incapacitates him for his more onerous employment. The case is different when it comes to be a question of permanent incapacity, as in the case of Disablement Benefit, payable for incapacity lasting longer than six months.

THE "BEHAVIOUR RULES."

The insured person must, of course, obey the rules of the Approved Society to which he has chosen to belong, and these always include rules as to behaviour during sickness. Any breach of these rules is punishable by a fine, and, in extreme cases, by suspension from benefit. But the breach of rule must be proved and the disobedient member condemned to the appropriate penalty in strict accordance with the rules. It is not enough for a secretary to say that, because a woman has been found doing her household work, which may be contrary to the rules as to behaviour during sickness, she is thereby shown not to be incapacitated from work, and accordingly not entitled to any Sickness Benefit whatever. Yet such cases have occurred.

Administration of Sickness Benefit is entirely in the hands of the Approved Societies, subject to the supervision and control of the Commissioners, who send down, week by week, the money required by the society to pay its claims.

Any insured person whose claim to Sickness Benefit, though supported by a doctor's certificate of incapacity to work, is refused by his Approved Society would do well to appeal, either according to the forms prescribed by his society's rules or by letter to the Chairman of the Insurance Commissioners, asking for an inquiry into his case. A letter asking the intervention of the local Member of Parliament or other influential person is often found useful. Many claims that are refused in the first instance are paid by the Approved Societies if persistently followed up, especially if other people take up the case.

DEFECTS OF THE SCHEME.

It will be seen that, from the standpoint of Social Insurance, the provision for sickness falls very far short of what is needed. We may note some of the principal shortcomings.

THE VOLUNTARY SICK CLUBS ARE INADEQUATE.

1. We saw that the Friendly Societies and Trade Unions (apart from weaknesses of constitution and management and occasional financial unsoundness) do not secure for their members anything like enough income in sickness to maintain the household; they provide either medical attendance quite inadequate for serious illnesses, or even none at all; and they only occasionally and inadequately provide for the illnesses of wife and children. It does not seem possible for self-supporting societies to make by themselves alone anything like adequate provision for sickness.

THE HOSPITALS ARE INADEQUATE.

2. In particular the institutional provision for the sick in hospitals and convalescent homes must practically be made out of public funds of one sort or another. The existing hospitals and convalescent homes, whether provided under the Public Health Acts or from charitable funds, are, even if we confine ourselves to the class under £160 a year, hopelessly inadequate to the needs of the sick. The result is that a large proportion of sick for whom, in the public interest, hospital treatment is required have to wait many weeks or months for admission—now at great and unnecessary expense to the Insurance Fund—or altogether fail to obtain it. The shortage of convalescent homes practically available for the very poor, and especially for working women, is appalling.

THE POOR LAW IS UNFIT FOR THE SICK.

3. Those for whom hospital accommodation is not available often have to resort to the workhouse or Poor Law infirmary, though they are "destitute" only of that medical treatment which the community has failed to provide. The great majority of workhouses, never intended for the sick, are entirely unfit for this purpose. Neither the buildings nor the equipment, neither the medical attendance nor the nursing, are suitable for the tens of thousands of gravely diseased persons for whom no better refuge is available. Even those Poor Law infirmaries which, in London and some other large cities, have developed into something like hospitals are far inferior to them, as regards specialist treatment and nursing, for any but slight and simple cases. The provision for the sick needs to be wholly dissociated from the Poor Law. It is an indignity that suffering men and women should be driven to the workhouse. The Government should see to it that the whole institutional provision for the sick should be concentrated in the hands of the County and Borough Councils, and should contrive by means of official pressure, coupled with adequate grants in aid, that every County and Borough Council, whilst making full use of whatever already exists, should provide hospitals and convalescent homes adequate to the requirements of its population.

THE NATIONAL INSURANCE SCHEME EXCLUDES HALF THE POPULATION.

4. Whilst the National Insurance Act has ensured some sort of medical attendance and a modicum of weekly income to about one-third of the population, it leaves outside its compulsory scope (even if we

confine ourselves to incomes under £160 a year) **actually more than it includes.** For the children, whose adequate medical treatment is of the greatest importance to the community, nothing is provided by means of the Act. For the illness of the homekeeping wife apart from her confinements the Act makes no provision whatever, neither medical attendance nor substitute to do the housework (except in the cases in which a previously employed contributor agrees, on marriage, to become a voluntary contributor at 3d. per week). Even from the Maternity Benefit it is calculated that nearly a million wives (whose family income is under £160 a year) are excluded. The manual workers, ignored by the Act, and left entirely outside its operation (except for the permission to become voluntary contributors on onerous terms), are estimated to number over two millions. Besides these, there are the various classes "excepted" and "exempted," whose numbers run into hundreds of thousands. The position in which the hundreds of thousands of deposit contributors are left is very unsatisfactory.

MEDICAL BENEFIT INADEQUATE.

5. Those for whom the Act does provide find the provision very far from what the public interest requires. The medical attendance which the Insurance Commissioners have arranged for is admittedly very short of being adequate to the needs of the patients in all serious cases.

SICK PAY INADEQUATE.

6. The income provided in sickness when the breadwinner is incapacitated for work is inadequate to the maintenance of himself, let alone the family. It needs imperatively to be in some way supplemented or increased.

THE PROVISION FOR TUBERCULOSIS.

There is one contingency to which the manual working class is specially subject, and against which they are usually quite unable to make individual provision. This is tuberculosis or consumption, which specially attacks the underfed, the dwellers in dark and crowded rooms, those who work long hours in badly ventilated workplaces, and especially all trades in which there is a grinding of iron or steel or stone, the filecutters, the stoneworkers, and others constantly breathing dust. It is estimated that there are at least 150,000 men and women to-day who are suffering from this disease, and of these five-sixths belong to the working class. Every year something like 75,000 men and women get the disease. More families are reduced to destitution through tuberculosis than through any other disease. The Ancient Order of Foresters declares that 25 per cent. of its Sick Pay is due to tuberculosis. It is essential that this should be met by Social Insurance.

WHAT THE NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT PROVIDES.

The National Insurance Act accordingly makes separate provision for sufferers from tuberculosis, whether phthisis ("consumption") or non-pulmonary tuberculosis (such as hip-disease). The insured

person found to be suffering from tuberculosis is entitled not only to medical attendance and treatment by his "panel" doctor, and, when incapacitated from work (if a member of an Approved Society), to Sickness Benefit, but also to specialist treatment by the Tuberculosis Medical Officer appointed by the County or County Borough Council; to the advantages of any tuberculosis dispensary that the Council may establish; to any extras that the doctor may prescribe for him, such as additional nourishment in the shape of milk, eggs, or meat, or the means to make for himself an open-air sleeping place; or, in the alternative, to admission to the sanatorium provided by, or at the expense of, the County or County Borough Council, when he will be boarded and lodged free, and his Sickness Benefit will be available week by week for his dependents. If he has none, the amount will be confiscated by the Insurance Committee, and added to its balances. Unfortunately, only a small proportion of the cases are yet being adequately treated. Only 36,000 people (two-thirds men) were admitted to sanatorium in 1913. Many County and County Borough Councils have not yet appointed sufficient tuberculosis officers, established enough tuberculosis dispensaries, or provided enough sanatorium accommodation. Many, moreover, have stringently cut down the provision of medical extras.

It is for the "panel doctor" to report the tuberculous patient to the proper Committee of the County or County Borough Council or to its tuberculosis officer, as well as to the County Medical Officer, and to recommend his patient for the special treatment required. It is for the County or County Borough Council, through its Health (or Tuberculosis or Sanatorium) Committee to provide the sanatorium and the tuberculosis dispensary, to admit the patient to the sanatorium for treatment, or, if thought fit, to provide him with treatment at the dispensary and with extra nourishment, etc., at home. It is for the Approved Society to pay Sickness Benefit, either to the patient at home or to his dependents if he is in a sanatorium, or, if there are no dependents, to the Insurance Committee.

THE STRANGE MUDDLE OF AUTHORITIES.

Thus the treatment of tuberculous insured persons in England and Wales is under a strange medley of authorities, with the result that very inadequate results have yet been obtained. It may be added that the County or County Borough Council may, if it likes, resolve to extend the advantages of its tuberculosis sanatorium, dispensary, and medical staff to (a) the dependents of insured persons, and (b) non-insured persons. Most Counties and County Borough Councils have taken this course. What is needed is the concentration of all the work and responsibility connected with the provision for the sufferers from tuberculosis upon one authority.

In Scotland and Ireland somewhat different arrangements are made—equally far from adequate.

THE PROVISION FOR INVALIDITY.

Every year sees tens of thousands of workingmen and women wholly invalidated long before the pensionable age of 70, so crippled by accident, so permanently stricken by incurable disease, even so debilitated by premature old age, as to be unable any longer to earn their living. Yet till quite recently no public provision other than the Poor Law was made for them. Trade Unions and Friendly Societies did their best for their own members, sometimes in the form of accident grants, sometimes in the form of an early superannuation allowance, sometimes in the form of "permanent sick pay." For the most part, however, such broken-down workers became a burden on their children or else were driven to pauperism. Under the National Insurance Acts of 1911 and 1913 public provision is (for the first time apart from compensation for those invalidated by accident) made for the prematurely invalidated under the name of Disablement Benefit.

DISABLEMENT BENEFIT.

When incapacity to work continues for more than 26 weeks Sickness Benefit ceases, and (provided that 104 weeks' contributions have been paid) the insured person, who has been two years insured, whether man or woman, so long as he continues incapable of work, is entitled to receive from his Approved Society, up to the age of 70, Disablement Benefit at the rate of 5s. per week. No special definition of "incapable of work" is given, but incapacity from any cause whatsoever is included, except that disablement arising from the personal misconduct of the sufferer, may be excluded by the rules of the Approved Society for a period not exceeding twelve months, and that it must be assumed that Disablement Benefit cannot properly be drawn unless the insured person is, and continues to be, incapacitated from getting employment at wages, even at low wages, at some ordinary occupation within his reach. It would be only reasonable for the Approved Society to require him or her to go through any special treatment, or to use any kind of appliances that the society chose to provide, in order to fit him or her for earning a living. Nor can the insured person in receipt of Disablement Benefit reasonably object to being medically examined at regular intervals, say, once a year or so, in order that the society may be assured both that the insured person is still alive and that the incapacity continues. The insured person who is unfortunate enough to be a deposit contributor can never have enough to his credit to be able to get Disablement Benefit.

The administration of Disablement Benefit is entirely in the hands of the Approved Societies, subject to the supervision and control of the Commissioners.

DEFECTS OF THE SCHEME.

Social Insurance with regard to premature invalidity is defective.

1. It is not universal even as regards households under £160 a year.
2. It does not secure any adequate examination and specialist treatment even for invalidated insured persons.
3. It provides only 5s. a week for the sufferers.

THE PROVISION FOR UNEMPLOYMENT.

For the last two centuries a certain proportion of the workers have made provision against unemployment through their Trade Unions.

The latest complete figures relate to 1908, when returns were received from unions with a total membership of 2,359,867, or more than 99 per cent. of the total membership of all unions at the end of that year. Out of this number 1,473,593 were insured against unemployment, and an additional 1,524,091 were entitled in cases of unemployment to Travelling Benefit, or to total or partial remission of contributions, or to occasional allowances.

Since that time the total membership of Trade Unions has risen to nearly four millions, and the rise in the numbers insured against unemployment is probably almost in proportion to this. There is considerable variation in the conditions under which Unemployment Benefit is payable, according to the circumstances of the various industries. For instance, in the textile industry and in coalmining depression of trade is usually met by working short time, and in these industries many of the unions insure their members not against every form of unemployment, but only against mill stoppages, pit stoppages, and the like. In other industries benefit usually covers all forms of unemployment.

There is considerable variation also in the period for which benefit is available and in the amount of the benefit paid. Sometimes it continues for an unlimited period, but there is often a limit of between twelve and twenty-six weeks, and there are cases in which benefit is paid only for four weeks. The amount varies as a rule between about 16s. and 4s., but often a higher rate is paid during the first weeks of unemployment than in subsequent weeks. Only in some cases does out-of-work pay extend to those who are thrown out of work by disputes in another branch of the trade or in another industry. The Trade Unions which make least provision against unemployment are those in the mining, textile, and transport industries.

By Part II. of the Insurance Act of 1911 this form of Social Insurance was extended in two ways. Any Trade Union undertaking to give out-of-work pay to its unemployed members, on complying with the conditions laid down by the Board of Trade, may obtain from the Board of Trade a subvention equal to not more than one-sixth of the amount so paid, except where payments are only so made to workmen employed in insured trades (see below), in which case it must not exceed three-fourths. This has enabled some Trade Unions which did not previously give out-of-work pay to institute it and others to raise their rates of benefit without raising contributions. During the special stress of the autumn of 1914 the Board of Trade issued special regulations under which increased subventions could be paid to unions specially affected by the war. For an account of these see page 36.

INSURANCE ACT (PART II.).

The other form in which Social Insurance is now applied to unemployment is the compulsory and universal insurance by the Government of all manual workers in engineering and ironfounding,

shipbuilding, building, sawmilling, the making of vehicles, and works of construction. A contribution of 5d. is levied weekly, by means of a stamp affixed by the employer, in respect of the two and a-half million persons (including about 10,000 women) employed in these industries—about one-sixth of the total number of wage-earners. Half of this 5d. is deducted by the employer from the wages paid. In addition, the State contributes 1d. per head per week, and all the expenses of administration. Out of the fund so formed the Board of Trade pays, through the Labour Exchanges, Unemployment Benefit at the rate of 1s. 2d. per day (7s. per week) to all persons thus insured who have been involuntarily unemployed, so far as work at an insured trade is concerned, for more than a week. Trade Unions may arrange to receive this sum from the Board of Trade, so that they may themselves make the payment to their own members, in addition to or wholly or partly in place of Trade Union out-of-work pay. Unemployment due directly* to a strike or a lock-out is excluded.

HOW TO GET UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT.

Unemployed men in the insured trades ought, as soon as they can, to lodge their unemployment insurance books at the local Labour Exchange and to attend there daily for registration. They are not paid Unemployment Benefit if they unreasonably refuse to accept a suitable situation when it is offered to them. The situation must, however, be in their own trade, and must be at wages and conditions not worse than those usually prevailing in the trade in the place where the work is to be done. Nor can the unemployed workman be called upon to accept a situation under unreasonable conditions. Thus he cannot be expected to move his family to another place unless the employment offered is likely to last some considerable time, or to leave his family to go to a distant situation unless the pay offered is sufficient to enable him to maintain both himself and them apart. The amount of his railway fare to a situation can, however, always be advanced to him by the Labour Exchange, and unmarried men, and also married men when it is reasonable for them to do so, are expected to move freely after vacancies. The local officers of the Board of Trade pay all claims which are, in their judgment, strictly within the regulations. In any case in which they doubt, or there is even the slightest failure to comply with the most technical regulation, the claim is rejected, and the claimant is told that he has a right to appeal. This ought always to be done whenever the workman thinks himself unjustly treated. The appeal, for which no fee is charged, and in which no expense need be incurred, is heard in private by a little committee, the Court of Referees, which sits usually on Saturday afternoons, consisting of one representative of the wage-earners (taken from a panel constituted out of those who got the highest votes from the insured workmen), one representative of the employers, and a chairman appointed by the Board of Trade. The decision of the Court of Referees is nearly always accepted as

* Thus it is clear that where a strike or a lock-out of one craft in a works throws other crafts in the same works out of employment no State benefit is due. On the other hand, if a dispute in one industry (for instance, coalmining) throws workers in a quite distinct industry (say, engineering) out of employment, it is clear that the latter are entitled to State benefit. Naturally there are many doubtful marginal cases.

final, but, in order to provide against any serious divergence in matters of principle, the Board of Trade may, if it thinks fit, appeal against its decision to a permanently appointed Umpire (Mr. W. J. Yates, K.C.).

By the Act of 1914 a workman is not disqualified from receiving Unemployment Benefit by reason only of his being still employed at some work which he ordinarily followed outside the working hours of his trade, in addition to his employment in an insured trade, provided that his income from such work does not exceed £1 a week. This covers the case of the branch secretary.

DEFECTS OF THE SCHEME.

Social Insurance against unemployment falls short in the following respects:—

FAR FROM UNIVERSAL.

1. The Government's compulsory insurance is very far from being universal—applying, indeed, at present only to one in six of the wage-earners and to hardly any women. It can at any time be extended by the Government by mere Order to any other trades, provided that the extra expense involved would not, in the opinion of the Treasury, entail an increase in the sum contributed by the State of more than one million pounds a year within the ensuing three years.

FAR FROM ADEQUATE.

2. The Government provision of 7s. per week is insufficient for the proper maintenance of the family, and, moreover, there is nothing to save the unemployed man from the deterioration that prolonged unemployment almost inevitably produces. It is suggested that during his periods of unemployment the manual worker should have the option of putting in his time at self-improvement, and that he should be able to attend, free of charge, the trade schools and day technical and other classes that the Local Education Authority should provide.

NOT SUFFICIENTLY ENCOURAGING TO TRADE UNIONS.

3. Many Trade Unions in certain industries pay no out-of-work benefit or pay only in certain contingencies, or on a very low scale, or for a very short period. The effect of Clause 106 of the Insurance Act has been in a few cases to cause such benefit to be instituted, but the Government subvention of one-sixth of the amount paid in out-of-work pay is far too small to have any widespread influence, and, in addition, the conditions imposed by the Board of Trade as regards registration at the Labour Exchange, etc., prevent some unions from coming under the clause. In some foreign countries (Belgium, Norway, Switzerland, etc.) as much as half of their expenditure on out-of-work pay is given to the Trade Unions out of public funds.

THE PROVISION FOR OLD AGE.

Until quite lately there was very little organised provision for old age. The great majority of old people were driven inevitably into pauperism. Nearly all the larger Trade Unions among skilled workers, except in the mining and textile industries, the Government Service, and the railway clerical service, provide superannuation allowances generally of 10s. or 12s. a week for their aged members. The exceptions are generally accounted for by the existence outside the unions of special superannuation funds in connection with the industry. Of these the most important are the various railway superannuation funds, which are largely confined to clerical workers, and the various district associations for the relief of aged miners. A few Friendly Societies have long had superannuation funds, but have found hardly any of their members prepared to subscribe to them. The old members drew "permanent sick pay" to such an extent as seriously to jeopardise the solvency of some societies.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Now we have in the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908 the most genuinely universal of all our forms of Social Insurance. On reaching 70 years of age every man or woman who has not a regular income of 12s. a week (£31 10s. a year), whether derived from earnings, regular gifts, or property, can apply to the Pensions Committee of the County or County Borough Council for an old age pension. Claimants must be resident in the United Kingdom, and must have resided (or at least had their home) somewhere within the United Kingdom for at least 20 years prior to their application. Holiday trips, occasional travel, even long spells of employment out of the United Kingdom do not disqualify, provided that it can be shown that the claimant retained a home in the United Kingdom. Service on board a British ship, however long continued, also does not disqualify. The claimant must be a British subject, though not necessarily born in the United Kingdom or even within the British Empire. A naturalised British subject will be eligible if he has been naturalised for 20 years, and has so long resided in the United Kingdom. A woman married to an alien ceases to be a British subject even if he and she reside in the United Kingdom, and hence she has, at 70, no right to an old age pension. But by a special provision in the Act of 1910 she can get a pension if she has been left a widow, or has been divorced, or has been actually deserted by her alien husband, if she is qualified by residence and otherwise. Previous receipt of Poor Law relief or residence in the workhouse does not disqualify, and paupers arriving at the age of 70 may give up their outdoor relief or workhouse residence and get an old age pension instead. They cannot receive both pension and outdoor relief, though the wife (or husband) of an old age pensioner, not himself (or herself) in receipt of an old age pension, perhaps because not yet 70, may receive outdoor relief if the facts are not concealed. An old age pensioner (and also his wife) is entitled to receive medical relief and to be admitted in sickness to the workhouse or Poor Law infirmary if he or she cannot otherwise get the medical treatment that their condition necessitates—they are then technically "destitute" of such medical treatment—and this does not disqualify them from drawing their pensions. The pension will

not be paid whilst they are actually in an institution, but the arrears can be drawn when they come out. The claimant must also be so far of good character as not to have been in prison during the preceding ten years, and not to have habitually failed to work so that his wife and children became dependent on public funds. Persons actually in prison or under detention as lunatics are not eligible for pensions, whilst those who are permanently inmates of institutions are excluded because their board and lodging amounts to an income above the pensionable limit.

HOW THE PENSION IS FIXED.

The pension will be of 5s. a week if the claimant has nothing coming in, or at any rate not so much as £21 a year, or 8s. a week; 4s. a week if the pensioner's income is between £21 and £23 12s. 6d. a year, or not more than 9s. a week; 3s. if it is between £23 12s. 6d. and £26 5s. a year, or not more than 10s. a week; 2s. if it is between £26 5s. and £28 17s. 6d. a year, or not more than 11s. a week; and 1s. if it is between £28 17s. 6d. and £31 a year, or not more than 12s. a week. The possession of property yielding no income does not disqualify, but a house is reckoned at its rental value and cash lying at a bank is reckoned as if it was yielding 2½ per cent. interest. Incomes of husband and wife are added together, and each is reckoned as possessing half the total. Besides rents or interest and earnings, even if occasional or casual, of the claimant (and of his wife or husband) there will be reckoned as income any regular allowances either in money or kind made by relations, friends, or charity (even if not legally secured or permanent), but not irregular or occasional gifts. If the income changes, so as to make the pensioner eligible for a pension at an increased rate, a new application may be made.

The claim is investigated by the local Pensions Officer (who is an officer of the Customs and Excise Department), and his report has to be considered by the Pensions Committee, which determines the amount payable. There is such a Committee for each County and County Borough and for each Non-County Borough or Urban District having a population of 20,000. There is an appeal to the Local Government Board. The pension is payable weekly by the National Government through the Post Office.

DEFECTS OF THE SCHEME.

This provision for old age falls short in the following respects:—

THE PENSION IS TOO SMALL.

1. The maximum pension of £13 a year is too small and the income limit for eligibility (£31 10s. a year) is too low, especially as the price of food, fuel, and other necessities has risen considerably since 1906. In New Zealand the old age pension is as much as £30 a year, and it is payable to all who have less than £150 a year.

THE AGE IS TOO HIGH.

2. The pensionable age of 70 is too high. A large proportion of men and women become incapable of earning a living in the competitive labour market long before 70. The compulsory retirement age in the Civil Service is 65, and men may claim to retire at 60. The old age pension ought to begin on the setting

in of proved incapacity to earn a living, whatever the age. This is now recognised in the Australian Old Age Pension Law. The case is only partially met by the Disablement Benefit under the Insurance Act. This benefit only applies to insured persons, who number fewer than one-half of the population over 16, and from whose ranks some millions of persons below the Income Tax level of £160 a year are excluded.

WHY NOT HOUSE THE LONELY PENSIONERS?

3. There is need of many more suitable habitations for old age pensioners. What is needed is something in the nature of the old endowed "almshouses"—a group of cottages round a garden or green, in which such old men or women as choose might have their separate homes and yet live together.

THE PROVISION AGAINST LOSS BY FIRE.

Hardly any Social Insurance exists in this country, so far as concerns the six-sevenths of the community who are below the level of £160 a year income, against loss or damage by fire, though such loss or damage is presumably as common among them, and relatively quite as disastrous, as among those who have greater resources. Fire insurance is in the United Kingdom, unlike various other countries, left entirely to private enterprise, and, though the 150 joint stock companies doing this business secure a good profit out of the ten or twelve million pounds a year that they charge in premiums on property in this country alone, they make practically no attempt to insure working-class homes. More than eleven hundred million pounds of property (buildings and their contents) are insured against fire in London alone, and probably six or seven times as much in the whole United Kingdom; but only an infinitesimal part of this belongs to individual manual working wage-earners. Their joint property in building and friendly societies, and in Trade Unions, is commonly insured, and much of the cottage property in which thrifty workmen have invested their savings. But the furniture and little stocks of household goods of the eight and a-half million families below the £160 a year income level, including the plant and stock-in-trade of the hundreds of thousands of little shopkeepers, hawkers, and pedlars, jobbing craftsmen, and others "on their own," are very rarely insured. Now, though the average working-class family may not possess much in furniture and clothes, their destruction by fire is an awful calamity. The household possessions of these eight and a-half million families, however little they might realise on a forced sale, certainly could not be replaced under an aggregate expenditure of five hundred or perhaps even a thousand millions. Seeing that the average annual loss by fire of insured property is about 1s. per £100 value, the losses by fire of the mass of the people of the United Kingdom who are not insured must be reckoned, each year, in hundreds of thousands of pounds. We have here a great gap in our Social Insurance.

WHAT IS NOW PROVIDED.

Very little is yet being done to fill this gap. Some Trade Unions, such as the General Union of Operative Carpenters and Joiners, pay

up to £15 when tools are destroyed by fire, but no Trade Union, Friendly Society, or Co-operative Society yet includes insurance of household goods in its benefits as a matter of course. There is nothing to prevent a workman taking out a policy for £100 in one of the ordinary fire insurance companies, but these do not care about such small business, and sometimes even put difficulties in the way. The Co-operative Insurance Society issues some policies of this kind through the stores, which act as its agents.

Neither the national Government nor the local authorities have yet done anything to fill the gap. Even in the way of preventing the spread of fires, it is only in London and the large towns that there is any effective fire brigade. Most villages do not enjoy even the protection of proper building regulations.

SOCIAL INSURANCE ABROAD.

Other countries have not been so backward or so unmindful of the wage-earner's needs. In Germany there are 52 different Government fire insurance departments, run by municipalities, provinces or States. At Hamburg and various other places the co-operative society makes it part of its systematic propaganda to see that its members have their furniture insured. In France many of the provincial Councils run successful fire insurance funds for the benefit of the peasants. The New Zealand Government has, since 1905, its highly successful fire insurance department. But Switzerland goes furthest in this line. In 17 of the cantons the insurance of houses against fire is a Government service, in some places legally obligatory on all, the premium being collected as part of the taxes. Insurance of household furniture also is compulsory in four cantons, two of which themselves undertake the risk. In canton Vaud everybody must insure both house and furniture in the Cantonal Fund—that is to say, the local government refunds all loss or damage from fire, and charges the cost in the annually levied taxation. This is the only completely effective form (and by far the most economical) of Social Insurance against fire.

THE PROVISION FOR DEATH.

The financial dislocation caused in any wage-earner's home by death is always considerable. The illness and suffering which usually precedes a death will, by the expense that it involves, have considerably narrowed the available means. Death brings funeral expenses of anything between a few pounds (for an infant) up to £20 or more. There may be a doctor's bill to discharge. There are black clothes to buy, sometimes travelling expenses of relatives to pay, always meals to be provided. Then, if death carries off the breadwinner of the family, provision has somehow to be made for their maintenance. The personal services in the household of the wife and mother have somehow to be replaced.

FUNERAL BENEFIT.

The provision for death, scanty and inadequate as it may be, is always the first to be made by working-class associations. In the aggregate it seems as if the British workman pays three times as much for a meagre Funeral Benefit as for all the advantages of his Trade Unions; twice as much as for all the benefits of his Friendly Societies;

more than twice as much as for all that he gets out of the Insurance Act—he pays, in fact, more for this one Death Benefit, which in three deaths out of every eight fails to be paid, than for all other kinds of Social Insurance put together.

At present provision for death is, in the United Kingdom, entirely optional, and practically uncontrolled by Government. For over two centuries a multitude of Friendly Societies have striven to provide Funeral Benefit as an adjunct to their sick pay. A large proportion of Trade Unions have, in connection with their other functions, followed this example. Occasionally the £5, £10, or £20 will be paid also on the death of a member's wife; in a few instances even on the death of a member's child. In some unions half-benefit is paid on the death of a member's wife.

These mutual societies have, however, failed to make anything like an adequate provision for death. The membership that they have been able to cover in this way falls far short of half the wage-earners in the kingdom, whilst the proportion of wives and children for whom they ensure Funeral Benefit is inconsiderable.

INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE.

Since 1854 the work has been taken up with more success by the industrial insurance offices, which employ canvassers to induce people to insure, and collectors to call weekly for the premium. An army of 70,000 such agents is now engaged on this work, and no less than 18 million pounds a year is collected in this way in the United Kingdom from the working class. These industrial insurance offices, about 80 in number, are of two kinds. The largest and most successful (such as the Prudential, the Pearl, and the Refuge) are joint stock companies, earning large profits for their shareholders. Others (such as the Liverpool Victoria, the Scottish Legal, and the Royal Liver) are either collecting Friendly Societies or "mutual" companies, in which there are no shareholders, so that all the net profits benefit the members or policyholders. There is, however, no practical difference between these two kinds of industrial insurance offices in their methods of working, in the conditions of their policies, in the relative amounts of premium and benefits, or in the control of their managers and officials. Whether there are shareholders or not, the older and more extensive offices are usually more successful, and can offer better terms, than the newer and smaller concerns. Of all alike it may be said that the management is practically in the hands of a little knot of principal officials, that the members or policyholders have practically no control, and that the way in which the business is carried on (chiefly the weekly collection of premiums at the homes) makes it terribly costly. The rate of expenses to premiums is, in fact, about 43 per cent. Out of every £1 contributed by the policyholder, no less than 8s. 7d. goes in expenses (chiefly in salaries, commission, and wages to the huge staff employed). The great majority of those who are induced to insure do not go on with it, and lose the weekly premiums they have paid. In fact, seven out of every eight policies are allowed to lapse through failure to keep up the premiums, and thus never become the subject of a claim. Nevertheless, so incessant is the recruiting by the canvassers that about 40 million industrial insurance policies are now in force in the United Kingdom, in the 80 different offices, averaging about £10 each. These are believed to

cover about half that number (or 20,000,000) of separate lives. It is estimated that about five out of every eight persons under the Income Tax level of £160 a year who died last year were covered by industrial insurance policies averaging about £20 each. The total paid annually (including 10 or 15 per cent. of endowment policies maturing at a fixed date as well as at death) is over seven millions sterling.

POST OFFICE INSURANCE.

The Government has so far done nothing in the way of Social Insurance for death beyond issuing insurance policies through the Post Office to anyone who applies for them. This business has been done in such a half-hearted way that, after 50 years, the Post Office has only 12,247 policies in force, of a total value of £692,810. In 1913 it issued only 238 policies, for £11,199. It issues, indeed, from all its tens of thousands of post offices fewer than half-a-dozen policies a week.

DEATHS FROM ACCIDENT.

For the wives and families of the 5,000 persons who each year meet their death by industrial accidents, some provision is, indeed, made by law, in the way that we have already described (Workmen's Compensation Acts). The amount of three years' wages, with a minimum of £150 and a maximum of £300, thus secured to the survivors, insufficient as it is, stands in marked contrast to the Funeral Benefit of £10 or £20, which is all that the wage-earner has usually been able to provide by his own organisations.

DEFECTS OF THE SCHEME.

Thus our Social Insurance against death falls even more lamentably short of what is required than that against the other contingencies of the wage-earner's life. Its defects and shortcomings are glaring.

NOTHING FOR THE WIDOW AND ORPHANS.

1. Only in the rarest cases is there any adequate provision for the widow and orphans from whom the breadwinner is prematurely withdrawn. If there is any "insurance money" to draw from Trade Union, Friendly Society, or industrial office it hardly ever does more than cover the expenses of the funeral—at most, discharge the doctor's bill and pay for mourning clothes for the family. The widow, who may have devoted herself to keeping the home, finds herself encumbered by young children, who need all her care, and is often left without income. She has a distinct claim on the community. We have chosen so to organise our society that the income for the maintenance of the home is paid normally through the man's wages. The young woman entering on marriage is encouraged to give up her independent occupation, to devote herself to her home and children, relying on the maintenance in return for her housekeeping work being supplied week by week through her husband's wages. Suddenly these wages cease through his death, and she is left, without any remunerative occupation, without income, with a home and children on her hands for which society has failed to supply the weekly maintenance on which she had been encouraged to depend.

In the United States during the last few years laws have been passed establishing, for widows of good character left with young

children unprovided for, "Mothers Pensions" of 10s. to 30s. a week, payable out of State or municipal funds, granted, quite apart from any poor relief and without any stigma of pauperism, by special public boards or committees, and destined at "maintaining all the homes that are worth maintaining." Denmark has now a similar law. Germany has added pensions for orphans to its great insurance scheme. This is the proper Social Insurance as regards the calamity of death.

NOT EVEN UNIVERSAL FUNERAL BENEFIT.

2. Even in the way of provision of Funeral Benefit, which is of much less importance than provision for widow and orphans, the existing provision is terribly unsatisfactory. In at least a quarter of all the deaths each year in the United Kingdom below the Income Tax level of £160 a year there proves to be no Funeral Benefit available either from Trade Union or Friendly Society or industrial insurance office. In these 150,000 households every year the whole burden is cast on the struggling survivors. Probably in not more than a tenth of them is the body buried by the Poor Law authority, but in thousands of cases the hated pauper funeral is only escaped by stripping the family of all resources, by pawning the furniture, by begging and borrowing from neighbours nearly as poor, and by incurring a dragging load of debt. Funeral Benefit ought to be added to the other benefits under the Insurance Act (as Mr. Lloyd George originally intended and as has now been done in France) and extended to cover the deaths of wives and dependents of insured persons. This could be done best through the Local Health Authorities, which are already responsible for providing a burial ground (in which all the fees now charged ought to be abolished), with the assistance of a grant in aid from the Exchequer of five or six million pounds a year. Such a grant would be enough to provide a universal Funeral Benefit of from £2 (for an infant) up to £20 (for an adult), which any family would be entitled to claim without paying any further contributions or premiums.

It might be desirable to consider whether the whole business of insurance against death should not be under Government control.

CONCLUSION.

Thus, whether we consider the need for provision for accidents or provision for maternity, provision for sickness, tuberculosis and invalidity or provision for unemployment or old age, provision for fire or provision for death, we see how very far from complete or adequate to working-class requirements our social arrangements yet are. We in the United Kingdom spend on this Social Insurance, in all its various forms, from all sorts of funds, public and private—counting here only what is provided from the rates and taxes and other obligatory payments, the income of charitable institutions, and the individual contributions of the wage-earners alone—probably not far short of a hundred millions sterling per annum. Yet because the work has never been properly organised—never, indeed, systematically surveyed—there is a scarcely conceivable muddle of authorities, with the result that a large part of this great sum is wasted in overlapping and unnecessary expenses. At the same time, there remain great gaps in our Social Insurance by reason of which, and of the muddle in which we leave the matter, each year sees many tens of thousands

of workingmen and women, together with many thousands of infants and children, pressed down to destitution, degradation, and death. The systematic co-ordination and completion of Social Insurance, in respect of all the contingencies of the wage-earner's life, is one of the greatest political problems of the century.

Further information on the different branches of Social Insurance will be found in "Social Insurance," by I. M. Rubinow (Holt, New York), 1913; "Workingmen's Insurance in Europe," by L. K. Frankel and W. M. Dawson (Charities, New York), 1910; "Twenty-Fourth Report of United States Commissioner on Labour on Workingmen's Insurance and Compensation Systems in Europe" (Washington), 1911; "The Prevention of Destitution," by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, 1911; "Misery and its Causes," by E. T. Devine, 1907; "Industrial Insurance in the United States," by C. R. Henderson, 1908; "Unemployment," by W. H. Beveridge, 1909; "Unemployment Insurance," by I. G. Gibbon, 1911; the reports of the Fabian Research Department on the Working of the Insurance Act, 1914, and on Industrial Insurance, 1915.

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Established 1886.

GEN. SEC. - - - J. W. CLARK.

All metal workers engaged in the Optical, Telegraph, Electrical, Surgical and Mathematical Instrument making branches of the trade, and men employed generally in the electrical industry should join the above society.

OBJECTS.

To uphold and improve the conditions of the trade, to safeguard as far as possible the interests of all workers by industrial and political action.

BENEFITS.

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Contributions: Full members, 9d. per week; junior members, 6d. per week.

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Any information in connection with the society can be obtained from the General Secretary, 41, Cowcross Street, London, E.C.

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A postcard to the General Secretary will secure all particulars of entrance fees, contributions and benefits, also information showing the result of the Society's efforts and its present position financially and industrially.

All Printers' Assistants are invited to communicate with the

General Secretary: GEORGE A. ISAACS.

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